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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Alabama Historical Society.

TRANSACTIONS, VOL. IV.

UNIV. OF MICH.

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UNIV. OF MICH.

DR. BASIL MANLY

Founder of the Alabama Hist

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Alabama Historical Society

1899-1903

EDITED
By THOMAS McADORY OWEN, LL.D.,
Secretary

VOL. IV

Montgomery, Alabama:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1904

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PREFACE.

The present volume embraces the proceedings and papers of the several annual meetings of the Society for 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903. The delay in the appearance of the *Transactions* has been due to the inability of the secretary and editor to devote the necessary time to the work of preparation and publication. Exacting and distracting business and personal cares demanded his attention for a season, and since the establishment of the Alabama Department of Archives and History in 1901, of which he was elected Director, he has devoted almost his entire time to its organization and development. An examination of the formal reports of the secretary, *infra,* will disclose further details in reference to delay in publication.

The contents of the volume will, it is believed, be found of high character and permanent value. The topics present a series of varied studies, touching almost every point in our history.

It will not be deemed invidious to here make special acknowledgment to Dr. George Petrie, head of the Historical Seminary of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, for his very great and untiring interest in the affairs of the Society at all times. Two of the papers herein were prepared by him, while six were prepared under his direction, by members of the Seminary, namely, those of Miss Cozart and Miss Culver, and by Messrs. Fleming, Roberts, Whitfield and Yonge.

By including the proceedings of the annual meeting of Dec. 22, 1903, the entire administrative work of the Society from reorganization, June 21, 1898, to the end of the year 1903, is now available in permanent form.

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By inclu[illegible] the annual meeting of Dec. 22, 190[illegible] work of the Society from reorga[illegible] end of the year 1903, is now avail[illegible]

AN ACT

To incorporate the Alabama Historical Society.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened,* That the Historical Society of this State be and the same is hereby incorporated by the name and style of "The Alabama Historical Society."

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said corporation may take and hold real and personal property to the value of ten thousand dollars, may make a constitution and by-laws for the government thereof not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this State, may sue and be sued, and do all other acts and things consistent with the object of the said corporation which any other corporation may or can do; but shall not exercise banking privileges or emit notes, bonds or bills to circulate as money.

Approved, February 5, 1852.

Acts, 1851-52, p. 288.

There are no qualifications for membership. All persons interested in the work of the Society, and desiring to promote its objects, are invited to become members.

Donations, whether of money, or of books, papers and relics, are solicited.

There is no admission fee. Annual dues, $2.00. All current publications free to members not in arrears.

Address all communications to the Secretary, Montgomery, Ala.

CONSTITUTION.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 22, 1903.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

1. The name of this Society is "The Alabama Historical Society."

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

2. The object of the Society is to discover, procure, preserve and diffuse whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the State of Alabama, and of the States in connection with her.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERS.

3. Any person interested in promoting the objects of the Society is eligible to membership.

4. There shall be three classes of members: (1) active members, who are liable to dues, and in whom are vested the exclusive control of the affairs of the Society; (2) corresponding members, who must be non-residents of Alabama; and (3) honorary members, embracing persons distinguished in historical, literary, or scientific attainments.

ARTICLE IV.—OFFICERS.

5. The officers shall be a president, nine vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer (which two offices may be filled by one and the same person,) and an executive committee to consist of six members and the secretary, who shall be *ex-officio* chairman. (2) They shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall serve for one year. (3) Their duties and powers shall be such as usually pertain to their positions, except as hereinafter provided. (4) Vacancies shall be filled by the executive committee.

6. The executive committee shall have the following powers and duties: to elect members, to regulate the time and place of monthly or other special meetings, to arrange and provide programs for all meetings, to regulate the expenditure of the funds of the Society, to regulate and fix the duties and compensation of officials or employees, to direct and provide for the publications of the Society, and shall have all other necessary general control and supervision of its work.

7. (1) There shall be the following standing committees of seven members each, to be appointed annually by the president, viz: on monuments, collections and relics, marking historical sites, Confederate history, genealogy, church history, the teaching of history, and memoirs of deceased members. (2) All committees shall report in writing to the annual meeting on the work projected and accomplished by them during the preceding year.

ARTICLE V.—MEETINGS.

8. (1) An annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the city of Montgomery during the month of December at such particular time and place as may be directed by the executive committee. (2) At this meeting, in addition to any other business or exercises which may be provided,

the annual election of officers shall take place, and annual reports by the secretary, the treasurer, the executive committee and other standing committees shall be made.

9. The executive committee may provide for monthly meetings or for any other meetings which it may deem important in the work or for the good of the Society.

10. At the meetings of the Society not less than five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VI.—DUES.

11. Annual dues shall be two dollars, payable prior to December 31 in each year.

12. The payment of twenty-five dollars at one time shall entitle a member to active life membership, exempt from further dues or charges.

13. Any member in arrears for dues for six months, shall be given thirty days notice through the post office, and unless the same shall in said period be paid, his name shall be dropped from the roll, and in no case shall it be restored until all arrearages are paid.

14. Members not in arrears for dues shall be entitled to all current publications free of other or further charge.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

15. This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting by a three-fourth's vote of the members present, *provided,* the proposed amendment shall have been submitted in writing to a meeting of the Society at least sixty days prior to the annual meeting, or in lieu of said notice shall have received the unanimous approval of the executive committee.

OFFICERS FOR 1900-1901.

PRESIDENT:

His Excellency, JOSEPH FORNEY JOHNSTON, Governor, Montgomery.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

WILLIAM LEROY BROUN, President Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.
EDWARD LAFAYETTE RUSSELL, ESQ., Mobile.
JEFFERSON MANLY FALKNER, ESQ., Montgomery.
THOMAS CHALMERS MCCORVEY, Professor of History and Philosophy, University of Alabama.
COL. SAM'L WILL JOHN, Birmingham.
MRS. WILLIAMS EDWIN SORSBY, Birmingham.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

THOMAS MCADORY OWEN, ESQ., Birmingham.

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(In addition to the above officials)

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JOEL CAMPBELL DUBOSE, ESQ., Birmingham.
J. ASA ROUNTREE, ESQ., Birmingham.
OLIVER DAY STREET, ESQ., Guntersville.
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COL. MICHAEL L. WOODS, Montgomery.
COL. FRANCIS G. CAFFEY, Montgomery.
DR. GEORGE PETRIE, Professor of History, A. P. I., Auburn.

* Deceased.

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PRESIDENT:

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PART I.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND HISTORICAL PAPERS.

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, JUNE 18, 1900.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 18, 1900.

11 A. M. ANNUAL ORATION.

At 11 o'clock a. m., the Alabama Historical Society, with a large and representative audience of visitors, convened in Clark hall. The following members were in attendance, viz: Dr. W. C. Richardson, Dr. George Little, Walter Guild, Dr. James T. Searcy, W. D. Seed, F. S. Moody, Dr. John Little, F. M. Purifoy, Rev. D. C. Lilly, Henry B. Foster, J. J. Mayfield, James H. Fitts, John R. Kennedy, J. O. Prude, all of Tuscaloosa; Dr. J. K. Powers, Dr. W. S. Wyman, Dr. Wm. A. Parker, Dr. E. A. Smith, Prof. T. C. McCorvey, Prof. T. W. Palmer, Dr. J. Y. Graham, Dr. W. B. Saffold, Dr. Herbert A. Sayre, Prof. Augustus A. Persons, Prof. George S. Brownell, Prof. Jacob Forney, William S. Thorington, all of the University of Alabama; Thomas C. McClellan, Athens; Dr. J. H. Johnson, Talladega; Col. Martin L. Stansel, Carrollton; Daniel Pratt, Prattville; Tennent Lomax, Montgomery; Rev. C. E. Crenshaw, Coosada; Alex. Garber, Talladega; O. D. Street, Guntersville; Dr. W. H. Blake, Wetumpka; Rev. Neal L. Anderson, Montgomery; Peter J. Hamilton, Mobile; Prof. Edwin H. Foster, East Lake; William C. Ward, Charles G. Brown, James E. Webb, Hugh Morrow, Sterling Wood, Joel C. DuBose, and Thomas M. Owen, all of Birmingham; and Henry S. Halbert, of Crawford, Miss.

In the absence of Hon. Joseph Forney Johnston, president of the Society, Hon. Martin Luther Stansel presided. Prayer was offered by Rev. Charles Edward Crenshaw.

Capt. William Columbus Ward, the annual orator, was introduced, and delivered an oration on "The Building of the State."

(*See p.* 53 *for copy of the address.*)

At its conclusion the presiding officer in behalf of the Society thanked Mr. Ward for his timely and well-considered effort.

The Secretary announced the afternoon session, and urged a full attendance, after which benediction was pronounced by Rev. J. C. Jeter, of Auburn.

Excellent music was rendered by a string band at the opening and conclusion of the session.

3.30 P. M. BUSINESS SESSION AND SEMI-CENTENNIAL EXERCISES.

The afternoon session of the Society convened at 3.30 p. m. in the county court house, in the city of Tuscaloosa. The meeting was called to order by Prof. T. C. McCorvey, one of the vice-presidents, who presided during the first part of the session.

The following members were in attendance, viz: Dr. J. H. Foster, Dr. W. C. Richardson, Dr. W. S. Wyman, Walter Guild, J. M. VanHoose, W. D. Seed, Harry Eddins, Charles N. Davis, Frank S. Moody, E. N. C. Snow, F. M. Purifoy, Rev. D. C. Lilly, J. J. Mayfield, T. C. McCorvey, J. H. Fitts, J. Collier Foster, and J. R. Kennedy, all of Tuscaloosa; Edwin H. Foster, East Lake; O. D. Street, Guntersville; P. J. Hamilton, Mobile; Dr. W. H. Blake, Wetumpka; Rev. Neal L. Anderson, Montgomery; Rev. C. E. Crenshaw, Coosada; Wm. C. Ward, Charles G. Brown, Joel C. DuBose, and Thomas M. Owen, all of Birmingham; and Henry S. Halbert, of Crawford, Miss.

On motion of Mr. Owen, seconded by W. D. Seed, the call of the roll, and the reading of the minutes of the last meeting were dispensed with.

The Secretary read by title the following papers (which are printed in full hereinafter), viz:

"The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," by Prof. T. C. McCorvey.

"The Buford Expedition to Kansas," by Walter L. Fleming.

Peter Joseph Hamilton, of Mobile, read a paper, showing great research, on the inquiry—"Was Mobile Bay the Bay of Spiritu Santo?" The conclusion reached by him was that the bay known to early discoverers and to ancient cartographers as Spiritu Santo (Bay of the Holy Spirit) is the present Mobile bay.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p. 73.*)

Dr. Wyman, following Mr. Hamilton, said that he regarded his conclusions as irresistible. The best reading and interpretation of all the authorities, so well abstracted by Mr. Hamilton,

all supported his contentions. He had himself long held similar views.

Mr. Owen stated that he regarded the paper as a production of the most admirable character, and that students would appreciate the severely exact and critical method pursued by Mr. Hamilton in its preparation. The paper he regarded as timely, in view of the interest taken in the subject by cartographers, and also from the zeal manifested in behalf of the claims of the Mississippi river and delta by Louisiana historical writers.

At this point, Prof. McCorvey, owing to an engagement which called him away, relinquished the chair to Peter J. Hamilton, one of the vice-presidents.

On taking the gavel Mr. Hamilton said: "It gives me pleasure to aid the Alabama Historical Society in any way I can, and I take it as an honor that the retirement of Col. McCorvey brings me to the chair. I trust our proceedings will be both interesting and profitable. The Secretary will now please call the first order of business."

Hon. Charles G. Brown, attorney-general of the State, then came forward and presented to the Society in behalf of Mrs. Margaret Ayres, of Washington City, a fac-simile impression of the great seal of the Confederacy. In delivering this interesting and valuable relic Mr. Brown referred feelingly to the tragic events which it served to recall. The relic, or memorial, was one which the Society would cherish, and its presentation should stimulate a greater attention to the preservation of the fast vanishing mementos of the Confederacy. At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Owen offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this body be and are hereby extended Mrs. Margaret Ayres, of the city of Washington, for the fac-simile impression of the great seal of the Confederate States of America, which she has so generously donated to the Society; and also to Mrs. Wm. A. Gayle and Mrs. Charles G. Brown for their good offices in suggesting the appropriateness of the gift, and be it further

Resolved, That Peter J. Hamilton, Joel C. DuBose and Wm. S. Wyman, be appointed a committee to communicate this resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote. On accepting the gift Mr. Hamilton said:

"It gives me great pleasure to be the one authorized to accept for the Alabama Historical Society this replica of the seal of the Confederate States of America. In this I am sure that I repre-

sent every member of the Society. There is a peculiar appropriateness in this token's resting with the Alabama Society, for the Confederate States government was born at Montgomery and acquired its earliest growth on Alabama soil. This gift will be one of the most cherished objects that we possess."

Prof. Joel Campbell DuBose, of Birmingham, read a paper on "The Uses of Bibliography."

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 95.)

Discussing this paper, Dr. Wyman said that he was in hearty accord with what had been so well urged by Mr. DuBose. More attention should be given by all classes of students and literary workers to bibliography. The bibliographer is one who, very little appreciated, renders to literature the very greatest service. He had found Mr. Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* in many ways a continuing revelation as to the vast treasures of printed material bearing on the history of the State.

Mr. Hamilton said: "Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* is certainly a valuable work, and the aid which it gives a student of our history, literature and institutions is incalculable. It is of the greatest aid to me in my work, and must be to every student, and indeed to every one interested in his State. Its extent and thoroughness are remarkable. It has set a standard for literary work among us which cannot be ignored and will cause a marked improvement in all undertakings of a literary nature in Alabama."

Rev. C. E. Crenshaw read a paper on "Indian Massacres in Butler County in 1818." It was followed by an interesting discussion.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 99.)

After he had concluded, Capt. Ward said that he became more and more impressed with the duty which the people owed to their history. It was by means of the precedents of the past that the future was to be guided. He had more hope for the future because there appeared to be a more widespread enthusiasm in behalf of historical investigation. Mr. Crenshaw had preserved valuable items, which would illustrate the hardships of the pioneers, and show forth to coming time the heroic mould in which they were cast.

Dr. Wyman said that he noted a correction by Mr. Crenshaw of Pickett's *History of Alabama,* and Little's *History of Butler*

County, in the name of the settler at whose house the massacre occurred. Pickett gives it as "Ogle," while Little calls it "Ogly." He was satisfied that Mr. Crenshaw's statement as to the name being "Oglesby" was altogether correct, and supported by the best evidence.

FORT RASCAL.

Mr. Hamilton then asked: "Can Mr. Crenshaw or any other gentleman present throw any light on the history of what on Dr. Smith's map of Alabama is called old Fort Rascal? It seems to be in the eastern part of Dallas county, but I have never been able to find out anything about it."

Mr. Crenshaw replied that he had quite a distinct recollection of the name and place.

Dr. Richardson observed that he had resided many years ago, at the point named, and that the place was now known as Pleasant Hill, in Dallas county.

Dr. Blake stated that in Tallapoosa county about six miles from the county seat there was another place known as Fort Rascal. Information derived from Benjamin Walker, of Island Home, was to the effect that in 1833 a trader established himself there. From his swindling and unfair practices he was dubbed "rascal" by the Indians, to which the white settlers prefixed "Fort," thus naming his place "Fort Rascal." J. J. Holley settled at the place in 1836.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE SOCIETY.

Mr. Owen said: "In the last report of the Secretary a suggestion was made in reference to the celebration of the semi-centennial of the organization of the Society. After conference it was deemed best to go no further than to associate with the present meeting certain features of a memorial character. Several of the members of the Society during its first decade survive, and at least two of them take an active interest in our work now. These are Dr. Foster and Dr. Wyman. James M. VanHoose is still living. Dr. Richardson, Mr. Guild, Mr. Fitts, J. C. Foster are all old members. Dr. Richardson, Dr. Foster and Mr. Guild have consented to take a formal place in the exercises and are present."

SEMI-CENTENNIAL ODE.

Dr. W. C. Richardson then presented and read a "Semi-Centen-

nial Ode," on the occasion of the celebration by the Society of its fiftieth anniversary. A vote of thanks was extended the author for his production, which breathed the genuine poetic spirit, and stirred the patriotic sentiments of those in attendance.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 103.)

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS.

Dr. Joshua Hill Foster, one of the original members and founders of the Society, followed with a paper on "The Alabama Historical Society—Reminiscences of Fifty Years," in which he sketched in a graphic manner the principal events in the early history of the Society. Dr. Foster was the first secretary, and the organization owes him a lasting debt of gratitude for faithful services unselfishly rendered.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 107.)

At the conclusion of Dr. Foster's paper, reminiscent talks and contributions were called for.

Dr. Wyman responded saying that he was not prepared to make an extended talk, although he had many recollections connected with the Society and its struggles. He stated that he was not one of the founders, but that he early joined in the work. He recalled the periods of activity and decline, and expressed regret that more had not been accomplished. He referred to his having been the first secretary after the reorganization of the Society in 1874.

J. Collier Foster desired to be excused from any remarks. He was one of the earliest members, and referred to his lively recollection of interest in the work, during its first decade, by Dr. Manly, Judge Ormond, Prof. Benagh, Gov. Collier, and others.

James H. Fitts said that he would indulge in no extended reminiscences. He had been the treasurer many years, from time to time. He regretted the indifference shown during the early years when so much good work might have been done. He referred to the fact that the N. L. Whitfield, who delivered the annual address before the Society July 13, 1858, was at the time his law partner, and that he recalled his careful and earnest preparation of the address.

Frank S. Moody said that his part in the work of the Society had of course been confined to its later years. He knew that his

father, Washington Moody, had taken the greatest interest in its promotion, and was its treasurer before the war. He had himself been president for a term, and had done what he could for its advancement, but realized that the Society fell far short of the purposes of its organization.

Walter Guild, who had been secretary at one time, and always an active friend of the Society, read his recollections of the work since the reorganization.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 115.)

Mr. Owen, the present secretary, stated that James M. Van Hoose and Mont. I. Burton[1] were not present, and he desired to submit their reminiscences, which would be handed to him, for publication. This was without objection agreed to.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 119.)

DR. BASIL MANLY, THE FOUNDER OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

As particularly appropriate to the semi-centennial occasion, Thomas M. Owen presented a paper on "Dr. Basil Manly, the Founder of the Alabama Historical Society."

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p.* 125.)

MEANING OF THE WORD ALABAMA.

During the reminiscences, which assumed a general range, some one had mentioned the name of the great pioneer of historical work in the State, Judge Alexander B. Meek, and referred to his poetic rendering of the word Alabama as "Here We Rest." Later Dr. Richardson arose and said on this point:

"In November 1855 I was traveling up the Alabama river in company with Judge A. B. Meek. He had just published his most ambitious effort, 'The Red Eagle,' and as the local press had made very favorable mention of it, he was at the acme of his poetical fame. He gave me a fine presentation copy of the poem, and asked my opinion of it. I told him I thought that Lilla Beazely's song was the most beautiful thing in the book, but referred with approval and pleasure to his sketch of the 'Woodland Flower' and especially to his description of Echanachaca or the Holy Ground.

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[1] Mr. Burton's paper has not been received by the Secretary.

"Turning to the passage:

> "Till over Alabama's verdant breast
> Her eagled hills and deer cropped dells
> In pride the free-born Indian dwells
> As when of old he styled it, *Here We rest.*"

"I asked him what authority there was for translating Alabama, 'Here we rest.' He replied, 'None whatever—that it was merely a *poetical figment of his own.* That 'rest' rhymed with 'breast,' and that was all of it.

"The Society need not be surprised at this. In a poem of Meek's, 'The Day of Freedom,' delivered in Tuscaloosa July 4, 1838, he has the lines:

> "I've stood beneath Italia's clime
> Beloved of fame and song,
> On Helvyn's hills proud and sublime
> Where nature's wonders throng."

"In a note to the above he explains that he had never been abroad, had never stood on Helvyn's hills, 'except on the wings of fancy and desire.'

"Poets must not, like historians, he held to a strict account. Accuracy is not their weakness, fact is not their weakness. They must not be expected to state fact. Their province is a higher sphere—truth. Confine Shakespeare to fact, and you would expose him to ribaldry. We have high authority for saying that

> "————————————at times
> 'Kings are less imperious than rhymes.'"

At the conclusion of Dr. Richardson's remarks, which excited much interest, Dr. Wyman at once arose and said that he himself had seen, and had talked with gentlemen who had studied it in youth, a small primary reader in use in the schools of Alabama in the twenties and thirties, in which was the question: "What is the meaning of the word Alabama?" The answer given was: "Here I lay my weary bones." He did not doubt that this was regarded in the early years as the true meaning, and that Judge Meek appropriated it. He stated that he had distinct views on the subject, but would not now take the time to exploit them.

Mr. Owen said that the statement of Doctors Richardson and Wyman contained suggestions both new and curious. He had never doubted that Judge Meek was altogether serious in

his belief as to the correctness of his translation. He felt sure that if Judge Meek had studied the little book mentioned and made use in later years of the definition given, he only did so after the crude idea had passed through the alembic of fancy and had become idealized. What was in ordinary speech "Here I lay my weary bones" became in poetic imagery, "Here we rest."

Walter Seed then made some observations on Mr. Pickett's remarks on the Indian tribe of the name Alabama, and his explanation of the origin of the word.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A pleasing feature at this point enlivened the proceedings. Mrs. Patrick Hues Mell, of Auburn, who was in attendance as a delegate from the Daughters of the American Revolution, was introduced and read an interesting paper on the spirit of co-operation which should exist between the society which she represented and the Alabama Historical Society. She said:

"The Alabama Daughters of the American Revolution at their last Conference strongly endorsed the work of the Alabama Historical Society and promised their cordial sympathy and support.

"The State regent, Mrs. J. Morgan Smith, appointed me as delegate to this meeting of the Historical Society and the message I bring is one of hearty appreciation and best wishes for the rapid growth and prosperity of this organization. The two societies run in parallel lines. We also are interested 'in the acquisition and preservation of historical spots and the erection of monuments, and in the encouragement of historical research and publication of its results and in the preservation of documents and relics and records; and in the promotion of observances of patriotic anniversaries.'

"The two societies can be of great mutual aid and benefit. We have only six chapters in the State at present (1900) and our numbers are small, but our society is firmly established and progressing along the right lines. We will grow steadily and with our growth we will earnestly assist in building up the Alabama Historical Society. Woman has always been either actively or passively a potent factor in the world's history. So let us trust that our quiet influence may be powerfully felt in our efforts to assist

you in making this organization equal to the well equipped societies of other States, notably New York, Massachusetts and Wisconsin.

"The work of the chapters has been educational and patriotic. Prizes have been offered to encourage the study of American history in schools; donations have been given to school libraries and the United States flag has been presented to schools on several occasions with appropriate ceremonies. Patriotic anniversaries are commemorated and public interest called to the great deeds of the past. The chapters contributed money and supplies to hospital work during the Spanish-American War and have aided in all patriotic causes which were approved by the National Society, and have shown a non-sectional spirit truly commendable. An effort is being made by the chapters to locate and mark the graves of Revolutionary soldiers.

"The Andrew Jackson chapter has a bill in Congress in charge of Senator Morgan to make an appropriation for the erection of a monument at Talladega in honor of the men who fought with Andrew Jackson and fell there in the battle of the Creek War.

"Let us unite our energies and never rest, until we have, like other States, a suitable building in which to store our records and relics, a corps of trained officials and sufficient assured income from the State to sustain all expenses.

"You are engaged in most interesting, valuable and patriotic work and I am sent here to promise you the hearty coöperation of the Alabama Daughters of the American Revolution.

"As of interest I append some facts concerning the Daughters of the American Revolution work in Alabama.

"Mrs. J. B. Morson, of Birmingham, was the first State regent, appointed April 5, 1894. The National Society had only been organized three years; the work was new and at first she found it difficult to interest the public, but during her administration two large and flourishing chapters were organized.

"Mrs. J. Morgan Smith, of Birmingham, was the second State regent; she was appointed on February 27, 1897, and is still holding the office. She is very popular and efficient. Four other chapters have been added since her election, and others are in process of formation, the fruits of her enthusiasm and energy.

"The list of chapters at present (1900) is as follows:

"General Sumter Chapter, Birmingham. Organized March, 1895. Members, 49. Regent, Mrs. W. G. Estes.

"Light Horse Harry Lee Chapter, Auburn. Organized April 8, 1896. Members, 31. Regent, Mrs. P. H. Mell.

"Andrew Jackson Chapter, Talladega. Organized January 25, 1898. Members, 19. Regent, Mrs. J. H. Johnson.

"Peter Forney Chapter, Montgomery. Organized May 24, 1898. Members, 30. Regent, Mrs. J. M. Wyly.

"Frederick William Gray Chapter, Anniston. Organized June 28, 1898. Members, 16. Regent, Mrs. H. D. Barr.

"Martha Wayles Jefferson Chapter, Opelika. Organized July 4, 1898. Members, 23. Regent, Mrs. Geo. P. Harrison (since deceased).

"A number of members at large are scattered over the State, and there are nearly 200 members of the society in Alabama."

SKETCHES OF ALABAMA HISTORY, BY JOEL C. DUBOSE.

On being asked to explain the plan and scope of a history of Alabama which he had in press, Prof. DuBose said: "An experience of many years in the school-room has demonstrated to me the need of a convenient volume giving a summary of the leading facts and impulses of the peoples through whom has been developed the history of Alabama. I had long hoped to see this volume from the pen of Dr. Wyman or some other competent scholar, but as it did not appear I concluded to prepare it myself.

"I have named my offering 'Sketches of Alabama History.' My purpose has been to help stimulate the spirit of historical investigation, and to create a genuine interest in the history of Alabama. I have attempted something more than the compilation of a dry calendar of facts. I have respected the literary form as well as the subject matter, knowing that the young especially are captivated by the charm of manner as well as by the feast of facts. I have appreciated the impossibility of treating satisfactorily in a small volume the many important physical conditions and the historical events and characters of this great Commonwealth, but I have tried to present in compact form the outlines of history sufficiently complete for lasting impressions.

"I believe the discussion of a few men with more than passing mention will create more abiding and profitable impressions than will a rapid treatise of many men. I have therefore made prominent and distinct the tendencies of history through the lives and

characters of the master spirits who led in shaping the destinies of the State. I have grouped facts about De Soto, Bienville, McGillivray, Weatherford, Sam Dale, George S. Gaines, Andrew Jackson, Burr, A. B. Meek, William R. King, Francis Strother Lyon, Hilliard, Yancey, Admiral Semmes, General Joseph Wheeler, Hobson, John T. Morgan, the governors and great educators. I have chapters on French Colonies, Reconstruction, the Ku Klux Klan, Mrs. Emma Sansom Johnson, the Negroes, Geography and Industries, Politics, Literature.

"The chapters are cumulative, and are arranged with the view of giving a true chronological order of the growth of the State and of the spirit that animated the people in all its history. I have endeavored to blend incidents of chivalry and romantic life with the sterner facts of business and social conditions. I commit my volume to parents and teachers, to all lovers of Alabama, with the hope that it may serve a noble and patriotic purpose in its mission of education."

Mr. Hamilton said: "There is great need for such a work as that of Prof. DuBose. I must confess that except for the Latin period of which I have made a special study, I know little of the history of Alabama. With Greek, Roman, English, and even other American histories I am more or less familiar, but have little information about the growth of my own State and the lives of her prominent citizens, some of whom were really great men. What is true of myself I am satisfied is true of the vast majority of our citizens. A dry record would not greatly remedy the evil, but I think the plan of Prof. DuBose has a special value in that it groups the story around interesting men and prominent events. It will fascinate while it instructs and I wish him the full success which he deserves."

Dr. W. H. Blake said that while the plan of Prof. DuBose was admirable and would meet a favorable reception, he hoped to see a full and exhaustive history of the State, covering the whole life of the State, and embracing all subjects of its annals. He wished data about early forts, roads, lands, etc. Turning to Dr. Wyman he asked how soon his promised history of the State might be expected. No one he thought was as well equipped for such work, and he was anxious to see it in print.

Dr. Wyman responded at once expressing his appreciation of

the complimentary intimations from Dr. Blake. But he wished to make in a certain sense a confession. He had never during the period of his studies in Alabama history promised, or even intimated, that he would publish a history of the State. It was true that he had long been profoundly interested in its early annals. He had acquired much information, and collected a number of ancient books. He had also done what he could to promote similar work by others. But he did not now think, irrespective of what he may have hoped in earlier years, that he would ever publish any work involving the history of the State.

CENTENNIAL OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The Secretary read a communication from Miss Grace King, of New Orleans, in which she projected suggestions and plans for the celebration of the centennial of the Louisiana purchase in New Orleans, La., in December, 1903, and asked the coöperation as far as possible of the Alabama Historical Society.

CELEBRATION IN 1902 OF THE SECOND CENTENARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ALABAMA IN 1702.

After Miss King's communication had been read Mr. Hamilton said: "There is an anniversary of even greater importance to Alabama. We all recollect that while the Spaniards made no permanent settlement within our bounds, the French in 1699 built a temporary fort at what is now Ocean Springs in Mississippi, and then, after exploring in different directions, selected as their permanent base of exploration and the capital of half the continent what is now called Mobile. They located it in 1702 some twenty-seven miles up the Mobile river, and then in 1710 on the site where Mobile has ever since remained. The settlement of 1702 should be properly celebrated upon its second centenary. There could be no more interesting occasion than the Anglo-Saxon celebration of the Latin settlement two hundred years ago, and its value for historical purposes can hardly be overestimated."

Capt. Ward said that he believed in the educational and patriotic value of centennial and anniversary exercises, and was in favor of the celebration in 1902 of the second centenary of the first settlement of the State in accordance with Mr. Hamilton's suggestion. He therefore offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That Peter J. Hamilton, *chairman,* Dr. W. S. Wyman, and Thomas M. Owen be and they are appointed a committee, who are hereby given the power and whose duty it shall be, under the auspices of the Alabama Historical Society, to provide for and conduct the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the State in 1702, said celebration to be held at such time and place in 1902 as to them may be advisable.

2. That in carrying out this resolution, said committee is given full authority over any and all matters whatsoever in connection therewith so far as concerns the Society, except the privilege of contracting debts in the name thereof.

THE YEAR OF TECUMSEH'S SOUTHERN VISIT.

Prof. H. S. Halbert, on being called, expressed his pleasure at being present. He had come from the sister State of Mississippi to attend these exercises, and felt amply repaid. He did not care to make any extended remarks, but would make a few observations on a mooted point in our early history. Continuing he said:

"As there has been more or less historical discussion relative to the time of Tecumseh's visit to the South, whether it occurred in the fall of 1811, or the spring of 1812, I wish to give two reasons which seem to me conclusive that this visit was in 1811.

"The first reason is based upon two extracts from the American State Papers, published in Halbert and Ball's *Creek War,* p. 64, in the first of which it is stated that Tecumseh, attended by twenty warriors, left Vincennes for the South August 5, 1811. Ten days' travel southward, at the rate of thirty miles a day, would surely bring him down into the very heart of the Chickasaw nation. In the second extract written at Nashville, September 10, 1811, the writer says, among other things:

"'As I passed through the Chickasaw nation, a respectable man of that nation informed me that a deputation of eighteen Northern Indians and two Creeks were on their way to the Creek nation, but would not tell their business.....The party consisted of six Shawnees, six Kickapoos, and six of some tribe far in the Northwest, the name of which they refused to tell.'

"The twenty men mentioned in this extract were unquestionably Tecumseh's party. It does not appear that the writer gives the time when he himself passed through the Chickasaw nation, but it was most probably in August.

"Passing now from this documentary evidence, I come to the second reason. It is the statement of an old Choctaw friend,

Charley Hoentubbee, of Neshoba county, Mississippi, who, on the authority of his father, Hoentubbee, states positively that it was in the summer time when Tecumseh came among the Choctaws, and that he was about five or six weeks among them. I may here add that all the Choctaw traditions I have ever heard agree that Tecumseh came from the Chickasaw nation down to the Choctaws. Giving Tecumseh about ten or twelve days among the Chickasaws, he must have arrived among the Choctaws about the last of August. Hoentubbee always said that it was warm weather when Tecumseh was among his people. September is almost invariably a warm month in central Mississippi, and the Indians might well consider it a part of summer. We know that when Tecumseh left the Choctaws he went over among the Creeks. Here Mr. Pickett's statement that he came among the Creeks in the spring of 1812 is untenable. If it were true that he came among the Creeks in the spring, then the five or six weeks he spent among the Choctaws must have been about the close of winter, when there is always more or less cold weather. This would not harmonize with the Choctaw tradition just mentioned. I have the utmost confidence in this tradition, for Hoentubbee is a truthful man, and I feel sure that he correctly repeated to me his father's statements. To sum up the whole matter, based upon printed records and traditions, Tecumseh was surely among the Chickasaws in August, 1811, among the Choctaws, in the latter part of August, and in all of September, and among the Creeks and Seminoles in October and perhaps a part or all of November. From the Creek nation he returned North, where history finds him on the upper Wabash in the last days of 1811, or the early days of 1812.

"Before concluding, I feel constrained to say that the name Hoentubbee, spelled according to the usual English method, is composed of three words: Hoyo, 'to seek,' *a*ya; (first *a* nasal), 'to go along, to travel,' and abi, 'to kill,' the connective 't' uniting the last two words. The name may be translated, 'The one who seeks goes along and kills.'"

FIRST CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF ALABAMA INTO THE UNION, 1899.

Mr. Owen said: "At the suggestion of Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby,

one of our vice-presidents, who is now on her way to Europe, I desire to present an account of the State birthday celebration, inaugurated by her and appropriately carried out under her direction in Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1899. I think it well to endorse her efforts, and to express the hope that the repetition of the celebration the coming winter will be equally successful."

Mrs. Sorsby's patriotic efforts excited the liveliest expressions of interest and commendation. (*Program and account printed in full hereinafter.*)

UNMARKED GRAVES OF TWO ALABAMA GOVERNORS.

Mr. Owen said: "I wish to call to the attention of the Society the fact that two of Alabama's chief executives sleep in unmarked graves. These are Gov. John Murphy and acting Governor Samuel B. Moore. Of the former, Rev. T. H. Ball in his *History of Clarke County*, p. 452, says that the Murphy burial place is one and one half mile from the Gosport Church, Clarke county, 'in one of those solitudes in which nature abounds. It is surrounded by a ditch, but the graves where sleeps the dust of Governor Murphy, of two of his sons, of a brother who was a Presbyterian minister, are unmarked, and their precise situation can scarcely now (1882) be determined.' The acre of land on which this private cemetery is located is reserved in the several conveyances as a permanent graveyard.

"When he entered upon his duties Mr. Moore was a resident of Jackson county, but went after the expiration of his term to Carrollton, Pickens county. Here he practiced law, and spent his remaining days. He was in very moderate circumstances, and left no estate. He was a bachelor. He rests in the old cemetery there, and but few know the exact spot.

"Is it not a part of our duty to see to it that these graves are appropriately marked? This could be done by inducing the family of Mr. Murphy to accomplish this worthy object, while a small amount could be raised by subscription to mark the grave of Mr. Moore."

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON DECEASED MEMBERS.

Mr. Owen said: "I desire to announce the death during the current Society year of the following members:

Felix Tait, Sr., on July 10, 1899.
Alexander Eddins, on Nov. 21, 1899.
Wilbur F. Foster, on Feb. 14, 1900.
Lawrence Y. Lipscomb, on March 1, 1900.
John D. Roquemore, on March 12, 1900.
Virginius W. Jones, on May 2, 1900.
Bishop Henry M. Jackson, on May 4, 1900.
Bishop Richard H. Wilmer, on June 14, 1900.

It is the custom in organizations similar to ours to have a short hour devoted to memorials to deceased members. It is certainly in accordance with an exalted sentiment. I now suggest that if any present desire to pay tribute to any of these members they do so. Of course formal sketches will appear in our 'Necrology.'"

James H. Fitts said that he would be glad if he could pay fitting tribute to the splendid characters and exalted worth of the two eminent churchmen of Alabama who had been called to their eternal reward. He sketched briefly the life and work of Bishop Jackson. He found no words in which to adequately portray the mental picture he had of Bishop Wilmer. Lovable and beloved, he was one of the living potentialities of the State. He then recounted a number of excellent anecdotes which are accredited to Bishop Wilmer.

Mr. Crenshaw said: "It is hard to find words sufficiently appropriate to express our sorrow for a departed friend; and on this occasion the difficulty is increased when we remember that this friend was a fellow member of this Society, a fellow alumnus of the University of Alabama, and especially when we remember he was a fellow classmate—for such a relation makes it more our duty to speak of his worth in suitable words. Felix Tait is the fourth member of our little number (9) of the class of 1843, who has left us to lament his death. While intimately associated with him during our collegiate life, we found him to be kind and friendly in disposition, plain and unassuming in manners, possessed of such good qualities of head and heart, that made us love him, and free from faults which would have made him unpopular with fellow students. On account of his modest and unassuming disposition none but his most intimate friends could find his real worth. After his graduation he entered on the business of planting in his native county of Wilcox, where he was honored and es-

teemed for his good qualities of head and heart, which his fellow citizens showed by electing him to represent them in the legislature. Our brother has left us to lament his loss and to imitate his virtues, and may we who remain so live as he lived, that when we come to pay this same debt of nature we may leave some reason for the same good word to be said of us as we now say of Felix Tait."

Capt. Ward also added his tribute to the worth and character of Mr. Tait.

Oliver D. Street said: "Only to-day did I learn, with inexpressible regret of the death of our brother, Virginius Walker Jones. My acquaintance with him began in October, 1885, under circumstances which I still remember with feelings of gratitude for his kindness to me on my first arrival at the University of Alabama, where he was then a student. On this the occasion of my first introduction to him, he manifested those thoughtful and kindly traits which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. Enjoying at that institution membership with him in the same college fraternity, and rooming near him, an excellent opportunity was afforded me of cultivating a friendship so auspiciously begun, and of becoming intimately acquainted with a character by nature modest and retiring. The opportunity I improved to such an extent that very soon I became attached to him by a feeling akin to affection, which in subsequent years was not in the least abated. In my daily association with him there, and in my observations of him since, I can say with truth that I never discovered in his character a single moral blemish. Kind to others, modest and pure as a girl, but strong as a man should be in the discharge of those duties which, as a cadet officer, devolved upon him; such was his character while a student at the University. Mentally he was no less strong than morally, and his subsequent career in life, though sadly brief, was successful and full of promise. Mr. President, I would have it understood that this is not the fulsome eulogy so often meaninglessly bestowed by us upon the dead, but words of soberness and truth, to all of which, and more, the character of our deceased brother is entitled. In his death, our Society, and the bar, and the State has each sustained a distinct loss."

Mr. Owen said: "The Society can ill afford to lose the mem-

bers to whose memories we pay tribute to-day. In their death a distinct loss is sustained not only by us but by the State and by the communities in which they made their homes. It was my pleasure to have had a personal acquaintance with each one of the deceased, except Felix Tait and Bishop Jackson. Mr. Tait was one of the earliest members of the Society, and it was his purpose, expressed in several letters to me, to have attended our annual meeting in 1899. When he failed to attend, I attributed it to business engagements, but in a short time I learned the real reason. He was a grandson of Judge Charles Tait, the first federal district judge of Alabama, appointed in 1820 and serving until his voluntary resignation in 1826. Bishop Jackson on uniting with the Society, indicated much interest in our success. He expressed a desire for some one to prepare a complete catalogue of all place-names in Alabama, with an account of their origin and historical meaning. Bishop Wilmer has been a striking and lovable figure in the State for over a generation. He too was deeply aroused to the importance of our work. I have heard it said of Mr. Foster that he was at one period the finest presiding officer in a deliberative assembly ever known in Alabama public life. He was certainly a lawyer of note, as was also Col. Roquemore. I recall the latter, however, more from his strong facial resemblance to Chauncey Depew. At the time of his death he aspired to the Senate of the United States. Of Mr. Lipscomb, I only desire to say here that the statements as to his descent from Judge A. S. Lipscomb are erroneous. He informed me once that they were of the same common family only, and that he claimed no lineal descent from Judge Lipscomb. Our associate, Mr. Street, has given us a true portrait of Mr. Jones. I was in the University with him at the same time. Finally I come to speak of one of the very youngest of our members, one whom you doubtless never knew personally. Alex Eddins was the finest antiquarian of his age I ever knew. He was without an equal for his experience. He had great patience, and never grew weary in research. Had he lived anywhere else than in Alabama, I am sure his conspicuous abilities would have been discovered and utilized. He, however, was permitted to embark at last on mechanical pursuits, and lost his life in the very shadow almost of the State University, where some man of his abilities was and is so much needed."

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Owen then submitted his reports as Secretary and as Treasurer. They were adopted, and at his suggestion and without objection, they were referred to the Executive Committee for such attention as to it might be deemed advisable.

On motion of Prof. DuBose the following resolution, which was in force during the preceding year, was re-adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary is hereby empowered to nominate, enroll and issue certificates to persons as members, resident, corresponding or honorary, who have the prescribed qualifications and who comply with the rules of the organization.

Capt. Ward moved that all of the officials of the preceding year be re-elected, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of the Society for the entire number.

Dr. Blake said that he thought a committee ought to be appointed to report nominations, as some changes might be desirable, and suggested that the motion be withdrawn. Capt. Ward accepted the suggestion and withdrew his motion.

Mr. Owen here arose and said: "There is a matter which I had intended just a little later to bring up directly, but the selection of officials for next year which is now before us, necessitates my speaking of it at once. I refer to a plan which I shall propose to remove the headquarters of the Society to the city of Birmingham. If this is done, as you can see, the selection of our officials must in part at least be made with reference to the change. In regard to the change of base I desire to say that I have for some time felt that I could not properly carry on the work of Secretary and Treasurer away from the headquarters. My residence in Carrollton has prevented me from heretofore mentioning the subject, but now that my home is permanently in Birmingham, the base of operations must be there if I am to continue my present official connection. This is a simple necessity. The work is constantly widening. The exchanges are numerous and are troublesome to care for. If they are sent to Tuscaloosa or the University, unfortunately there is no one to receive them. I cannot care for them at my home for want of space, and besides they must be arranged for use and consultation. The move to Birmingham would be a good one for many reasons, in addition to those just stated. We now have a membership there of over fifty,

and it would be possible for us to have regular monthly meetings. The city has drawn to its borders a larger number of people from all parts of the State than any other of our large cities, a fact of much interest to students who desire to reach members of old families. I am also satisfied that the removal will in time bring to us a handsome structure, in which to store our treasures. Before final action is taken on the subject, it is my earnest desire that a full expression of opinion be had from all."

Mr. Fitts, Dr. Foster, Mr. Street, Capt. Ward and others, made brief remarks, all favoring, with much regret, the proposition of removal. Mr. Moody stated that he saw no escape from the suggestion of Mr. Owen, but must submit to it with great reluctance.

Mr. Owen further said: "I am entirely unselfish in the matter, and am only acting as I conceive for the best interest of the Society. If it is best for it to remain here, doubtless some good person can be found to carry on the work. I promise that my interest shall not wane, but I will do all I can to further promote its interests."

Dr. Blake said that he felt as Mr. Owen did on the proposition for removal, and offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, in order to best promote its objects and purposes, and to enable it to accomplish the most satisfactory results, the headquarters of the Alabama Historical Society be and are hereby removed from Tuscaloosa and the University of Alabama, and are hereby established in the city of Birmingham, Alabama.

On motion of Dr. Blake, unanimously adopted, the chairman appointed him and Prof. DuBose to nominate officials for the ensuing year, and report forthwith.

Mr. Owen offered the following resolution, stating that he did so in the interest of the proper continuance of the work which was continually increasing and widening. It was unanimously adopted on motion of Prof. DuBose:

Resolved, That in order to enable the Secretary and Treasurer to perform the numerous and exacting duties of his office, he is hereby empowered to employ a clerk, or private secretary, whose entire time under his direction shall be devoted to the work of the Society; and the Executive Committee is empowered to fix the amount of compensation of said clerk, or private secretary, said compensation to be paid out of any unexpended funds of the said Society.

In response to an inquiry on the subject, Mr. Owen said: "As Chairman of the Alabama History Commission, I feel that the

compilation of data for our report is progressing satisfactorily. In some quarters I find it hard to secure information, but in the majority of instances, people to whom I appeal are ready and anxious to coöperate. The report will be ready for the next session of the general assembly. The continued delay in the publication of volume one of our *Transactions* is quite annoying to me. It is due as you all doubtless know to the loss or misplacement of all our old records, which renders it impossible to properly present our official proceedings. Although a reward has been offered the books have not been discovered. If after renewed efforts, they cannot be found, the volume can go to press with the material on hand."

Votes of thanks were extended Capt. W. C. Ward for his address delivered at the morning session, and to Mrs. P. H. Mell, Prof. Joel C. DuBose, Rev. C. E. Crenshaw, Prof. H. S. Halbert, and Peter J. Hamilton, for their presence at the meeting.

A vote of thanks was given the secretary, Mr. Owen, for his labors during the past year.

Mr. Moody inquired whether the removal of the headquarters to Birmingham meant the severance of all connection of the Society with Tuscaloosa.

Dr. Foster said he thought that such would probably be the effect, but that on reflection he did not see why the annual meetings could not continue at Tuscaloosa. He therefore moved that the regular annual meeting of the Society should be held in Tuscaloosa during the commencement exercises of the University as heretofore, which motion was adopted.

Mr. Moody again addressed the meeting. He said that the step just taken had filled him with a considerable degree of sadness. Organized in connection with the University, principally maintained by its faculty and the citizens of Tuscaloosa during its fifty years of existence, to remove it now was an act which he could only view with keen regret. He did not doubt the present wisdom of the step, but hoped that the future might bring relief. He thought the general assembly might be induced to do something by which it could be affiliated with the work of the University. The trustees of the University ought to be interviewed, and urged to do something whereby the headquarters could remain at Tuscaloosa. If an urgent appeal were made something

could be done. To meet the emergency, he offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of three is hereby appointed whose duty it shall be to memorialize the board of trustees of the University of Alabama as follows, to-wit:

1. To establish a chair, or department, in said University for the purpose of collecting, preserving, perpetuating, and publishing facts and material connected with the history of Alabama.
2. To call or denominate said chair, or department, the chair or department of Alabama historiography, or by some other suitable title.
3. To furnish the Alabama Historical Society a place in the University for the custody and preservation of its archives.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. Mr. Moody was made chairman of the committee, and permission was given him to appoint the other two members. Whereupon he named P. J. Hamilton, of Mobile, and Joel C. DuBose, of Birmingham.

The following resolution offered by Mr. Owen was on motion adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary shall cause the proceedings and papers of the present annual meeting, together with such other papers, documents, historical material and illustrations and maps pertaining thereto, as to him may seem advisable, to be carefully edited and published.

The committee to nominate officials for the ensuing session made its report, by Dr. Blake, chairman, which was unanimously adopted.

(*For list see page 9.*)

A motion to adjourn was then adopted, whereupon Mr. Hamilton arose and said: "The pleasure which I anticipated in assuming the chair has been more than realized and it is with regret that I reach the end of our proceedings. I have to thank you for the courtesy which you have throughout shown to the chair, and I reciprocate by saying that this is the most orderly assemblage over which I have ever presided. My gavel has been of very little use. It now becomes my duty to announce that the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society is adjourned."

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Secretary.*

Appendix to the Proceedings.

(1) SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1899-1900.

A report of the conduct and doings of the office of the Secretary, from June 19, 1899, to June 18, 1900, with sundry suggestions and recommendations, is herewith submitted.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Following the plans outlined on previous occasions, the work of the Secretary has been carried on during the past year of the Society with excellent results. Continued efforts have been made toward popularizing the Society and in familiarizing the public with its exalted purposes. On suitable occasions the press of the State has called attention to its great importance, and has emphasized its needs. Attention has been secured from hitherto unknown quarters, and it cannot be long until every part of the State will take a lively and serious interest in the work. While not so great as in the previous year, the difficulties attendant upon the proper conduct of the office of the Secretary have been numerous and have constantly increased. With practically no help he has conducted all of the correspondence, amounting to more than fifteen hundred letters, he has personally attended to the shipment of the *Transactions* (volumes ii and iii), and, depriving himself of all vacation, has devoted such time, as well as all his other leisure, to the business of the Society and to the promotion of its interests.

MEMBERSHIP.

As shown by the last report of the Secretary, June 19, 1899, there were on the roll three hundred and sixteen resident members. Since that date, or during the present Society year, June 19, 1899 to June 18, 1900, there have been sixty-six additions to the list of resident members. During the same period the loss has been eight by death. There have been no additions to the corresponding and honorary lists.

The membership additions could have been largely increased by proper effort, but personal and professional engagements have prevented the Secretary from doing more.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The correspondence this year has been more voluminous than during the preceding year. In addition, the large number of papers and documents received have entailed much additional labor in properly filing and caring for them. The work of the office has so increased that its continuance absolutely demands clerical assistance. At least the present Secretary cannot continue the work without assistance. This it is expected will be voted.

PUBLICATIONS.

The *Transactions*, 1898-99, vol. iii, has been edited and published in accordance with previous direction. This work is an excellent evidence of the permanent revival of the Society. It has met a cordial reception at the hands of students and critics.

It is to be regretted that volume i of the *Transactions* is still unpublished. By waiting, however, it is hoped that the lost records may be recovered. New items of interest and value are constantly being added to the contents of the volume. On the 16th instant (June) was received the manuscript of the annual address of Col. B. B. Lewis, who was the President of the Society, 1877-78. Mrs. Lewis has for some time been in search of it, but only recently discovered it in an old box of papers which had been stored. An exhaustive search of some newly accessible newspaper files will doubtless augment the volume.

The following circulars have been issued, viz:

Administrative Circular No. 6.—Statement of Dues.

Administrative Circular No. 7.—Statement of Work proposed by the [Alabama History] Commission. Tentative outline of the Report, Act of the General Assembly, etc.

DONATIONS AND EXCHANGES.

No special effort has been made to secure donations of books or other articles, hence the number received has been small. Numbers of friends and members of the Society are ready to make handsome donations as soon as they can be used and properly cared for.

The appearance of the *Publications* has aroused great interest on the part of other societies, and the exchange list has considerably increased.

NEWSPAPERS.

Finding that circular appeals were of little value, shortly after the last annual meeting, a personal letter was addressed to all newspaper publishers in the State, with a request for a continuous complimentary file of their papers. The results have been most gratifying. There are now received of all classes of newspaper and periodical publications issued in Alabama, one hundred and sixty-four. These are all properly filed and preserved. They should ultimately be bound and be thus made better available for reference.

ALABAMA HISTORY COMMISSION.

The researches and investigations of the Alabama History Commission are progressing satisfactorily, although many difficulties surround the work. It is confidently expected that its report will be ready for transmission to the coming session of the general assembly. Reference is made to a previous report (*Trans.*, vol. iii, 1898-99, p. 20), for an account of the establishment of the Commission.

PERIODICAL.

Owing to the discussion at the last annual meeting (*Trans.*, vol. iii, 1898-99, pp. 16, 19), in which the inauguration of a magazine by the Society was urged, it is proper to explain that this was not done owing to lack of time by the Secretary in which to edit and generally look after the publication. It is still felt that such a publication would be of great value in upbuilding the interests of the organization. In Virginia, Texas and South Carolina quarterly historical periodicals are issued by their State Societies, and apparently with much success.

OLD ST. STEPHENS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On May 26, 1900, the Old Stephens Historical Society (organized Jan. 19, 1899), held its annual meeting and elected officers. The members met

on the site of old St. Stephens, and enjoyed a picnic and outing. Hannis Taylor, one of the members of our Society was present, and delivered an address. The Society has not yet issued any publications.

NECROLOGY.

The following members have died during the year: Alexander Eddins, Tuscaloosa; Wilbur F. Foster, Esq., Tuskegee; Bishop Henry M. Jackson, Eufaula; Virginius W. Jones, Esq., Camden; Lawrence Y. Lipscomb, Esq., Bessemer; John D. Roquemore, Esq., Montgomery; Felix Tait, Esq., Rock West; and Bishop Richard H. Wilmer, Mobile. Appropriate sketches of each will be prepared.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion the hope is expressed that the year's work may be found satisfactory and that more loyal and zealous interest may be shown by every member in order that the future may show still better results.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Secretary.

(2) TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE 19, 1899, TO JUNE 18, 1900.

The Treasurer respectfully submits herewith his annual report, viz:

Receipts.

1899.		
June 19.	To amount of balance on hand June 19, 1899, (*See Transactions*, vol. iii, p. 22),	$116 44
Aug. 23.	To State appropriation for fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1899, (*See* Acts, 1898-99, p. 65),	250 00
1900.		
March.	To State appropriation for fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1900, (*See Ibid.*),	250 00
June 18.	To annual dues and sales of volumes of the *Publications*,	507 00
		$1,123 44

Expenditures.

1899.		
June 20.	By amount to W. R. Garrett, expenses Nashville, Tenn., to Tuscaloosa and return,	$17 00
June 20.	Hotel expenses at McLester house, of Mr. Garrett,	3 50
June 23.	Daily News, Birmingham, 10 copies of paper with account of annual meeting,	50
July 10.	George Hoss, drayage in Birmingham.	25
July 10.	Express 15 volumes *Transactions*, vol. ii at 13 cts. each;	6 76
July 25.	Express 37 volumes *Transactions*, vol. ii at 13 cts. each,	
July 29.	Postage on 20 copies of the *Transactions*, vol. ii, mailed between June 20 and July 29 at 14 cts. each,	2 80
July 29.	Roberts & Son, stationery,	29 41
July 31.	West Alabamian Co., printing,	8 00
Aug. 10.	Freight on shipment of Roberts & Son, stationery (paid by Howell & Graham),	1 21
Aug. 25.	West Alabamian Co., printing,	1 50
Aug. 30.	Harrisburg Publishing Co., on account printing vol. ii, *Transactions* (State appropriation),	250 00
Sept. 2.	Wash Guyton, hauling boxes of vol. ii, *Transactions* from Reform to Carrollton,	2 00
Sept. 4.	West Alabamian Co., printing,	4 50
Sept. 19.	Express on shipment from Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines,	75
Sept. 22.	Express on shipment from N. Y. Historical Society, New York,	1 00
Sept. 23.	Express on shipment to P. J. Hamilton, of Alabama History Commission stationery,	45
Sept. 23.	Express on shipment to C. C. Thach, of Alabama History Commission stationery,	50
Sept. 29.	Express on shipment from Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Neb.,	2 85
Oct. 4.	Balance in full Harrisburg Pub. Co., printing vol. ii, *Transactions* (*See* Aug. 30, 1899, *supra.*),	139 48
Oct. 4.	By amount to Harrisburg Pub. Co., freights,	28 61

Oct. 9.	Roberts & Son, typewriter ribbon,	75
Oct. 9.	Express on shipment from American Jewish Historical Society, Washington, D. C.,	75
Oct. 14.	Express on shipment to Harrisburg Publishing Co., "copy" for vol. iii, *Transactions,*	45
Oct. 14.	Express on shipment from Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.,	45
Oct. 15.	Express on shipment to Col. S. W. John, Birmingham, Ala.,	45
Oct. 18.	Postage on 206 copies vol. ii, *Transactions,* at 14 cents each,	28 84
1900.		
Jan. 27.	Express on shipment from N. H. Historical Society, Concord,	2 05
Feb. 8.	Express on shipment Mrs. E. K. Smith, Sewanee, Tenn.,	45
Feb. 8.	Express on shipment from Miss Alice Trimble, New Vienna, Ohio,	50
Feb. 24.	Express on shipment from Ayres & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.,	95
Mch. 8.	Harrisburg Publishing Co., on account printing vol. iii, *Transactions* (State appropriation),	250 00
Mch. 12.	Express on shipment from State Auditor, Jackson, Miss.,	25
Mch. 19.	Express on shipment papers from T. L. Cole, Washington, D. C.,	25
April 2.	West Alabamian Co., printing,	4 25
April 3.	W. P. Owings, hauling books from Carrollton to Reform, Ala.,	4 00
April 3.	M. & O. R. R. Co. and A. G. S. R. R. Co., freight on 3,000 pounds books for the Society, at 20 cents per hundred,	6 00
April 7.	Post Office box rent April-June, 1900, in Birmingham,	2 50
June 15.	A. G. S. R. R. Co., freight on papers,	68
June 16.	Postage June 19, 1899, to date for the Society,	45 00
June 16.	Postage for Alabama History Commission,	5 00
June 16.	Postage for mailing vol. iii, *Transactions,*	60 00
June 16.	Miscellaneous items of expense,	3 67
June 16.	Harrisburg Publishing Co., balance due for printing vol. iii, *Transactions,*	186 84
June 17.	Roberts & Son, two typewriter ribbons,	2 00
June 18.	Amount on hand to balance,	16 29
		$1,123 44

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Treasurer.

Birmingham, Ala., June 18, 1900.

II. NECROLOGY.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

Eddins, Alexander McCracken, the son of Alexander M. and Harriett (*Neal*) Eddins, was born in Macon, Miss., Feb. 16, 1873, and died at Tuscaloosa, Ala., Nov. 21, 1899. The former was the son of Benjamin Eddins, and the latter the daughter of Leonard B. Neal and wife Harriett, daughter of Marmaduke and Dolly (*Payne*) Williams. The Eddins, Neal and Williams families were all early settlers in Tuscaloosa. Hon. Marmaduke Williams was a member of the Alabama constitutional convention of 1819 from Tuscaloosa county, and for many years was a prominent figure in public affairs in Alabama. Mr. Eddins was bereft of his father at an early age, and received only a common school education. He had no professional training, and his life had been spent in various subordinate positions and business occupations. About two months before his death he had decided to enter definitely upon a railroad career, and with this in view became an employee of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Co. at Tuscaloosa, and was assigned to work in the yards there. Beginning at the very bottom he was acquainting himself with all the details of his service, thus preparing himself thoroughly for future preferment and usefulness. Death came while he was at his duties. A lever, which was under a car upon which he and a companion were at work, flew up suddenly, striking him a terrific blow on the lower jaw, breaking his neck. He arose, walked a few steps, and soon became unconscious, and died within an hour. The skin was not broken and his death was evidently without pain. He took much interest in his labors, and would doubtless have been rapidly advanced. He was a Baptist, and was an earnest Sunday school worker. He was not married. His mother, two brothers and a sister survive him. It was not in mechanical pursuits or material occupations, however, that the life of Mr. Eddins should have been spent. He was by instinct and habit an antiquarian of rare gifts. For many years he had been a collector. He understood the value of old stamps, old coins, autographs, manuscripts, books and newspaper files. Much that he gathered was sold to other col-

lectors and to librarians, but he was prodigal of his treasures and gave them away to others interested like himself. Aside from occasional commercial considerations, his collecting was without special purpose. Appreciating everything within the limits of the field of the antiquary, he allowed nothing to escape. However, he rarely by design set out to locate or discover particular objects. Had he been congenially placed and his talents cultivated, he would have demonstrated qualities of the highest usefulness. And yet in hailing distance of a great State institution so much in need of service such as he could have so signally rendered, he was permitted to enter upon mere manual labor, in which his life was lost. On June 21, 1898, his name was placed on the roll of the Alabama Historical Society.

FOSTER,[1] WILBUR FISK, was born in Louisburg, Franklin county, North Carolina, Sept. 3, 1841. His father was Benjamin Franklin Foster, a prominent citizen of North Carolina, and his mother was Susan Jones. From both parents he inherited sterling qualities, which characterized his whole life. His mother died when he was an infant a few months old, and for a number of years his training devolved upon his father's sister. He came to Alabama in 1851 with his father, who had married, a second time, Mrs. Rawls (*nee* Drake). From then until the day of his death he was a loyal and devoted son of Alabama. His father settled at Glennville, then in Barbour, now in Russell county. In those days the schools were of the very best and equal to many of this day of far greater pretensions. From the excellent teachers to whom his education was entrusted and under whom he made rapid progress, he went to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1857, and at once took high rank in every class in which he studied. He took his A. B. degree in 1859. His father bought land and property in Macon county and moved to Tuskegee. There the son went on his return from Chapel Hill on the eve of the stirring days of 1860 and 1861. Like all the noble youth of the South he was prompt to enter the Confederate service. He enlisted in April, 1861, in the Tuskegee light infantry, which afterward became company "C" of the famous 3rd

[1] *See* the Montgomery *Advertiser*, Feb. 13, 1900; the Tuskegee *News*, Feb. 15, 1900; *also* University of North Carolina *Catalogue* (1889), p. 127, for further detail.

Alabama regiment which participated in all the great battles of the Army of Northern Virginia. At the battle of Seven Pines, near Richmond, on the first day of June, 1862, he was desperately wounded, and for many weary days and weeks he hung between life and death. When able to rise from his bed he was found to be so disabled as to be unfit for further military service and was honorably discharged. From that wound he never recovered, and to its effects can be traced much of his later illness. With the close of hostilities in 1865 he had to begin the battle of life. He was fully qualified by native intellect and by study and research to enter at once upon the practice of law, but the conditions were such that he preferred to till the soil for a while. He worked on the farm for one whole season. His father's farm had been stripped of everything by the Federals who went through their neighborhood in the spring of 1865. When the natural order of things was in a measure restored he settled in Tuskegee and opened a law office. He was successful as a lawyer and enjoyed a good practice. He had the confidence of the people. He was not a place hunter. Twice he represented Macon county in the house of representatives. He rarely spoke, but when he did it was with a power and clearness that carried conviction. During his last term of service he was elected speaker of the house, and he established the reputation of being one of the best presiding officers who ever occupied the chair. His rulings were fair, his treatment of members just, and all that he did was sustained by a long line of precedent.

As stated above he never recovered from the effects of the wound received in the battle of Seven Pines. He made a heroic struggle and often went about engaged in important law business when he was suffering great bodily pain. Gradually he grew weaker and weaker and his friends realized months before his death, that he was liable to pass away at any moment. He went among them from day to day, as bright and cheerful as his condition would permit, never complaining but always helpful and hopeful. On the morning of February 14, 1900, he died quite suddenly at his home in Tuskegee. He was laid to rest in the Tuskegee cemetery beside his father. He never married. One sister, Mrs. Ida F. Ivey, of Troy, survives him.

His membership in the Alabama Historical Society dates from June 16, 1884.

JACKSON,[2] HENRY MELVILLE. Bishop Jackson died at his home, "Roseland," near Eufaula, at half-past one o'clock on the morning of Friday, May 4th, [1900]. The end came peacefully after an unexpectedly severe and painful illness of only twenty-four hours.

Bishop Jackson had been for some years a sufferer from a chronic trouble, whose recurrence recently prevented him from making an expected visit east, but did not appear unusually alarming until a few hours before his death.

The burial services were conducted by Bishop Capers of South Carolina, on Sunday, May 6th, at 11.30 a. m., a number of the clergy being present, and the interment was at Eufaula.

Henry Melville Jackson, first coadjutor bishop of Alabama, was born in Leesburg, Va., July 28, 1848, and was, therefore. nearly fifty-two years old at the time of his death. He was educated at the Virginia Military Institute and the Virginia Theological Seminary, graduating from the latter in 1873. He was made deacon in 1873 and priest in 1874. For the next three years he was at work in Montgomery county, Va., and Greenville, S. C. In 1876 he became rector of Grace church, Richmond, Va., in succession to the celebrated Dr. Kinloch Nelson, and here he remained till his elevation to the episcopate. While in Richmond he was for a time editor of the *Southern Pulpit,* afterwards merged into the *Pulpit Treasury.* He received the doctorate in divinity from Randolph Macon College in 1885 and from the University of the South in 1891. He was consecrated bishop in St. Paul's church, Selma, Jan. 21st, 1891, by Bishop Wilmer, assisted by Bishops W. B. W. Howe, Peterkin, Thompson, and Randolph.—*The Church Record,* Tuscaloosa, Ala., May 15, 1900.

Bishop Jackson was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, Nov. 25, 1898.

JONES,[3] VIRGINIUS WALKER, eldest son of Gen. Richard Channing Jones and of Stella Boykin, his wife, was born in Camden, Wilcox Co., Ala., August 19, 1865, and died at the same place, May 2, 1900. His father, Gen. Jones, was a gallant soldier in

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[2] *Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893), vol. ii, p. 695-696; also Rev. Walter C. Whitaker's *History of the Church in Alabama* (1898), pp. 281-283.

[3] *See* sketch of his father, Gen. R. C. Jones, deceased, *infra.*

the war between the States, a lawyer by profession and for some years president of the University of Alabama. His mother belonged to a family long prominent in this State. After receiving a high school education in his own county, in October, 1883, he matriculated as a student in the sophomore class at the University of Alabama. He graduated with distinguished honor from this institution in June, 1886, receiving the degree of A. B. Each year while a student there, he won places upon the "honor roll" and "speaker's list" of his class, and on each public occasion in which he participated acquitted himself with credit. His address as president of the Erosophic Society at its annual celebration in 1886, was extensively and favorably criticized by the press of the State. He was a member of the Phi Delta Theta fraternity, and in his senior year was made captain of company "C" of the corps of cadets, an appointment which under the rules of the University was awarded only to those showing the highest degree of merit. After graduation he taught one year at Forest Home, Ala., and for two years he taught the first grade in Dallas academy, Selma, Ala. He severed his connection with this institution in June, 1890, to enter the legal profession. In the catalogue of this school issued in July, 1890, the management bear testimony that he "had made a handsome record, both as a teacher and man;" that he was "a gentleman of talent, highly cultivated, and of exalted character;" that his success in the school-room had given "promise of his taking the highest rank in the profession;" and that it was "with regret that they accepted his determination to enter another field of labor." In June, 1890, the honorary degree of M. A. was conferred upon him by his alma mater, and in October of the same year he entered the University as a law student, receiving in June, 1891, the degree of LL. B. He entered at once upon the practice of law in his native town, and pursued it with unusual success until death cut short a very promising career. In 1896 he was prominently mentioned by the press of his district for congress, though not a candidate. He was chosen in 1898, to represent his county in the proposed constitutional convention, which was not held because of the repeal of the act calling the same by a special session of the general assembly. He was a member of the Camden Baptist church and was active in its councils and works. His death came as the end of a lingering illness which

began in January, 1900. He became a member of the Alabama Historical Society, June 28, 1892.

LIPSCOMB, LAWRENCE YANCEY, the son of John Anderson and Mary (*Wiggins*) Lipscomb, was born near Gainesville, Sumter county, March 16, 1855; and died at Bessemer, Jefferson county, Ala., March 1, 1900. His father was a native of King William county, Va., and his mother was from Fulton, Sumter district, S. C. He received his early education in the common schools of Sumter county, and attended Neophogen College, Tenn., 1873-74. He later entered Cooper Institute, Mississippi, from which he graduated in June, 1877. After a course of private instruction, he was admitted to the bar in Camden, Wilcox county, Ala., in 1885. In 1886 and 1887 he practiced law in Meridian, Miss., with Judge Whitaker. He located in Bessemer in 1888, and there continued the practice until his death. He served for a time as city solicitor of Bessemer, was president of the Bessemer commercial club one term; was a member of the Knights of Pythias, and of the Fraternal Union of America; and a member of the Presbyterian Church. He was a Democrat, and served two terms in the general assembly from Jefferson county, 1894-95 and 1896-97. His death was both unexpected and dramatic, being the result of an apoplectic stroke received immediately after he had completed an argument in a case in the Bessemer division of the circuit court. He never regained consciousness, but died in the court room. He is buried at Cedar Hill cemetery. On Feb. 14, 1878, he married Mary Grace Pharr, of Wilcox county, Ala., who, with two sons and two daughters, survives him. Mr. Lipscomb joined the Alabama Historical Society Dec. 9, 1898.

ROQUEMORE,[4] JOHN DUPREE, the son of Zachariah and Julia Ann (*McGibony*) Roquemore, was born in Barbour county, Ala., Aug. 27, 1846, and died in Montgomery, Ala., March 12, 1900. His father was born in 1800, and his mother was born in 1810. Zachariah Roquemore and wife came to Alabama in 1836, first settling in Russell, but later in Barbour county. He was a planter, and died in 1868.

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[4] *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 1076-82, *portrait;* and *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 325.

The early education of Mr. Roquemore was received in the country schools and the town of Eufaula. He entered the University of Alabama in 1862, but did not complete his course. In 1864 he closed his books and joined Nelson's rangers, a company which was assigned to duty as escort to Gen. Stephen D. Lee. In this service he continued to the close of hostilities. Returning home he at once began the study of law, and in May, 1867, at Clayton, Ala., was admitted to the bar. He at once opened an office at Eufaula, where he entered upon a career of usefulness and honor. He was an ardent Democrat, and in 1874, he participated in the memorable campaign which resulted in the overthrow of Republican domination in Alabama, being president of the first white man's club organized in Barbour county. During this time his professional reputation had widened, and on the death of Fern Manly Wood, of Opelika, one of the commissioners appointed to codify the laws of 1876, Mr. Roquemore was named as his successor. In 1878 he entered the State senate from Barbour, and in the session of 1880 he was elected as president to succeed Hon. William G. Little, who died in office. His alma mater conferred on him the honorary degree of master of arts in 1885. In 1886 he formed a partnership with Joseph M. White, Esq., and together they removed from Eufaula to the city of Montgomery. There they continued the practice. In 1887, attracted by the enlarged business opportunities of north Alabama, Mr. Roquemore went to Decatur, where his firm opened a branch law office. In this new field he soon became identified with many of the most important business enterprises, being president and counsel of the Water Works Company, vice-president and counsel of the Street Railway Company, president and counsel of the Exchange Bank, and a director in the Decatur Land, Improvement and Furnace Company. The demands of his practice increasing, however, he returned to Montgomery, where he continued in the law until his death. His last association was with his son under the name of John D. and C. H. Roquemore. He was a Baptist. He was a Knight Templar Mason, and a Knight of Pythias.

Mr. Roquemore was a man of striking appearance, of perfect manners, of an earnest temperament, and of high character. His mind was essentially adapted to the law, and his professional ca-

reer embraced a number of cases in which novel questions were presented and a favorable adjudication secured by him. Notable cases in point are Central R. R. & B. Co. vs. Carr, 76 Ala., and Central R. R. & B. Co. vs. Smith, 76 Ala.

On January 29, 1867, in Eufaula, he was married first to Mary Linguard, daughter of James Linguard Hunter and wife Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of Gen. Reuben and Mary (*Gill*) Shorter. James L. was the son of John Linguard Hunter, from Charleston district, S. C., to Barbour county, Ala., and who was the son of John Hunter, of Scotch ancestry. The Linguards are of French origin. Mrs. M. L. Roquemore died June 13, 1882, leaving five children: (1) Charles Hunter, (2) Annie Dupree, (3) Mary Linguard, (4) John Dupree, and (5) Zach. On Oct. 26, 1887, he married, second, Henrietta L., daughter of Capt. David Brown, of Boston, Mass., by whom he had four children. Mr. Roquemore is first found a member of the Alabama Historical Society in 1883, from which year to 1886 he was one of the honorary vice-presidents.

TAIT,[5] FELIX, the second son of Captain James Asbury and Elizabeth Caroline (*Goode*) Tait, and grandson of Charles Tait (U. S. senator from Georgia, and first federal judge in Alabama) was born Nov. 13, 1822, near Black's Bluff, Wilcox county, Alabama, and died July 10, 1899, at his home near Rock West. He was educated at Howard College, and at the University of Alabama, where he took the degree of A. B., class of 1843. He received the honorary degree of A. M., 1850.[6]

He was among the first to volunteer in the Mexican War, and maintained himself and his horse at his own expense throughout the entire struggle. On Sept. 10, 1850, he married Narcissa Goree, daughter of John Rabb and Sarah Elizabeth (*King*) Goree,[7] of Marion, Alabama, purchased a plantation on the Ala-

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[5] For an account of his maternal ancestry *see* Goode's *Virginia Cousins* (1887), *passim*. *See* Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 443, for a sketch of Judge Charles Tait; also Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, vol. vi, p. 20.

[6] *See* University *Register*, 1878, p. 21, and the *Register*, 1901, p. 69.

[7] James Lysle Goree and wife Martha Rabb, the parents of J. R. Goree, came with their family from near Charleston, S. C., at an early day, and located at Marion, Ala., where he died. His wife died in Arkansas. The parents of Sarah Goree were Gen. Edwin Davis and Ann Alston (*Hunter*) King, of Ga., but early settlers in Marion, where they died. Gen. King was in the Creek War.

bama river, and erected a home. He was a trustee of the University of Alabama, 1856-1861; and represented Wilcox county in the lower house of the general assembly of Alabama, 1857-1861. When the contest between the North and the South began, he volunteered and was elected major of the 23rd Alabama infantry.[8] Returning from the field of battle to his home on the Alabama, in 1865, he found that he had sustained losses incalculable, as did every slave-holder of the South. Nevertheless he generously threw open his home and his barns to his fellow Confederates passing through the country. Although Major Tait lived here in comparative retirement, he always took a lively interest in public affairs. In 1874 he was State senator from Wilcox county. He had an extensive library, and was very fond of books, but he made no literary pretensions. He was a Democrat of the "old school;" a man of unquestioned integrity; a true and generous friend. He was of large stature, about six feet three inches tall, well proportioned, and had an intellectual face and commanding appearance. His surviving descendants are Charles Edward Tait, Felix Tait, Jr., Porter King Tait, and Mesdames Annie Moore, Carrie Moore, Julia McDowell, Lallie Bragg, and Nellie Godbold. He united with the Alabama Historical Society prior to 1860, no record being so far found of the exact date.

WILMER, RT. REV. RICHARD HOOKER; died June 14, 1900. See *infra* for elaborate memoir, by Rev. Walter C. Whitaker.

Bishop Wilmer was entered as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, Oct. 8, 1898.

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[8] Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 626, contains a history of the regiment.

III. THE BUILDING OF THE STATE.

By William Columbus Ward,[1] Birmingham.

The beginning of a people is a prophecy of the future state. The foundation and superstructure of a state are made of the units of the people organized into a body politic. As is the foundation so will the superstructure be.

When Cadmus, at the fountain, killed the dragon guarding it, and sowed the ground with its teeth, which sprang up into armed men, smiting and killing each other, that was but the prophecy of the future Greece. In all her history, until subjugated by the Romans, the men of Greece were engaged in destroying each other. The one thing that saved, is that Cadmus carried letters to Greece and the foundation of Athens was laid in letters and her civilization and commerce filled the then known world, and her literature has influenced all succeeding ages.

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[1] William Columbus Ward, third child of David and Elizabeth C. A. (*Carleton*) Ward, was born on a farm near Six Mile, Bibb county, Ala., April 5, 1835. His paternal ancestors migrated from England and settled in southeast Virginia about 1700. His great-grandfather, John Ward, whose wife was a Daniel, and his grandfather, also named John Ward, and whose wife was a Lanier (to whom he is thought to have been married in S. C.) removed to South Carolina in 1775-1776, and settled in Edgefield district. They were both in the Revolutionary War. Returning from the battle of Savannah, the former was killed by Tories, and afterwards in battle the latter lost an eye. A great uncle, son of the first John Ward died of smallpox in the trenches around Savannah. David Ward was born in July, 1791, and after growing to manhood removed to Bibb county, Ala., and, in 1820, was joined by his father, John Ward. The Carletons are also English, and early settlers in Virginia, residing on the Mataponi river (in King George county). Robert Carleton, the most remote member of the family whose name is at hand, was the father of Lucy Carleton, who married her cousin, Henry Carleton, in Va., and about 1783 with his family removed to the Broad river in Wilkes county, Ga. Henry and Lucy Carleton were the parents of Henry Carleton, who married Christina Bohanan, the daughter of the latter being Mrs. E. C. A. Ward. Henry Carleton, Jr., after the death of his wife removed to Monroe county, Ga., and settled on the Towalaga river above its confluence with the Ocmulgee. Henry Carleton, Sr., was acccidentally killed by his brother-in-law, Robert Carleton, Jr., while they were deer hunting.

Mr. Ward was reared on a farm, and prepared for college in the county schools. In 1856 he entered the sophomore class, University of Alabama, and graduated in 1858 with the degree of A. B.; later he received the honorary degree of A. M. from his alma mater; and in 1892 Furman University, Greenville, S. C., conferred on him the honorary degree of

The unity of the Hebrews grew out of the patriarchal character of their origin, and their religious habits and religious literature formed under the guidance of Moses, have preserved the Jews as a people, and influenced and governed the religion of all Jehovah worshipping people since Israel crossed the Red Sea, dry shod.

Britain, subjugated by the Romans and left a prey to the vikings of the North Sea upon the withdrawal of the Roman armies, became subject in succession to the Anglo-Saxon, the Dane and the Norman. These hardy races made the foundation for the greatest empire that has ever existed, unequaled in laws, arms, letters and arts, and to-day wherever the English language is spoken, the power that had its origin in the people of the Norseland is felt and its influence is as wide as the world.

The New England of to-day is the product of Plymouth Rock; in the Virginia of to-day is seen the promise of the settlement at Jamestown in 1607, diminished it may be by the results of one of the most destructive wars that ever cursed the earth. So of the Carolinas, and so of Georgia; it may be said that what they are now is the outgrowth of the seed that was planted in their set-

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doctor of laws. Immediately after graduation, 1858, he was elected to the chair of mathematics, logic and rhetoric at Howard College, Marion, where he remained until April 23, 1861. On that day he marched away with the Marion Light Infantry to Va. This organization became Co. G, 4th Alabama regiment, infantry. Mr. Ward was in the battle of Manassas and all the principal engagements of Virginia up to the battle of Gettysburg, where he was severely wounded, and lay on the battlefield thirty-five days. After his exchange he was transferred to the 62nd Ala. Regt., and became captain of Co. "A." With this command he was in the engagements at Chehaw, Spanish Fort and Blakeley, where with his regiment he was captured April 9, 1865. He was a prisoner at Ship Island until May 1, 1865. Returning home he prepared himself for the bar by private study; after admission was a few months in the office of Morgan and Lapsley at Selma as a student; began the practice in November, 1866, in Selma, where he continued until December 1, 1885, when he removed to Birmingham. At the latter point he has since resided, taking an active interest in education, politics and public affairs. From 1887 for two years he was general counsel for the Elyton Land Company, and has otherwise enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. Mr. Ward has often responded to demands for orations and addresses. At the celebration of the semi-centennial of Howard College in June, 1892, he delivered an address containing the history of the institution. In Feb., 1868, he married Alice Ann, daughter of Prof. Amos Bailey and Elvira Tubbs (*Patton*) Goodhue. The former was born in New Boston, N. H., and is the son of Joseph Goodhue, and the latter is the daughter of Hon. David Patton, of Hancock, N. H. Prof. Goodhue came to Claiborne, Ala., in 1845, where he taught a year; and he was then elected to a chair in Howard College. He remained in Marion until 1873. He died in Gadsden. Captain Ward is a Democrat and a member of the Baptist church. He has six living children. *See* Teeple and Smith's *History of Jefferson County, Ala.*, p. 355, for a brief sketch.—EDITOR.

tlement; and of Alabama it can be truly said that the people of to-day are the children of the men who in 1817 were organized into a territory and who in 1819 were moulded into a state. The civilization that came out of the early settlement of the State grew, expanded and strengthened till 1861, when it met with a check and a shock that diverted the channel in which it was flowing, and it has taken all the subsequent years for the people to return somewhat to the place filled at the beginning of that great struggle.

It is a singular fact that in the settlement made in America by the Latin races they rarely, if ever, left the sea-board or the navigable rivers. They built towns accessible to ocean commerce and depended upon trade with the aborigines in a large degree for subsistence. They did not attack the forests and the French did not make war on the Indians.

The men that made up Alabama as a State came from Tennessee and the Atlantic seaboard; they did not come to Alabama because they were poor or because they were refugees from justice; they were not criminals. The spirit of enterprise and conquest that has ever inspired men of the Anglo-Saxon race, caused the founders of Alabama to seek the fertile lands and the healthy mountains for larger breathing room. They wanted more land, larger plantations, larger ranges for stock and larger preserves for game, and to them there was nothing in the way except the presence of the Indians widely scattered over the large territory now comprised within the boundaries of the State. These pioneers came with their families, their property, their negroes, located their settlements, built their homes and cleared their farms. The State was at that time known as part of the Mississippi Territory, and had been a part of the domain of Georgia, and we know that laws already existed here. These men brought law with them and as soon as they were settled they became subordinate to the laws of the land, then embraced in the Mississippi Territory. The Anglo-American carries with him the common law wherever he goes. It has come to be a part of his brain and his nature. The people located at wide intervals in what they called settlements. They sought out the fertile land watered by springs and streams; reduced it to cultivation, and there made their homes, or they sought, in accordance with their ability, to subjugate the forests and river bottoms, the wide expanse of black phosphate lime soil,

known as the black prairies, covered with the best hardwood and an undergrowth of rich cane. They next cleared larger domains and bought more mules and negroes. They cared very little for towns and cities, and consequently towns and cities did not offer the best evidence of their growth and wealth. These planters furnished the lawyers and judges, the legislators and statesmen who engaged in the building of the State.

The presence of the Creek Indians in all central and southern Alabama did not keep back the hardy settlers. They came among the Indians with no hostile intent, though they knew the dangerous risks they incurred. They squatted on the best lands and were neighbors with the red men. Rapidly the territory filled with them, until the Indians decided there was not room for them and the white men, and then followed Burnt Corn, Fort Mims, the Canoe Fight, Talladega and the Horse-shoe. When in 1836 the Indians became convinced that the white men were too many for them, they consented to be removed. So it has ever been, and ever will be, the aboriginal races will disappear before the stranger; the weaker will fall beneath the blows of the stronger, and the mingled races of white men will possess the earth in subordination to law and order and the wealth that follows in the wake of civilization and commerce seeks repose and enjoyment. Wealth enjoyed in peace is succeeded by enervation and effeminacy and yields to the strong arm of lawlessness and rapine. It happens that wealth in its demands, its exactions and autocratic haughtiness brings its own ruin.

The white man soon became a law, not only to himself, but to the red men. A territorial government organized in 1817 was in 1819, because of the rapidly increasing population inflowing from surrounding States east and north, succeeded by a State government. Then began life in fact, which continued until interrupted by military usurpation in 1865, the nightmare in our political history.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1819.

Nothing better illustrates the character of the men who laid the foundation of our political life than the first constitution framed for the government of the people of the State. No instrument ever conceived as an embodiment of organic law was more grave and dignified, more elevated in tone, more wise in its carefully

guarded restrictions for conserving the rights of the people; and yet more liberal in all the provisions looking to the education and elevation of its citizens. That instrument, as shown in the body thereof, was made for freemen, and free men were white men, for it declares "that all freemen, when they form a social compact, are equal in rights." That constitution, as it declares, was a social compact and under it the people of the new State had agreed to live together.

Their interpretation of constitutional law was the construction then given by a large majority of the people of the United States, and Alabama under that constitution was admitted into the Union. It did not then occur to any one that it was a "league with the devil and a covenant with hell." The declaration of rights would now make an excellent platform for a political party. Will the time ever come when people can return to first principles in government?

The constitution having been adopted and the State admitted into the family of States, its machinery of government was organized. It was duly provided that the territorial laws should continue in force, and that officers under the territorial government should hold office until succeeded by officers elected under the constitution. The first election was held on the third Monday in September, 1819, for governor, congressmen, members of the general assembly, clerks of the several courts and sheriffs of the respective counties. The territorial courts were continued until the general assembly convened and enacted laws. Under the constitution the judicial system provided was substantially what it is now, except that all judges were selected by the general assembly, and what is singular, even the language in which the provisions are expressed remains substantially the same.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

Whatever its defects, under the judicial system then provided under the constitution, there was created a jurisprudence, and there followed a collection of judicial decisions and expositions of organic and statute laws, and elucidations of the principles of common law, not surpassed and rarely equaled in the courts of the other States or of the United States. It is the pride of Alabama lawyers to know the high authority maintained by Alabama de-

cisions on all questions with the courts generally in this country and with law writers everywhere. There was something in the system that produced this, but there was more in the natures and characters of the judges and statesmen who laid so wisely the foundation. It may be vanity, it may be superstition; but there was something in the soil and atmosphere of Alabama that made men, who, like Minerva, sprang from the brain of nature, fully equipped, ready for the battle. But it is more nearly true to say that Alabama deserved the best and got it from the other States. No State offered so inviting a field to the brainy, educated and enterprising men of other States. The planters of small means came hither and grew rich cultivating the land; the merchant, having an eye to gain, grew rich because he had responsible and honest customers, and to the capable lawyers there was a harvest of good fees accruing to industry and skill. Out of these conditions it resulted that in large degree lawyers became the legislators and congressmen. There is one curious fact apparent in the early law reports of Alabama. From the cases cited in the reports, it will be seen that the early lawyers drew largely from Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and the fact is that many of them were from those States and brought with them the best their States could produce. The older States drifted away from the purer sources of legal learning, but the young men trained in their early schools and courts impressed their characters, formed in the better days at home, on the institutions and people of Alabama, so that we acquired whatever was best without the deteriorating influences that have increasingly crept into the government and jurisprudence of the older States. No judicial system was ever so conservative as that of Alabama, until the sweeping ruin that came in with the reconstruction period. It may be said as the result of the work of the general assembly under that constitution and the decisions of the courts there grew up a body of laws evidenced by four separate compilations, Toulmin's, Aiken's and Clay's digest, each an improvement on the other, and finally the code of 1852, prepared by John J. Ormond, Arthur P. Bagby and George Goldthwaite. This was not only a compilation of the statutes, but it was a new code of statute laws. It is a monument of learning, a wonder of concise and perspicuous law English, and it has been the model

for all codes adopted by neighboring States. A learned judge of Georgia, one of the commissioners charged with the duty of preparing a code for that State, reported that in the work of the commission the code of 1852 had been used as a model, and that it was one of the most wonderful bodies of laws produced in modern times. It has been revised and revised, but the old lawyers remember it with regret.

In the judicial system of the State, the justice of the peace must not be forgotten. There were two in every precinct, served by one ministerial officer, the constable. They were men of influence and authority and of great respectability. As the people of the county only had one opportunity every six months to have their controversies settled in the circuit courts, the courts of the justice of the peace, exercising a civil jurisdiction and criminal to some extent, meeting at least once a month for the ordinary disputes of the neighborhood, served a great end. Generally the people abided by the decision of the squire, but when the question involved was principle or character, the litigation did not stop until the court of last resort had passed upon it. Sometimes a three-dollar calf would set a whole precinct together by the ears, and then came the tug of war. It is said that in a neighboring county such a suit involved several years in a protracted contest, the parties incurring costs to the amount of several hundred dollars. The judgment was for three dollars and each party was taxed with the cost created at his instance.

The justice was, however, a great man, and as honor and not money was the incentive, he, if capable, succeeded himself. The habit grew in some instances until sometimes the people forgot to hold an election for a successor. It is told of squire Jere Johnson, in Dallas county, that he had held office for more than thirty years and could scarcely remember his last election. In reconstruction days the carpetbaggers, however, stirred him out. He soon dropped into his old nest; the stealing was not good enough to endanger his place. The justices conspicuous for their good sense relied on Clay's digest, the code of 1852 and the session laws and in their sense of right and wrong. Every question was tried in the court of conscience. Lawyers were not popular with them, as a man learned in the law was supposed to be gifted in making the worse appear the better reason, and the squire did not

like to be mixed up in his notions of justice. A celebrated squire sat once in a neighboring county where the contest was over the hire of a laborer. The neighborhood gathered at the place of trial to hear the case. After all the evidence had been gathered from all the testimony of many witnesses, the squire gave judgment in favor of the plaintiff for $3. The plaintiff declared he would appeal to the circuit court. The squire indignantly inquired: "What! you appeal from my judgment?" The plantiff replied, "Yes, he would go where he could get justice." The squire answered, "There is no appeal from my court. Such a thing was never heard of." The unhappy plaintiff said the law gave him the right to appeal, and he was a free man and he would appeal. The squire immediately paid the judgment by laying the money on his docket. Upon further refusal, he arose from his judicial chair and gave the plaintiff a fearful drubbing, after which the plaintiff washed off the signs of battle, receipted the docket and went his way, a wiser man. The crowd applauded the wisdom and justice of the squire, and denounced the audacity of the plaintiff. The squire was a court of conscience, deciding cases according to equity as viewed by himself. The justice of the squire perhaps tended much to the growth of the prejudice against the lawyers. His time has, however, passed away. His office is now one of filthy lucre, and the criminal mill grinds out its rapid grist to the disgust of all good men.

Because it was necessary that the justice of the peace then so useful in the administration of the law should have forms for his guidance and be instructed in elementary law, there was prepared by Henry Hitchcock, attorney-general, *The Alabama Justice*, which was published in 1822 by William B. Allen at Cahaba, Ala. This is one of the best law books ever published in this State or elsewhere.

EDUCATION.

Connected with the judicial and legislative history of the State, influencing it and being influenced by it, was the educational system of the State. That education should be maintained was imbedded in the constitution of the State, and a solemn covenant was made by the State government with the Federal congress that the grants of land for the promotion of education should be ex-

clusively devoted to the purposes of the grant. As well as they might, with the light and experience of that day, the people undertook the performance of the trust. Lightly as the efforts of that day at education have been regarded, the township school did a great elementary and fundamental work. A great many children in those schools received the rudiments of an education which stimulated them to seek the academies for college preparation, and then the completion of the college course in the best colleges of the country, and they made scholars and thinkers in that day. There was toughness in the education of that day. The student had not much assistance. He was left in the colleges to work out his own salvation, and sometimes he was not saved. In the preparatory schools, the kindergarten was the music of the switch coming into rapid contact with the boy's home-made shirt. The effect of this self-education was to train the young in self-reliance. The State university was then the only state institution, but before the year 1840 the Baptists and Methodists had built seminaries of a high grade for the education of girls, and were followed very soon by the Presbyterians. For young men the Methodists and Baptists began to build and did successfully operate colleges at Florence, Marion, Talladega, Huntsville, Summerfield and Greensboro. The Methodists were particularly active in building and maintaining schools of a high order. During the decade following the year 1850 there was immense activity all along the lines of education. This was stimulated by a forward movement made by the State government. A system of public education was inaugurated and William F. Perry, a great educator of that day, was made superintendent of education for the State. The system had not fully developed in usefulness when the war between the States ended all progress in every direction.

There was one enterprise inaugurated in connection with the University of the State, and which was conducted by and under the direction of Prof. Michael Toumey, of the chair of mineralogy and geology, with the aid of assistants, that has resulted in incalculable benefit to the State, and more recently to the whole country and to the world. It is sufficient to mention Alabama coal and pig iron as in a large degree the outgrowth of the work commenced by Prof. Toumey and for thirty years conducted by Dr. E. A. Smith and under his direction, and then leave the dream

of the future to be worked out after this hour's task has been done. Deposits of iron ore and coal were known to exist, but who, fifty years ago, imagined that Alabama would at this time be the controlling factor in the iron markets of the world.

Of the other and further results of those surveys, of which reports were from time to time and are still given to the public, mention need not be made. It is sufficient to say that the manufacturing and commercial greatness of Alabama in the year 1900 is due to the foresight and wisdom and enterprise of the men of 1850-60. They are dead, and their tombs you may not find, but their works do follow after them.

AGRICULTURE.

A very large majority of the settlers came to the State to engage in agriculture. As rapidly as the government surveys were made and district land offices were opened, the farmers came to the State and located their settlements. Special inducements were offered to the settlers in the act admitting the State into the Union, under which the lands sold to the settlers were exempt from taxation by the State for five years. From the year 1820 to 1830 there was a vast inflowing of population. The State was everywhere covered by the native forests, and in many places the richest lands were densely covered by trees of enormous growth. The hardy settlers as bravely attacked the forests as they had attacked the Indians, and soon the mighty blows of the axe echoed through the vast wilds and the mighty trees made room for the plow and hoe, the avant-couriers of civilization. In this battle with the trees and the cane brake there were some rude and wasteful mistakes. In the cane brake region groves of the finest black walnut, pecan, white oak and cedar fell under the axe, were rolled into log heaps and burned into ashes, their loss to be lamented by the present occupants of the lands. Occasionally there can be found now in Hale, Perry and Marengo counties, negro cabins, barns and fences built of red cedar seventy years old. Like all their descendants, the pioneer farmers lived in the then present, and cared not for the future. The walnut, white oak and cedar were in the way of cotton and corn, and must give place to the promise of present profit. Everywhere a fierce, intense industry prevailed. Forests gave way to fields blossoming with bloom-

ing cotton and tasseling corn, and the hills were crowned with the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the rich. To this day can you recall anything more beautiful than vast fields joined to fields, covered by the ever red and white flowers of the sea-green cotton, anon rising and sinking in waves to the breezes? The cotton field became the madness of the planters. Saw mills and grist mills soon lent the hum of their progress to the industry of the farmer, and comfortable and hospitable homes filled the land. Cotton and woolen mills, though at first not profitable, began to appear and manufacturing towns began to spring up. A home market was easily found for their osnaburg and woolen products. We often hear of intelligent farming, and that the agriculture of that day was rude. This we do know, that the early farmers were prosperous under most adverse circumstances, while under the most favoring conditions, with railroads and markets everywhere at hand, and smoke houses in the great northwest, because meat can be raised more cheaply there than here, the modern farmers have failed, and their mortgaged farms have gone to swell the wealth of the money lender. Why? It must be that during the war the people were educated to have their meat and bread handed to them.

There are some features of rural life in early Alabama which must not be overlooked. They may, in some places, exist now, but if they do they are not often seen and never mentioned. The young men and maidens loved, courted and married in those days as they do now. They went to church and singing school on foot and on horseback, and, as it was called the boy kept company with the girl, and everybody knew what they meant. Soon a boy rode around the neighborhood with a lot of names, and it was a grievous offense to have a bridge made over one's nose. There was a wedding ceremony, a marriage feast, a dance, or singing and playing, and the next day an infair. Do you know what an infair was? The wedding feast still survives, but is the infair a thing of the past? Before the wedding the young man had located a settlement nearby; a cabin, a crib, a stable and a garden had been built, and a spring cleaned out or a well dug. In a few days the happy pair (and such pairs were always happy) moved into the new cabin. The father of the young wife had given her a cow and calf, and her careful mother had given her a good bed, with

abundant furnishings, and a spinning wheel. The young man's father had given him a good plow horse, a few hogs, a load of corn and an extra bed. An oven, a skillet and a pot furnished the cooking outfit; a plain pine table, a few plates, cups and saucers, knives and forks, and they were ready for the great work of life. Soon afterwards, one passing that way would see a milk strainer hanging on the wall by the front door, and just outside a bucket with a gourd in it, where the drinking water might be handy. Lying just before the front step was the yard dog, with his head between his front paws, dreaming of the home he had left and hunting in his dreams. To your loud halloa he rose and gave cry "to the honest watch dog's bark, baying deep-mouthed welcome home." The geese and chickens cackled and crowed in the front yard, and the sheep bleated in the nearby pasture. From inside the cabin came the song of the spinning wheel. In a few years, going the same way, the traveler would see, in addition to dog, geese, chickens, cows and sheep, several tow-headed children, shouting, clapping hands and playing. In the door there would be standing a woman somewhat faded, no longer with ribbon around her throat or hair combed smoothly back, showing roses, or tidily-fitting dress, but with neat apron in front, on which, from time to time, she would wipe her hands. Though appearances had changed, she and the children, and the husband in the nearby field, with shoulders stooped and hat slouched, were happy still, and would not, for all the joys of to-day, wipe out the happy past. The cabin was no longer single. It, too, had grown and multiplied with the family. The field had become a farm and the horse path a deep furrowed wagon road. And so the land filled and prospered. The people labored, fished, hunted and had their frolics, and experienced that "there was fun in the country as well as the town."

Later on we may look in upon another scene. The State had grown and the people had become wealthy. The man who came in a covered wagon, bringing his wife and children, with a few slaves and cattle, to the settlement previously located, had overcome the forest, and was now able to sit on his broad piazza and look out upon his wide domain, from which the song of the plowman came back, and speculate as to the future of the estate when he was gathered to mother earth. From the parlor there came

the sound of piano and song, and the hum of happy voices of wife and daughters, educated in the female seminary where all the then known accomplishments were taught. And they made women in that day—glorious women, who were ornaments to motherhood and blessed mankind. Here, too, the youths and maidens, after a different sort, courted, flirted, loved and married. In that season of the year after the abundant crops were gathered and marketed, the planters, their wives, young men and daughters, gave themselves over to rejoicing. All had their carriages and horses, drivers and outriders, and they went from plantation to plantation, and days and nights were made up of music, dancing and love making. These all ended as such will ever end, in love and marriage, and the marriage feasts, and in those days followed by the invariable infair at the home of the groom's parents. The newly-married were given a farm, and each parent gave a quota of negroes, so that the young people never knew the hardships of beginning life as in the pioneer days.

Well, what of all that rude wealth and elegance built on slave labor? Shall we say let the memory of it rot? Since it did exist, why not let the memory of it perish? Never! The grandest, proudest, purest period in the history of this country and of human liberty existed when slavery was most to be seen and most greatly flourished. It is not denied that there were great and regrettable evils as its outgrowth, but they were being corrected, and but for evil and interfering fanatical agitation by people who knew nothing of what they denounced, would have been corrected, without the terrible consequences of its violent uprooting. Whatever may now be said of negro slavery, the right of it or the wrong of it, it is doubtful if the great forests covering the fertile lands of Alabama, without the aid of negro slave labor, could have been cleared away. Free negro labor would have fled from them as slaves often fled to them. Montesquieu, the great French philosopher, the author of the "Spirit of the Laws," said slave labor was absolutely necessary to bring the forests of a new country into subjection to agriculture. However many may be inclined to apologize for negro slavery, the negroes, black and humble though they were, performed a most noteworthy service in the work of building the State. In a large degree they created the wealth of the State, and were the wealth of the State. Without

negro slavery some of the strongest and most peculiar characteristics of Southern statesmanship and manhood could not have been. The authority and executive capacity of the men were due, in a large degree, to slavery. It created a dominant class and made and maintained the Southern aristocracy. It was a transference of the feudal system of Europe to the South. It was so eminently respectable that one of the strongest aspirations of the intelligent, hard-working poor man was to become a slave owner, so that after the field, the cabin, his next purchase was a negro, and then followed more negroes, and the plantation. The negro shared the respectability as well as the name of the master, and one has never been known to surrender that enjoyment. So great and powerful was this influence that the educated and enterprising man of New England, as soon as he could after he had shed his peddler's wagon and clocks, became the owner of a negro cook and house servant. He made this sacrifice to respectability.

Of the patriarchal life of the planter and his family with the negroes on the plantation, the very best thing ever written was by Miss Betty Lou Clarke, the daughter of Dr. Richard Clarke, an old Fourth Alabama regiment captain, of Uniontown, this State, where she was born and reared. Only a short time before "Diddie, Dumps, and Tot" was published she married a Georgia man, and so, losing her identity, seems to have passed out of mind.[2]

The negro furnished a safe and profitable investment for all classes, and in this way unconsciously became a most important factor in building the State.

For the last thirty-five years his influence has tended to degrade both the white man and himself.

TOWN BUILDING.

As a part of the building of the State the creation and growth of towns was a little peculiar. One can readily understand that many towns as commercial centers came naturally into existence and grew into form, but many of them were established by the general assembly. When a county was formed, in order to suit the convenience of the people, a central point, otherwise unobjectionable, was selected and there public buildings were erected. This

[2] This little volume, the alternative title of which is "Plantation Child-Life," was first published in 1882. Its author, Mrs. Louise Clarke-Pyrnelle, is now (1904) a resident of Birmingham.

was the case with Bibb Old Courthouse, about six miles west of the town of Randolph, where the ruins of the courthouse and jail remained a few years since, and there perhaps the tavern still stands where Noah B. Coker, Esq., a justice of the peace, generously dispensed justice, peach and honey, and where one could have the best hot chicken pie that ever greeted nostril or palate. The legislature of the Mississippi Territory in 1809 appointed a commission of distinguished citizens to buy thirty acres of land which, after reserving three acres for a court house square and public buildings, they were to lay off into half-acre lots and sell on a credit of twelve months. The town so ordered to be bought and laid off was to be called Twickenham. Who would have thought that in that day of red men, bears and panthers any one could have been found who had read Pope? This town was bought, laid off and in 1811 was by the same legislature named Huntsville. The town was most wisely located in one of the most beautiful valleys of America, in the center of lands unsurpassed in fertility and around the finest spring in the world; and it may be that great as Huntsville is, if it had retained the name of Twickenham it might have been the greatest inland city of America. Commissioners were appointed to lay off Cahaba, Selma, Ashville and other towns. Some of the people were of too practical a turn to consult the general assembly or the convenience of the people in their public matters, but built on the navigable streams whose waters then furnished rude transportation for commerce. Boats, constructed for that purpose, slowly conveyed merchandise up and down the rivers, discharging and receiving freight. In many cases the legislature simply declared that the town by a certain name was established. Strange to say that towns thus established still stand. Most of the towns resulted from being selected as county seats. They were as large as the demands of the people required, and some of them were fully grown fifty years ago. When the hoarse cough of the steamboat began to be heard on the navigable rivers and cotton became a factor in the world's commerce, the towns along such rivers grew rapidly and became commercial centers for farmers from the far interior to bring to market their cotton crops. Town building and river commerce soon resulted in efforts at railroad building. This was slow work, and at first awkwardly done, but grew rapidly, so that during the

war the armies could be rapidly transferred from one vital point to another. It will thus be seen that the recent habit of town building is not original. Men so long ago were quick to see the advantages of location for manufacturing and commerce. This was notably the case with the town of Bainbridge, near which Sheffield stands. In third Yerger's Tennessee Reports the litigation in Donelson vs. Weakley, grew out of a sale of town lots, boomed so extravagantly that the court said that the boomer must not take any advantage from his booming.

These towns were centers of education, and according to wealth and prosperity and population, centers of culture and refinement. Some of these, like Tuscaloosa, Huntsville, Marion, Greensboro and Tuskegee, were especially distinguished as places of education and refined culture. The people of Alabama have not rapidly left their farms to live in the towns and cities as they have in the Northern States. In New England manufactures have prospered at the expense of agriculture. One passes through rural New England with a feeling of disappointment. Farming is only truck gardening. The farmers have moved to town. The women preferred to work in the factories, to milking cows, to pickling and preserving. As we get away from our past, this will be the case with Alabama. The women will go to town and starve as seamstresses and saleswomen, because they cannot bear the loneliness of the country.

THE MILITIA.

A militia organization grew out of the perilous times of the early settlement. The Indians were here and nearly always on the war path. Then the English and the Spaniards were threatening and there was more or less lawlessness. In every precinct all men over eighteen and under forty-five years of age were compelled to muster certain days in the year. They were formed into companies, with captain, two lieutenants, and the usual number of noncommissioned officers. Each county had its regimental organization with a colonel, the usual regimental and staff officers. Every year there was a grand county muster at the county seat. These general musters were great occasions. Sometimes they were held on the fourth of July, and a barbecue was often the temptation to make a full muster. There was music by the drum and fife and the shrill notes of "Yankee Doodle" charmed the variegated

soldiers. The candidates were there. Hence grew mightily the colonels, and every county claimed its chieftains by the score. There were brigade and major generals. The military spirit was always strong in the people and was quickened at all times by recitals of the soldiers of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and more recently by the grand achievements of the Mexican War. There was never a time when the masses did not hail with delight the prospects of a war. Truly the citizen soldiery was the bulwark of the State.

THE HUSTINGS.

The fervid patriotism of the people was always kept at a white heat by the free and full discussion of all political questions on the stump by the ablest orators. The people were for a half century almost equally divided between two great political parties, the constituents of which were equally honest, intelligent and patriotic, and the leaders were fearless and wide awake in the exposure of the weakness and wickedness of their opponents. A man with a ragged reputation did not dare to appear as a candidate, for there were always those whose party loyalty was too lax to make them vote for a bad man. The only hope for the weaker for success was to put up the very best man to be had. There was no such thing as a party nomination to be had by fraud, trickery or sleight-of-hand means, and purchasing votes in a political convention insured defeat. It was not possible to win an election at the polls by ballot box fraud. Election frauds were unhesitatingly exposed and election contests disgraced the men elected by fraud. The man who lived in that period of State building sighs in vain for the days that return no more forever. Political corruption simply did not exist. The contests on the stump were occasions of great oratorical display. The speakers of the opposing parties arranged the campaign beforehand and also to divide time, each giving the other an equal chance to win popular favor. It was wonderful what an influence fairness had. The fact that the Whigs nominated their ablest man made it necessary for the Democrats to compel their mightiest champions into the political battle. The ability and integrity of the champions were the boasts of the contending parties and no man ever felt that there was occasion for him to vote for an inferior nominee. As a result there were giants in those days. Wherever integrity and ability were

required, the people sought out the man and compelled him into the public service. How different it is now. In this State there are not now two great political parties of equal merit, commanding the loyalty of their members. Opposing candidates of equal and great ability no longer challenge the support of the electors or meet on the stump. However the nomination may be obtained or by whom, the threat of negro domination compels the party support of the nominee. The presence of the negro in politics is corrupting and produces ills from which there appears to be no possible deliverance. To an American, the greatest of all dangers is the corrupt ballot box. Men of Alabama, address yourselves to the remedy. The saddest reflection that ever comes to the patriot is that the ballot is no longer a guarantee of freedom and liberty and honesty in the public administration. More dishonesty in public affairs is unearthed in one year now than existed in sixty years in building the State. What is the remedy?

THE STATE BUILDED.

Thus has been traced in your hearing the building of the State. It was a grand, glorious, beautiful structure. It was the vision of the prophet materialized; the dream of the statesman, a realized fact, an awakening. Peace reigned in the land and home, and plenty filled the barns. The laws were justly administered and order everywhere prevailed. Such a thing as riots were unknown. Crime was abhorred, condemned and punished. Alabama, my mother, O Alabama! "Glorious as the sun, beautiful as the moon and terrible as an army with banners." Terrible, indeed, to her foes, for when the tocsin of war sounded and the drum beat rolled through the land, calling to arms, glorious old mother, she sent 120,000 of her sons to the field, one-tenth of her entire population, white and black and never one disgraced the bosom that nursed him. Glorious as was this structure, the product of more than sixty years in building, it was destroyed by the madness of an hour. It will be for another groping among the ruins to tell the story of the rebuilding. But mark the prophecy! However grand the State that rises out of the ashes of the ruins of 1861 to 1875, she will ever bear traces of the scars received in dragging through the mire of reconstruction and the revengeful national legislation following the war.

And now, what shall be done to make and complete the record of the building? In the fearful struggle through which the people have labored and in the passing away of the men who had a part in this building, the materials, *disjecta membra,* had well nigh perished. Unfortunately no tombs or monuments were built bearing the tales that were told by one to another that some "Old Mortality" in future years, with chisel in hand, might decipher. A few however, at their own charges have given themselves to the labor of rescuing the deeds of the mighty dead from perishing. Most notably the secretary of this Society, and here and there sons and daughters who have gone to distant States, have labored, saying "Lest they be forgot."

TO WHAT END THIS LABOR?

The boys and girls of to-day will be the men and women to help in the building of the future State. If Alabama has no history, there will be no memory of a glorious past to beckon to a more glorious future. A State founded in sordid meanness will bring forth only Dead Sea fruit to crumble to ashes in the touch. If there is one thing powerful enough to rescue a man from meanness and obscurity it is the memory of a glorious ancestry. To make heroes there must have been heroes to remember, and if there be no memories of heroes in song or story, then, however glorious the past, there must be an ignoble future. We modern Christians feel a pity for those ancient people who preserved in their homes statuettes of dead ancestors and urns in which were kept the ashes of their heroes. Idle worship you say, and idolatry. The Lord then forgive us such idolatry, for we must needs worship the deeds of the dead fathers and emulate the great immortal souls that fired their beings while living. All men and things must have an ancestry; the coward, the ignoble, theirs; the brave, the good, the magnanimous and wise, theirs. Blood will tell. Yes, but send it through the being with a hot thrill.

Recently a bright young school teacher said: "When I talk to my little scholars about some far-away land, full of story and incident, they listen with eager attention, but when I tell them of Alabama, they become dull and listless." Suppose the teacher had told her scholars of the wild war whoop that rang out over doomed and blood-stained Fort Mims, or of the terrible struggle of the

canoe fight, or of the death grapple in horrible Horseshoe Bend, or of the flight of brave Bill Weatherford as he escaped, leaping his horse from the river bank into the dark flowing water of the Alabama below. Or of the more recent and never to be forgotten deeds of Alabamians that ought to be preserved in marble and bronze, song and story. Think you the children would have been listless? How shall these things be preserved? Let the decree go forth that in all the schools and colleges the history of Alabama be taught. To this end let the chronicler be named, the story of the sovereign State be told, and the expenses be paid out of the public treasury. Let it be said, to the honor of the present State administration and general assembly, that something has been done to rescue the perishing and gather up the fragments, lest all be lost.

IV. WAS MOBILE BAY THE BAY OF SPIRITU SANTO?

By Peter Joseph Hamilton,[1] Mobile.

On almost all of the earliest maps, Spanish and French, of the Gulf of Mexico, is found a broad indentation of the northern shore near its centre. On many it is marked Baia or Rio del Spiritu Santo, or some variation or translation of that name. Often there are other marks on the Gulf for rivers or bays, but even if no others are shown, this one is. Sometimes a river, or double river, is given as emptying into the bay, sometimes the reproductions accessible cut off the stream, but from almost the first the bay is landlocked within the shore line, has the characteristics of a double or split head at the north end, and its mouth is narrowed at the Gulf by a projecting headland from the east. Which of our present inlets represents this old landmark, the most prominent of the Gulf ports?

After De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi river in 1541, and particularly after LaSalle descended it in 1682, that great stream became the principal object of interest to explorers. Its importance has overshadowed all other rivers and writers have generally assumed that this River of the Holy Spirit was identical with the Mississippi. This view, however, seems to overlook the fact that there was a bay as well as a river to be accounted for. In writing *Colonial Mobile* I corresponded with that eminent cartographer, Justin Winsor of Harvard, and he called attention to a suggestive monograph on the subject by Walter B. Scaife, in the Johns Hopkins *Studies.*

Mr. Scaife claims that the waters in question represent Mobile Bay and river. Thomassy, the famous French geologist, of New Orleans, who had access at Paris or elsewhere to some maps not now known, had already several times in his *Geologie Pratique de la Louisiane*[2] indicated his conviction that this bay was that of Mobile, and Francis Parkman[3] not only represents LaSalle as believing it but believed it himself. *The Narrative and Critical His-*

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[1] For sketch of Mr. Hamilton, *see Trans. Ala. Hist. Society,* 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 39-40.—Editor.

[2] Page 20, e. g.

[3] *Discovery of the Great West,* p. 410.

tory is not altogether consistent, but at least in the *Mississippi Basin,*[4] almost his last book, Justin Winsor reconsiders the general opinion of the *Narrative and Critical History,* and intimates that the bay in question was used almost interchangeably for Mississippi Sound and Mobile Bay. On the other hand the Louisiana Historical Society restate the claims of the Mississippi.

Evidently, therefore, the question is one of importance and interest, with enough of uncertainty thrown in to give it that piquancy which Lessing declares essential to search after truth. At the same time it is simply a matter of evidence and can be discussed and settled without partisanship.

Columbus himself always supposed that he had reached the Asiatic islands, and he never touched our North American continent, although he explored the shores of Brazil. Hayti and then Cuba were at first the great objects of Spanish interest, but as their explorations progressed they found the mainland of North America, and it gradually develops on the rare old maps which time has spared. In 1513 Ponce de Leon, in a vain search for the fountain of youth, led the way from Cuba to the Spanish colonization of the Florida he named, and, six years later, Cortez from the same island conquered the rich Aztec kingdom, Mexico. This fired others to seek on the shores of our Gulf dominions which would enrich the discoverers and at the same time spread further the sway of His Catholic Majesty. The Mexican Gulf and its islands became Spanish, well explored by their navigators, but unfortunately little is even yet known of their voyages despite the collections of Munoz, Navarrete, Ternaux and others. Their reports and papers may some day be unearthed from continental convents and libraries to enrich history, but for the present we have only meagre outlines and few Spanish maps. From them we learn at least, however, that Mexico (including also our Texas and the Northwest) was called New Spain, and that all east to the Atlantic was also claimed for Spain under the name of Florida.

Let us first study the *locus in quo* and see what the north coast of the Gulf affords in the way of prominent rivers and harbors.

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[4] Winsor's *Mississippi Basin,* p. 76. Cf. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* vol. ii, considering the bay as the Mississippi, and *Ibid,* vol. iv, p. 237, where it is suggested, with an interrogation point, that Baye du St. Esprit of Beaujeu was Mobile.

Beginning from the east we have open to the Gulf Apalache Bay, then the large Apalachicola river, with sickle-shaped Cape St. Blas to its west enclosing St. Joseph's Bay, next Pensacola Bay with a double head, Perdido Bay and river, then Mobile Bay, the largest of them all, Pascagoula river and bay, Biloxi Bay, Lake Borgne, the Mississippi delta, and Sabine river and Pass. Galveston Bay with Trinity river mark where the Gulf coast turns southwest, and from Matagorda it turns south, so continuing past the Rio Grande. It is hardly possible to identify the Spanish names for all, but may we not ascertain which one of these was the Spiritu Santo? It was on the north coast, and of those eleven at least Apalache, Perdido, and Sabine can be eliminated at once. And this must be remembered: if it is a question of bay *and* river, the Apalachicola (or Chattahoochee), St. Joseph's, and Biloxi are out of the race, and the only way even the Mississippi can be considered would be by treating Lake Borgne as one of its outlets.

EARLIEST MAPS.

There are a large number of early maps of various nations in books and in collections. The tests of their value are age and accuracy, and, as they are seldom made by the explorers themselves, neither test can always be made out. Mr. Winsor wrote me once that often old maps confused him and made him more uncertain, and Humboldt's remark is certainly correct that in early explorations distances will be incorrect, but directions approximately true. Almost necessarily we have to consider all the main maps that relate to our subject, making special remarks upon such as seem to be of importance.

The earliest known is one on ox-hide, by Cosa, a companion of Columbus. It gives Cuba and many names on South America, but the Gulf of Mexico, while shown, is conjectural. Peninsular Florida is hardly indicated, for there is not a name on the coast, and a vignette of St. Christopher covers all the other parts that are of interest to us. This is good negative evidence. We had not as yet been discovered.

The Cantino map of 1502 is more in detail, but its left hand margin cuts off all but the point of Florida. The Ruysch map of 1508 shows the definite conception that our Gulf was one on the coast

of China, the Plisicus Sinus. Tebet is on the west coast of the Gulf and the land of Magog includes what is now Alabama.[5]

The next is more important. It is called Tabula Terre Nove, or the Admiral's map, from probable connection with Columbus, and Winsor tells of the romantic origin of its engraving at St. Dié in east France. The map may go back to 1507, but the print dates from 1513.[6] Jan Stobnicza's map of 1512 in the Howard Memorial Library collection is not very different.

The Atlantic coast of North America on the Admiral's chart shows many names, and South America below Isabella (Cuba), Spagnola and the other islands is even better developed. With our Gulf it is different. Even the peninsula of Florida is a flat, sprawling, club-footed kind of a thing, with two names like "Comello" and "Clurtar," that belong almost anywhere. The mainland has a wavy shore line with what seems to be "B. dolivo" and "C. arltar," and then comes the first river, emptying into a bay, and having on its east side the name "rio de como" and on its west the name "rio de la palmas." Close to the river on the west is "lago dellodro," a large open bay. There the names cease, and the coast turns south, until due west from Cuba is a wide stream with three mouths, its delta projecting far out into the Gulf, and between it and Florida are a number of islands. As the large river is unnamed, it may be given from report only, but it must have been from detailed report, and the natural inference, generally drawn, is that it is the Mississippi. If so, the other river and the open bay are not connected with the Mississippi and one or the other can well be Mobile, the largest deep bay and the second river on the north Gulf coast. But where the information came from we do not certainly know. It was not until 1519 that we have any account of exploration.[7]

SPIRITU SANTO—FIRST TYPE.

This was when a Spanish governor of Jamaica named Garay sent out an expedition to find a passage west of Florida,—then supposed to be an island. The commander, Pineda, coasted along the northern shore of the Gulf from east to west, and explored

[5] These three are in Scaife's *America*, etc.

[6] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 34. The map is given in *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 112.

[7] Fiske's *America*, p. 178.

until he came to Mexico. He could not well have missed Mobile Bay, and next year Garay sent home a map[8] embracing his discoveries, which seems to show it plainly. Mr. Scaife thinks that Pineda meant the Panuco by the river which he speaks of as draining the populous province of Amichel, and finds the first mention of the Spiritu Santo to be by Peter Martyr, who distinguishes it from the Panuco and the River of Palms. But if not in Garay's report it is at least on his map of 1520, on which Amichel embraces all the north Gulf coast,[9] and from that time forth on many others. Pineda or Garay, therefore, would seem to have given the name.

This chart establishes the first of the four types of the Spiritu Santo bay which appear on the early maps and this deep indentation of the coast with its eastern offset make up henceforth the most prominent landmark on the northern, as R. de Panuco (Tampico) does of the western Gulf coast. This seems to show it as well known and often visited. Cortez suspected that Garay was trying to encroach on some of his territory and he had a plat made showing the west coast of the Gulf in considerable detail. It also gives the Rio del Spiritu Sancto as the first name west of Florida, —a two pronged river emptying into the largest bay on the Gulf, the bay also with two arms to the east and a small island near the mouth. Five other streams empty to the west of our bay before the Gulf turns south, one near a "P. Arrecifos" (probably for "arreciffes," reefs), being traced to the source, and the two furthest being named "R. de Arboledas" and "R. la palma." Then after what seems to be "Tamacho Pincia," (provincia,) comes the two branched "Rio panuco laoton" in the centre of the west coast, near which is marked "Provincia Amichel," with the word "Archidona" near islands. Here the coast turns southeast and shows in succession the names Sant Pedro, Almeria, and a number of bays and rivers which do not concern our present subject. Several other maps of this time show Spiritu Santo alone or with Panuco, and while both are named as rivers they are almost always pictured as bays.[10]

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[8] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 218.

[9] *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 237.

[10] Fiske's *America*, pp. 218-223; *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, 39, &c. Cortez's map is given in *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 404. Lok 1582 shows a river, Franciscus Monachus names it, as does Ortelius 1570, and Hakluyt-Martyr 1587.—*Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 20, 22, 65, 72.

An important map is a Spanish one said to be of 1527, found at Weimar. Ribero's, two years later, was based on it and may be considered with it. They do not give a west line to Mundus Novus, but the Atlantic and Gulf coast is remarkably accurate and full of names. The former indicates in the interior north of the Gulf that it was land which "Panfilo de Narbaes" attempted to settle, and in this must therefore be later than 1528, while the latter calls it "Tiera de Garay." The sweep of the north coast is correct on the 1527 map, distinctly showing the wide expanse we call Apalache Bay near the peninsula, the projection at the other extremity which we call the Mississippi delta pierced by a river, and almost midway in the swell between is a two-headed bay with narrow mouth labelled "Mar pequena" (little sea, i. e., salt water) and "R. del Spirito Sancto." The map of 1529 shows the mouths of two other rivers emptying into this bay further east, and by the first is the word "ostial," changed on later charts into "ostras." Next east of the bay the coast shows "motas (mounds) de S. Salvador," "ancones" (bays), "medauos" (sandbanks), and several times the word "reciffes" or "arreciffes" (reefs), and one village (aldea) is also given. Among the proper names occur the R. de Flores and Canaveral to the east and Escondido, Madalena, Las Palmas and Montanas to the southwest of Spiritu Santo. There are perhaps a dozen names between the Spiritu Santo and the peninsula, and as many between it and what seems to be Panuco, on both maps. On that of 1529, by R. Escordido is also the name Malabrigo, which will be noticed later. These maps of 1527 and 1529 fix the names and details for all after them. They are much fuller than that of Maiollo, also of 1527,[11] which has east of the R. de Spiritu Santo only a bay marked Abadia de Garay.

The next explorer after Pineda was the unfortunate Narvaez, in 1528. He as "governor of Florida, Rio de Palmas, and Espiritu Santo,"[12] undertook an expedition to Rio de Palmas, but was glad to put to sea for Mexico in rude boats at St. Marks or Apalache Bay. He coasted westwardly, according to Biedma touched in Chuse Bay for water, and some of his men may have died, as tradition asserts, on Dauphine Island. He was himself

[11] In Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, 19.

[12] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 242.

lost from his boat's being driven out to sea by the current of a large river, it may be the Mississippi, but some of his men under Cabeza de Vaca, explored westwardly towards the Rocky Mountains. He or they must have examined the whole north coast of the Gulf, but no account is known of sufficient detail to add to our knowledge.

DeSoto's admiral, Maldonado, is the next known after Narvaez, but his discoveries, except that of the port of Ochus, likewise are lost. Those of DeSoto himself in the interior are hardly better known. His chroniclers mention many names, but it is difficult to identify them. The Gentleman of Elvas is the oldest record and generally regarded as the most reliable. He gives the places visited by DeSoto in the following order: (1) Canasagua, subject to Coça, on a river not named; (2) Chiaha; (3) Coste; (4) Tali; (5) Coça; (6) Tallimuchase; (7) Ytaua in the province of Coca, on a river not named; (8) Ullibahali, on a small river; (9) Toasi; (10) Tallise, near a "main river"; (11) Casiste, a great town; (12) Piache, on a "great river"; (13) Mavilla, in the province of Tascaluza; (14) Taliepatava, in the province of Pafallaya; (15) Cabusto, near a "great river;" (16) Chicaça, after crossing a river; (17) the province of Saquechuma; (18) Alimamu; (19) town of Quiz Quiz, on the "Rio Grande;" and then after crossing that stream, which is the Mississippi, (20) Aquixo; (21) towns of the province of Casqui; (22) Pacaha; and after 100 leagues, (23) Quigaute, the greatest town in Florida; and then, (24) Coligoa. The others do not concern us.[13] Chiaha is near Rome, Ga., Talisee and Toasi near Montgomery, Coça is the sacred Indian City upon the Coosa, Mavilla in Clarke county; but his province of Tascaluza, of which Mavilla was a large town, does not appear on early maps, unless it is as "Tagil." Biedma supposed that the river near Mavilla emptied about 40 leagues below into the Bay of Chuse,[14] but he is the only one to make that supposition. It was in fact the Alabama, for no other stream in that section would require two days for the construction of rafts, and Biedma places Chiaha on an island in the Spiritu Santo River, whose source he also mentions. The Gentleman of Elvas says Maldonado waited at Ochuse, six days journey, which DeSoto had

[13] French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* vol. ii.
[14] *Ibid,* p. 102.

appointed as a rendezvous, although Biedma says that was to be the Spiritu Santo River.[15] The only time the name Holy Spirit is used of what can only be the Mississippi is where Biedma speaks of Quiz Quiz as on that river. Elsewhere he and the other chroniclers call it the Rio Grande.[16] So that intentionally or otherwise, Biedma, who is less exact than the Gentleman of Elvas, does once call the Mississippi the Rio del Spiritu Santo, but Biedma also once (or perhaps twice) calls the Alabama or Coosa by the same name. No mention seems to be made of a map as used by DeSoto in the interior, although his secretary, Ranjel, says the Spiritu Santo emptied into a bay according to a chart, and after the survivors put to sea Juan D'Anasco drew what he said was a copy of a sea chart which he had seen. It may have been that of Cortez, as he mentions the river of Palms; but as he does not name where he thought he was at the time it does not throw any light on our present inquiry.

Cabot's map of 1544 seems to be modeled on that of Ribero. On it appear away to the east the Bay of Miruelo, and the word "culata" is placed by the eastern extension of Spiritu Santo bay. Scaife, who is not a Spanish scholar, translated this as "muddy" but it seems to mean "gunstock," which would very appropriately refer to the arm of Mobile Bay we now call Bon Secours. The accuracy of the exploration is shown by its representing the bay as long, widening to the south, not flat like Pensacola Bay. It fits no other harbor than Mobile. The name is repeated on many later charts, sometimes spelled "Qulata." The west cape of the main bay now becomes C. de Cruz. The river itself appears for the first time, but this may not point to DeSoto, for none of the others he crossed are shown, and some river had of course been implied all the time. Cabot's map is valuable from the fact that it is perhaps the first to show the west coast of Mexico and to indicate the peninsula of California. This is of importance to us as showing that the southern part of North America was already well explored.[17] Homem in 1558 is quite similar, and Ramusio, 1556, also, but has only the bay.[18]

After DeSoto the next visitor, however, was Bazares, sent by

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[15] *Ibid*, pp. 99, 101, 160.
[16] *Ibid*, 105, 167.
[17] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iii, p. 22.
[18] *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 228, &c.

Velasco, governor of Mexico, in 1558, to find a suitable place for a colony. He explored from Mexico north, going eastwardly beyond Pensacola. Tristan de Luna actually settled on our coast in consequence. This expedition is interesting and raises questions as to Filipina Bay and Ychuse. In Davilla Padilla's account of the expedition of the Spaniards in 1560 with the Coça Indians, he says they drove the revolted Napoches out of the towns and these sought refuge at "Oquechiton" or the big water, which was their name for the Spiritu Santo.[19] Shea makes the Napoches to be Natchez and the river the Mississippi; but this could not be, for the river is mentioned as having fords, which the Napoches used. It was therefore some tributary of the Mobile, perhaps, in the Coosa region.

Mercator in 1569 gives a number of streams, R. del espirito santo and Baia de Culata retaining their place in the centre. An indicated eastern affluent of the bay is named Guadalquibir. On the west side of the first river is "Cossa," and upon the next river east (R. de flores) is "Tagil," as provinces, not towns. One would expect by this time some trace of DeSoto's or Tristan's expeditions, but there is none. The Mississippi is not shown by any marks that identify it more than before DeSoto's time. In fact, as Mr. Winsor observes, it was not yet thought of as important, for Mercator runs the Apalachian chain clear across his map, thus making all his Gulf rivers comparatively short.[20] The next river west is "rio de gigantes," and then "rio de piscadores," with the word "Malabrigo" near its mouth, just as it occurred on the 1529 map by side of the "rio escondido." This tends to identify the rivers Piscadores and Escondido, which do not appear on the same map. That of Ortelius in 1570 is quite similar, showing "Coosa" between R. de S. Spirito and R. de Flores next east, with "Tagil" at sources of the latter, while the "rio de piscadores" becomes "Malabrige." This probably points to "Malbanchia," the native name for the Mississippi in French times.

SECOND TYPE.

Thos. Hood in 1592 reverts to a chart form, with only seacoast, and makes R. del Spiritu Santo empty into the northwest corner

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[19] *Historia* Cap. LXVI, p. 215; Essayo Cron. of Cardenas, p. 1560.
[20] *Mississippi Basin*, p. 13.

of a large but flattened bay, having "Ostras" and "Marpeqna" between that and another river at the northeast corner. There are no interior names, except "Florida" to the east. If this is meant for Mobile, the river next east of it and the name "Matas de Salvador" must relate to our Perdido, and R. de las Angeles and R. de Governador represent Pensacola. The latter name, it will be remembered, was often used by the Spaniards for one of the rivers there. Wolfe's Linschoten of 1598 shows a similar Filipina and a separate inlet further east called "Nra. Seno de Ochu," but with rivers differently named.[21] Hood establishes a second type, therefore, with the bay flattened and showing a number of names.

THIRD TYPE.

In 1597 is an interesting map of Wytfliet[22] showing more of the interior than a similar less detailed one of Judalis of 1593. In it the R. Escondido occupies somewhat the place of the three mouthed river of the admiral's map, but the most interesting part is the region about the B. de Spirito Sancto. Two rivers empty into the Gulf not far apart, the western having a bay. The two systems are interlaced, both starting from mountains, between which and the rivers is the name Tali while Chiaha is on an island. On the west river is Quigata and higher up Coste; on the east is Ulibahali, and on later maps of this type, connecting the two, is the name Tagil, as a province. DeSoto found a Quigaute near Quiz Quiz, but west of the Mississippi, and the Ulibahalis on what is the Alabama River. So that this map, which established a new type apparently founded on DeSoto's explorations and often repeated (as by Quadus, 1600[23]) is quite a puzzle. It may be a rude representation of the Tombigbee and Alabama, called S. Spirito and Canaveral respectively, although the latter name is entirely distinct on early maps. The presence of "Quigaute" is an error, for Tali and Coste (Cosa) are correct, and the Quigaute of DeSoto was far west of them. Much similar is the map of F. de Wit, which, so far as it differs, as in making the twin rivers rise in Capaschi and Calicuas, confuses rather than helps. These are really only the provinces through which on the Mercator map of

[21] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. viii, p. 404.

[22] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 281; *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 67.

[23] *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 68, *See also* pp. 110, 180.

1569 the rivers Gigantes and Piscadores run, streams shown by Wytfliet, too. Somewhat like Wytfliet may be mentioned the maps of H. Hondio (1630), Eckebrecht, and Nicolaus Visscher.

Map-making thus went on apace but so far as we know definite exploration by the Spaniards ceased after Tristan. The net result was that Spanish maps showed certain fixed names, but identification with present rivers and harbors is not always clear. It is a fascinating subject, for the Gulf has not received full study. For our purpose it may be enough to say that the Magdalena seems to be the Rio Grande, the Piscadores to be the Mississippi, and the Spiritu Santo bay to be the Mobile, while Mobile's twin, the Tensaw, had the romantic name of Guadalquivir. Mobile Point and the bleak coast adjoining, almost treeless, was the Motas de Salvador, from its sand hills. Perdido river may be the Rio de Medauo (sand bank) and Pensacola waters those of Cannavera shown on some copies of Mercator and P. de Maria on the Terrarum Orbis of Henr. Hondio. The modern Chattahoochee was also a R. Santo Spiritu from DeSoto's time, causing some confusion, for several geographers thought it necessary to mingle its sources with those of the western river, and others even placed Tascalusa upon it.

Now came the age of buccaneers, and they needed pilots and charts even more than did the Spanish ships whom they had to capture or run away from. They were English or French and the maps were largely French, English or Dutch. Joliet the explorer of the upper Mississippi, has one in 1673 of the coast he never saw,[24] showing that river emptying into the Gulf, but has no bay of any size anywhere. His *carte generale* of North America, however, makes it empty into a large bay, which has also a separate arm to the northeast. Raudin not much later makes the Mississippi (Baude) empty similarly, and distinctly names the bay as B. du S. Esprit.[25]

LaSalle came in 1682 from Canada down to the Gulf itself and formed some conception of the coast. He concluded that the Mississippi was the Escondido of Spanish maps, and that the Baye du

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[24] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 208; *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 245, 246. Marquette's map of the R. Mitchisipi is on p. 248.

[25] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 235.

St. Esprit was considerably to the northeast.[26] Coming back by sea in 1685 to locate a colony, his plan, according to Joutel's *Journal Historique*, was to find that bay and then explore east and west from it to the Mississippi. The two, therefore, according to the information of the most eminent discoverer of that day, were different places. The bay would be known according to their charts by having an island between its two points,[27]—which may refer to Sand Island or Pelican Island at the mouth of Mobile Bay. Raudin was LaSalle's engineer and his map calls the Mississippi the Buade for Frontenac, but makes it empty, as we have seen, into the Baye du St. Esprit. Franquelin's map[28] is sometimes said to embrace LaSalle's discoveries, but the copy in *Mississippi Basin* (p. 77) is later, for it shows also Fort Louis on the Mobile, founded by Iberville. A remarkable thing about this map is that it shows F. Mississipi with three mouths, what appears to be something meant for Lake Pontchartrain, and a long branch of the Mississippi cutting across east to the Baie du St. Esprit. But if this is thus surely not the Mississippi or Mississippi Sound, it is as surely not correct for Mobile Bay, for next east is R. Pascouella (Pascagoula) and then the two forked La Mobile Riviére itself with Fort Louis on the west bank, emptying into the Gulf, with no bay. Geographically Franquelin's B. du St. Esprit would therefore be Biloxi; but this must be a mistake, and is probably, as Parkman understands it, really meant for Mobile. Franquelin also takes away the "Qlata" (culata) and gives it to a more eastern river. The map of Minet in 1685 is of great value. It is given in Thomassy, and shows the coast "as M. de la salle marked it on his chart (carte)." East of the mouth of what is clearly the Mississippi are in succession R. de Montanas, G. de Sorto, C. de Crux, B. du St. Esprit, &c. To the west are R. de la Magdeleine, C. Blanco, and R. Escondido,—which LaSalle previously, it will be recalled, declared was the Mississippi itself.[29] The bay is large and far to the east of Fl. Colbert.

In view of the maledictions of Iberville somewhat later it would be painful to rely much on the statements of Hennepin, the Recol-

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[26] Letters of La Salle in 2 Margry's *Decouvertes*, vol. ii, pp. 198, 559; Père Zénobe, &c., in Thomassy, *Geologie*, &c., pp. 14-18.

[27] French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. i, pp. 95-6.

[28] *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 294.

[29] It is given, but without names, in *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 237, and *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 316.

lect father who seldom recollects anything correctly. He published three or more maps, each a little different. That of 1683 shows by a dotted line that the R. Colbert ought to empty into a double headed open bay.[30] One of 1697 shows the Meschasipi with two mouths, and to the east the Baye de Spirito Sancto, bending from the northeast and receiving four rivers that head south of the Hohio.[31] Another of the same year, published at Utreght, gives the easternmost and largest of five such rivers as the Chicagua. An island is in the mouth of the bay, as in the English map he published in 1699,[32] dedicated to William III. of England. On this, as on the others, the Bay of Spiritu Santo is about where Mobile should be, with Chicagua river emptying into it from the northeast, and Port Grande, which may be Pensacola, is further east. But as far east again on the maps of 1697 as well as on this of 1699 is an unnamed river, without a bay, beyond which near the sea is Tascalusa, and high upon the other side, near the mountains, is Coça. As Nero and Arnold have had defenders, it may be suggested that Hennepin in this was only copying the maps above noted which had a second R. Spiritu Sancto over there. Similar as to Bay and River of the Holy Ghost is Well's map, 1698-9, but "dressed" down to include N. Orleans founded twenty years later.[33]

LaSalle's real successor was the more fortunate and possibly more accurate Iberville, whose pilot was the noted filibuster, Laurent de Graff. He became dissatisfied with many of LaSalle's identifications. He found only thirteen feet of water on Mobile bar, although the bay itself, with a "grosse riviére d'eau trouble," was excellent (fort belle) for habitation. He says that as far as size goes the Mobile might well be the Mississippi. Iberville's views as to the Bay of St. Esprit are quite interesting. In the plan he submitted June 18, 1698, before going to the Gulf of Mexico he lays much stress upon it, following LaSalle, with whom he had conversed. This bay was to be the rendezvous for his vessels and he purposed entering and examining to see if the Mississippi did not empty into it, and says he might fortify it. He seemed inclined to think that the Mississippi was further west,

[30] *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 249.
[31] *Ibid*, pp. 251, 252; *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 358.
[32] In Scaife's *America*, etc.
[33] *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 362.

however. When he actually undertook his expedition in the fall the St. Esprit seems, at least under that name, to have dropped out of his mind almost entirely, probably from information, given by Graff and others, that the Mississippi, in which alone he was interested, did not empty into a bay. But it is possibly significant that he did enter Mobile Bay, explore it thoroughly and discover its river, and that when afterwards actually on the Mississippi, he was for a while uncertain whether that or the Mobile was the river he was seeking. Not only so, but after a temporary settlement at Biloxi he placed his colony finally on the Mobile. So that he did at Mobile what he said in advance he was going to do at the Bay of St. Esprit. But when he comes to locate the Bay St. Esprit, which he does only incidentally, he puts it at another place than Mobile Bay. The text in Margry is not clear, but Mr. French has it that in his report of July 3, 1699, as to his first voyage, he says that 13 or 14 leagues west of Mobile he found a land-sheltered anchorage, where he left his ships in order to go with the small vessels to the neighborhood of Lago de Lodo (Muddy Lake), which is the name the Spaniards give to the St. Esprit.[34] He explored the lower Mississippi and returned by the Amite through Maurepas and Pontchartrain, which, he says, "empty into the back part (*fond*) of the bay of Lago de Lodo, eight leagues west of where the ships were anchored," that is, of Ship Island. A lake connected with it is parallel with the Mississippi and in places less than a mile from it.[35] After that he hardly mentions St. Esprit one way or the other, calling the Mississippi by the Indian name "Malbanchia," just as he uses the Indian names Pensacola and Mobile,—or Mavila, as Chasteaumorant, his escort, calls it. He had two Spanish maps or charts and identifies the Mississippi with the Spanish R. de la Palissado,[36] but in general discards Spanish and seems to try to find out the native names and use them. Mobile, he notes, however, had been so called by the Spaniards.[37] Iberville, therefore, at one time thought that

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[35] Margry, vol. iv, pp. 111, 123, 159. The map in Harper's *Magazine*, October, 1894, shows Indian tribes, &c., but does not mention the Spiritu Santo.

[36] Margry, vol. iv, p. 99.

[37] *Ibid*, p. 233.

the Muddy Lake or Baye du St. Esprit was what is now called Lake Borgne, into which the Rigolets and Pearl River empty from the northeast.

FIFTH TYPE.

This may be said to create a fifth type. To this identification Coxe in his *Carolana,* both in description and map, practically assents, for he says the Bay of Nassau, which is the west end of what we now call Mississippi Sound, is the Spanish Bay of Spiritu Santo. Joutel's map is susceptible of either the Mobile or the Borgne interpretation, as the coast is too contracted to be easily made out.[38] Seutler, after 1705, and De L'Isle later, show the Mississippi and Mobile rivers, with B. or R. Saint Esprit where Lake Borgne or Bay St. Louis should be.

There are a large number of other maps, especially French, German and Dutch, bearing on the matter, to be found in Winsor, Fiske and other authors, and in the valuable collection made by Mr. Beer for the Howard Library at New Orleans. I have examined all available, dozens in number. It would be impracticable to discuss them at length. They follow the types already given, which may be classified as four or perhaps five in number: (1) A round harbor, landlocked, on the north coast of the Gulf, called indifferently River or Bay. This is the earliest Spanish type, varied later by giving a split or double head, and again by showing a number of other streams emptying into it, while an offset to the east becomes a marked feature. (2) A flattened harbor with two main rivers like horns, and one or more narrow entrances, the bay being, like the first, within the shore line. This is also Spanish, as is (3) the curious intermingling of what appears to be the Mobile (or Alabama) and another river on the maps of the Wytfliet type, where the western empties into a bay, and the eastern has no bay. (4) The early French type has the Mississippi under different names, (but probably never that of St. Esprit,) emptying into the B. du St. Esprit, either by its main stream, as with Joliet, or by a branch, as with LaSalle. (5) On a few later maps the Bay is located between the Mississippi and Mobile rivers. Then this name for the bay disappears entirely, as it earlier had from the river.

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the Muddy Lake or Baye du St. Esprit was what is now called Lake Borgne, into which the Rigolets and Pearl River empty from the northeast.

FIFTH TYPE.

This may be said to create a fifth type. To this identification Coxe in his *Carolana,* both in description and map, practically assents, for he says the Bay of Nassau, which is the west end of what we now call Mississippi Sound, is the Spanish Bay of Spiritu Santo. Joutel's map is susceptible of either the Mobile or the Borgne interpretation, as the coast is too contracted to be easily made out.[38] Seutler, after 1705, and De L'Isle later, show the Mississippi and Mobile rivers, with B. or R. Saint Esprit where Lake Borgne or Bay St. Louis should be.

There are a large number of other maps, especially French, German and Dutch, bearing on the matter, to be found in Winsor, Fiske and other authors, and in the valuable collection made by Mr. Beer for the Howard Library at New Orleans. I have examined all available, dozens in number. It would be impracticable to discuss them at length. They follow the types already given, which may be classified as four or perhaps five in number: (1) A round harbor, landlocked, on the north coast of the Gulf, called indifferently River or Bay. This is the earliest Spanish type, varied later by giving a split or double head, and again by showing a number of other streams emptying into it, while an offset to the east becomes a marked feature. (2) A flattened harbor with two main rivers like horns, and one or more narrow entrances, the bay being, like the first, within the shore line. This is also Spanish, as is (3) the curious intermingling of what appears to be the Mobile (or Alabama) and another river on the maps of the Wytfliet type, where the western empties into a bay, and the eastern has no bay. (4) The early French type has the Mississippi under different names, (but probably never that of St. Esprit,) emptying into the B. du St. Esprit, either by its main stream, as with Joliet, or by a branch, as with LaSalle. (5) On a few later maps the Bay is located between the Mississippi and Mobile rivers. Then this name for the bay disappears entirely, as it earlier had from the river.

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[38] *Cartier to Frontenac,* p. 318.

One little map in the Howard Library settles the contest in a very amicable way, making, like many a jury, a kind of split or average verdict. This is "Carte Particulière du Golphe de Mexique," of no date. It represents the Mississippi River, with others, too, *all* emptying into the "Bay du Saint Esprit,"—which is certainly meant for Mobile Bay, for the only city near it is the "Fort de Pensacolle," whose location has never been doubted. But this is not exactly a jury question.

Such then are the maps and the reports of explorers. What is now the proper answer to the question, where was the Bay of Spiritu Santo?

THE RESULT.

Of the inlets we named as possible candidates it seems clear that none will do with the possible exceptions of Lake Borgne, Mobile and Pensacola Bays. Lake Borgne seems to have the high authority of Iberville, but this is weakened by the fact that he was not seeking to identify the Bay. It is of course possible that the Spanish pilots had once so called it, but it will be observed that even they then called it by the different name of Lago de Lodo and not B. de Spiritu Santo. It is clear from Iberville's own accounts of his exploration that the matter was of no importance to him, and the French proceeded to provide another name yet. This lake is probably too shallow to have been singled out as the bay in question, the most prominent harbor on the north of the Gulf. When it came to actions, Iberville himself gives his bearings from Mobile Point as the most important place on the coast. This is just what it seems probable the early Spanish explorers did, and it was on that account that this bay was at that time the most prominent mark on the northern Gulf. On the other hand, it is true the entrance to Pensacola Bay was in Iberville's time the deeper, and that harbor more coveted, but that was probably due to a shifting of the channel.[39] This would in fact account for the bay's becoming less important and the name's dropping out of notice or becoming confounded with others by Iberville's time. If Pensacola had ever been the famous Baia de Spiritu Santo of the early Spaniards, so marked on all their maps, it would have so remained, for Pensacola was always Spanish and always accessible. It

[39] See on this fact *Colonial Mobile*, p. 19.

has never been claimed for Pensacola. It would seem that the Spiritu Santo Bay, then, was that of Mobile.

SPIRITU SANTO RIVER.

But where was the Spiritu Santo River?

A few maps show the bay of Spiritu Santo distinct from what on account of the names near by would seem to be Mobile River. This may indicate that the bay and river may not necessarily be at the same place. We cannot expect the early explorers to be accurate. They generally explored from the sea and perhaps located the bay more accurately than they did the river. But on the other hand the testimony of the maps is decidedly that the two go together. On all of them the characteristic bay is shown, sometimes without a river, but in a majority of cases when a name is given it is either that of the river alone or of the bay and river together.

Iberville's words show that to his mind the St. Esprit river which he knew was not the Mississippi. August 30, 1699, he writes to the Minister of Marine from Rochelle after returning from his first voyage that he had received the map sent him of the Rivière du St. Esprit, upon which English and French refugees were said to have settled, and he proceeds to discuss the matter. This river empties, according to Sailly, who had descended it and whose map is in question, 80-100 leagues east of the Bay of St. Esprit, and consequently, says Iberville, into Apalache River; but his own conviction as to the River St. Esprit is that it "cannot be other than that of Mobile or Apalachicola," and the mouth is more like the latter.[40] They were talking at London of establishing a colony on this river, "which they say is the Mississippi," but Iberville sees "that they say this is only to conceal their plan of occupying the river which they name the St. Esprit." The Governor of St. Domingo, Ducasse, writing October 29, mentions the same plan of the English, but speaks of the bay of Spiritu Santo on the coast of New Spain.[41] Iberville thus seems to assent to the dissociation of the river and bay. But we recall

[40] Margry, vol. iv. pp. 341-3. A map of De l'Isle 1722, Amst., makes a similar identification, as does Herman Moll, 1715. DeSoto's chroniclers, it will be remembered, had a second R. del Spiritu Santo about this location also.

[41] Margry, vol. iv. p. 357.

that the Spanish maps know two such rivers. The western was at the same place with the bay and that one was therefore the Mobile. Iberville was speaking only of the eastern one. The bay was first discovered and first received the name, and the western river, less important then, probably received it because it flowed into the bay. If the Mississippi was ever called by that name, it was only because by mistake it was supposed to be the river which flowed into the bay of Spiritu Santo.

As to the bay, there can be little doubt. The early maps, from 1520 down through Spanish times, are convincing. The pear-shaped bay within the coast line, the long eastern offset at the mouth, which we called Mobile Point, are plain. No other harbor corresponds, least of all the Mississippi, with its projecting passes.

CARTOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

A number of other maps have been examined, but not discussed in the foregoing paper. The most important are here briefly summarized.

When source or location is not otherwise indicated in this paper, or in the notes, the map is to be found in the valuable collection of the Howard Memorial Library, at New Orleans, La.

Verrazano, 1529, shows apparently three bays or inlets on north coast, but no rivers.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, pp. 18, 26.

Ayllon's *Explorations*, 1530, shows long Rio de Flores in about Mobile position.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 285.

One of 1530 shows America as part of Asia, with bay and river, unnamed.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 432.

Orontius Fine, 1531, shows three pronged river and bay, middle R. de S. Spirit? and P. Arotuco (Arrecifes?).—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iii, p. 11.

Globe of Orontius Finaeus, 1531, shows two-headed bay just west of Florida peninsula with Rio de Santo Espiritu emptying into west head of it. There is west (about the Mississippi's place), a small stream, then emptying on west coast two rivers close together, north being Panico from Tangut, but emptying in Cathay.—Fiske's *Discovery of America*, p. 123.

Early French map, 1533, gives two rivers emptying into bay, west St. Esprit. Shows also a river leading through heart of La Mexique.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 224.

So another of 1536.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 225.

Munster, 1540, shows two rivers, without large bays, the east having two branches.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 41.

Vopellio, 1556, a two mouthed river and one east, from mountains.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii, p. 436.

Zaltieri, 1566, has two rivers and two bays.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 93.

Des Liens, 1566, shows only one river and bay, the bay large, with east offset.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 79.

Jno. Dee, 1580, has about centre of north coast usual shaped bay with name in Gulf "Rio de S. Spirito Santo." Only other name is on west coast, "Rio de Palmas."—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 98.

Lok 1582, two branched river into Bay. No name.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iii, p. 40; also *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 44.

De Bry, 1596, has bay and forked river without name, but fork is high and near what is the St. Lawrence, (no great lakes). East is a shorter stream, but no real bay.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iv, p. 99.

Nancy Globe has miscellaneous unnamed rivers.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. ii, p. 433.

Bodleian, 16th century, shows two rivers, (west being R. del Spirit. Santo,) emptying into a bay.

Hennepin (Utreght) shows R. de Magdelaine as our Rio Grande.

F. de Wit, like Wytfliet, has mixed the sources of twin rivers in mts. marked Capaschi and Calicuas. On coast from peninsula west are P. Phico, Apalacho, Tascalisa, C. de Hondo, then the twin river systems, C. de Cruz, C. de Sierra, R. de Montanas, R. de Lasso (in Gulf), R. de Oro, R. Bravo, Costa Deserta, and then after coast turns south the two armed R. Escondido. In interior W. of W. double river is Cossa, like Tagil in type indicating a province.

Am. sive India Nova, par Michaelem Mercatorem Duysburgensem, (no date), colored, in corner has (from East) El Cannavera, then Rio de Madauo, matas de Salvador, Rio del espirito Santo emptying into Baia de Culata, on wh. is Guadalquibir, C. de Zierto, Rio de gigantes, Costa de Piscadores Rio de Piscadores Malabrigo, C. Brava, Rio Palmar, Plaias, Arboledas, Rio de Palmas, &c.

Antillen Inseln G. P. Busch sc. Berolini, no date. Has only F des Bilocchy and F low on Mississip ou la Grande rivers, Mobile on unnamed river with large bay. "S. Spiritus" seems to name an inlet E. of mouth of Miss.

Guil De l'Isle, 1722, Amst., Mexique and La Floride. Marks an eastern river, as "Apalachicola ou Hunanachi et R du St. Esprit."

Quadus, 1600, much like DeWit. No names.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iv, p. 101.

Small Orbis Terrarum of Nicolaus Ioa Visschero has in one place a date, 1616, but lacks river and bay names. Has mixed river system and names like DeWit.

Small Terrarum Orbis of Henr. Hondio, 1630, is much the same as DeWit except that it omits bay name, calls east and west rivers R. Flores and R. de Cruz respectively, and runs the upper rivers further east through a lake to Va. The next place east is a bay, P. de Maria, west after Cruz are Brava Costa, R. Secondido, without a stream, and large one southwest without name. It omits the great lakes but has Huttons (Hudson's) Bay.

Eckebrecht, 1630, less in detail than last, but much like it in arrangement, names, &c.

This and the preceding have a large river, just south of curve of Gulf coast, called Escondido on this last.

Nicolaus Visscher's Insulae Americanae, &c., with Bahia and three interlaced rivers, much as DeWit with long two branched R. de Canaveral from Coza also emptying into the Bahia, and a smaller Canaveral next east with islands at its mouth into the gulf, while Tascalasa and Achusi are towns on it. So Jno. Ogilby in his book on *America,* 1671. The name of the map is held by Cupids, and the scale faced by tritons and seductive nymphs.

Jesuit map, 1672-3, has Mitchisipi mouth as the first Joliet map.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iv. p, 221.

Raudin (after 1637) has R. Buade—clearly Mississippi—with two others unnamed emptying into "B. du. S. Esprit" of usual shape.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iv, p. 235.

Joliet's map, 1673-4, shows Mississippi emptying with a slight increase of width into Le Sein de Mexique. He has "Europeans" on a small stream to east.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iii, p. 208. Another Joliet map has the Riv. de Mississipi emptying into a bay with another head, &c.—*Narrative and Critical History,* vol. iv, p. 218.

Roggeveen, 1675, shows Mar Pequeno, &c., as on early Spanish maps, with name Rio del Spiritu Santo, but no name for bay.—*Mississippi Basin*, p. 39.

N. Sanson (1679?) Amsterdam, North and South America. Shows four large rivers from mountains south of great lakes emptying into a bay on north Gulf. No names.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. i, p. 18.

Map of Louisiane (prefixed to vol. iii of Margry), showing La Salle's discoveries, 1679-82, gives (1) "R. de *So* Spiritu" emptying into B. du S. Esprit, as on east does R. de Canasseral, (2) Kosa on R. "So Su" and much higher up is Maouila, (3) that river and Fl Louis ou Ch....goa (same as the Ohio), &c., run parallel and interlace, (4) at east it seems to connect with another Spiritu Santo running into Gulf at Florida's corner.

Franquelin (1681?) has branch of Mississippi emptying into Baie du S. Esprit, whose west cape is Cape Desert. Next east is R. Pascouella and then forked La Mobille Riviere emptying with no bay worthy of the name.—*Mississippi Basin*, p. 77.

Franquelin, 1684, has Mississippi mouth without widening and far to east a wide bay with narrow mouth; five small rivers empty into it.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 228.

L'Amerique Septentrionale....par P. Coronelli, Paris, 1689, shows R. Mississipi ou Colbert, &c., with two months emptying far to southwest, near R. Bravo and about 100 lieues east is B. de lo Espiritu Santo with mouths of 5 rivers, C. Hondo its east point and C. S. Crux rather far to west of bay. Interior at this point not shown. There is a R. del Spit. Santo where Florida turns south.

G. Broedelet (Utreght), no date, has Fleuve Meschasipi complete to Gulf and 60 lieues east "Baye de Spirito Santo." East on a river is Tascaluca, R. de Magdelaine is our R. Grande.

Another, slightly changed, has east river a little longer and named "Chicagua R." Both have "Tascaluça" much further east near a river rising in "Mons Apalache," and the second has "Coça," both as towns, high up on west of that stream, 1700.

Campanius, 1702, has the bay and rivers without names, and no Mississippi.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv, p. 394.

Novus Orbis of Matth. Seutler has among its dates of discovery, 1705, has Mississippi in full, with two mouths, and "F" near, then east a bay and river with B. S. Spiritus, then east "F. Bilocchy," and then east Cosa, Tascaluca, Caquetta and Mobila as towns on a two branched river.

L'Amerique Septentrionale par G. del L'Isle chez Pierre Schenk, (Amst.) the same as last with names in French, as B. du St. Esprit, (at Lake Borgne's location,) Chagueta, Maouila ou Mobila, &c. 1708.

Herman Moll, 1715, has none of the old names, but shows R. del Spirito Sancto as named also Chatahuch R. Into P. & H. of I. Dauphine, on which is Fort Mobill, empties from north west Mobile R., into which from west flows Chacta R.; from northeast empties R. Conchaques, into which flow Pedegoe R. and Cabo Creek and Cusa R.; high upon the last being the Conchaques. Where Caba and Cusa join, at the Talapoosie town 100 men, a road crosses from Charles Town to Yasu on R. St. Louis, striking the other streams higher up.

America Septentrionalis studio...de L'Isle...sumptibus C. Weigelii Heredum Norimberga, with Indian vignettes, has everything complete, even Cal. a peninsula, and Mississipi R., and near the mouth "R. du St. Esprit" almost opposite the mouth of Mississippi. It has the Maouila or Mobila for town in fork of second river east, northwest of which is town Chaqueta, and northeast Tascaluca. Pensacola shown on coast.

Coxe's map, 1722, shows coast with R. Pascagoula, R. Coza, (Mobile and F. Louis on it,) Pensacola, &c. R. Spirito Santo is Apalache.—*Mississippi Basin*, pp. 44-45.

La Potherie, 1772, shows Mississippi emptying straight, and to east is large Baye de Spiritu Sancto, with small streams. R. de Spiritu Santo empties from north near northwest corner of peninsula of Florida.—*Mississippi Basin*, p. 79.

Bolton's improvement on D'Anville, 1752, for Postlewayt's Dic. of Trade and Com. has no S. S., but shows "C. Lodo or Mud C." at mouth of Mississippi.

Dumont, 1753, has Biloxi Bay like old Spiritu Santo and Mobile Bay hardly a widening of the R. de la Mobille. (Tombigbee.)—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. v, p. 82.

DuPratz, 1758, shows L. S. Louis with island at mouth much like Spiritu Santo with Manchac emptying into it, &c.—*Narrative and Critical History*, vol. v, p. 66.

Large map, 1777, "according to Gov. Pownall's memorandum" has "Cape Lodo or Mud Cape" at mouth of the Mississippi. (Ft. Croften on east side Mobile Bay.)

West Indien By Theunis Iacobsz (Amsterdam,) no date, is a chart of coast. Mississippi does not appear, but Mar. pequeno, with R. dt Spto Santo at northwest corner does. Many names east and west, none in interior.

Johannem Iansonium much the same, Qulata (perhaps by accident) a little east, by a separate small bay.

America Septentrionalis Novissima, (Amstelodami,) by P. Schenk, ex Amsteloed, has five large rivers emptying into the large B. de Spir. Santo, the only one on north coast. The westernmost (except another smaller) is R. de Spiritu Santo. The easternmost comes from Coza, &c. It somewhat resembles DeWit in the mingling of the three central streams. Chisca and Tascaluca are east of the system, the last near the coast. Quiguta is in the middle of the system, Ulibahali considerably northeast above it on one branch, Tali and Coste on one to the northwest. There are no other recognizable DeSoto names.

"Teatre de la Guerre en Amerique Coveus and Mortier Amst." has Misisipi R., Ochio R., &c., and Bay del Spirito Sancto with three small unnamed streams into it, and the words Ostras, Marpequeue, and Qualata. On west "Cap de Far ou Cruz" and above it on west side of bay an island. To east are R. del Canaveral, Plaia on coast, R. Flores, Cap Escondido, Nieves R.

Totius Americae Nova Exhibitio (small) Port Grande, Sta. Maria del Buz, and then peninsula. West is only small R. Snelo, Isle Marascagenses Embouchures du Misisipi Riv., 1683. Bay de St. Louis at mouth of Riv. aux Vaches and north on Brave Riv. bounding La. on south. Fine engraving in corner of Indians and French trading, and naval battle. In Gulf lieues—Brasses d'eau; has no date but has many names, shows Spanish possessions (including Florida from Mississippi to Atlantic) in yellow, Virginia, N. Anglia, Canada, California as islands, &c. Mischasipi Fl. is there in full length, with Hohio branch, and to the east B. de Spiritu Sancto with Tascalusa on an east branch and Achusi south of that on the coast, both as towns. Button's Bay, Ft. Crevecoeur, great lakes, &c., shown.

V. THE USES OF BIBLIOGRAPHY.

By Joel Campbell DuBose, Birmingham.

Two thousand years of history have fully verified the claim of Seneca that "time is the only thing of which it is a virtue to be covetous." Specialization has so intensified the closing years of the nineteenth century as to mark of signal value whatever conduces to expedition and thoroughness in material industries or intellectual achievements.

This brief sketch does not propose to deal largely with the subject of bibliography. Suffice it to say that no feature of intellectual life is recognized to-day as of greater interest or of more gracious or useful service to the student. Human genius, keen for new discoveries and inventions, maintains its vigor and fortifies its advance by the knowledge of what has been done. It wants information promptly, and the cataloguing of books and pamphlets and of every other publication is the present day method of placing at ready service all the literature of the world.

It is needless to say that the bibliographer of to-day, coming in the order of natural evolution, is a very different and a higher product than the bibliographer of the ancient Greeks who was simply a copyist. Now he is the scholarly expert, conversant with the authors, titles and subject-matter of books and other publications. Some five centuries ago the old world recognized the importance of bibliographies, and started in its great centers the interest in these works,—an interest which has developed into an international passion. Conventions and associations, magazine articles and reviews, orations and theses testify to the high valuation scholars place upon bibliographic works.

It has been computed that twenty thousand large volumes would be needed to make a complete world bibliography. This does not astound us when we consider the vast amount of labor and thought expended in the development of the civilization of the world. Encyclopedias are recognized essentials to every student's library. A bibliography is no less essential. It embodies in briefest compass a list of all publications that touch the

subject of investigation. It mentions not only the publications and the authors, but tells where and by whom published, the literary value of the works and where they can be found to-day. It is not necessary to argue the advantages of such a work. As well devote time to convince that mills and mowers, reapers and threshing machines are useful to planters, or that harnessed steam and electricity subserve the purposes of civilization.

Suppose one should wish information on the geology of Alabama. Without any necessity of correspondence he could take Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama,* and turning to Dr. Eugene A. Smith's works he would discover a four-page list of reports and contributed articles giving the results of Dr. Smith's investigations and discoveries, and from the various subjects enumerated could be selected the one on which information was desired; and not only this but directions are given so that it can be known at once where the report or contribution can be found. In addition full lists are given of the works of Prof. Michael Tuomey, Dr. Charles Mohr, and everybody else who has discovered or contributed any information upon this feature of Alabama.

Suppose information is desired of an Alabama citizen. Lists are given of all names appearing in the works of Brewer, Garrett, the Memorial Record, Robertson, and others; so that it can be readily learned if anything has been printed of the individual about whom information is wanted.

The great libraries of the northern States have been actively concerned in the preparation of bibliographies. Only four or five southern States have been represented in this field of literary effort, but the works already published and in process of publication are of very superior worth.

Dr. Stephen B. Weeks has prepared a Bibliography of North Carolina. Professor Edson L. Whitney is the author of a Bibliography of Colonial South Carolina. In his *Economic History of Virginia* Philip Bruce has a Bibliography of Virginia. C. W. Raines, in charge of the library of the State of Texas, has published a very exhaustive Bibliography of that State.

Thomas M. Owen, the secretary of the Alabama Historical Society, has published valuable "Bibliographies" of the States of Alabama and Mississippi in the *Reports* of the American Historical Association for 1897 and 1899, respectively. The former is for

Alabamians the most interesting and far-reaching book of the day. It is an inspiration to look into its pages, and to note gathered in convenient form for reference the results of the literary efforts in Alabama and about Alabama. It is full of valuable critical suggestions. It creates a new epoch in the literary life of the State. Dr. A. R. Spofford, well known as the learned scholar of the Library of Congress, pronounced this work of Mr. Owen one of the most complete of its kind. For variety and fullness he regarded it in advance of anything that had been published.

There is a tendency to make bibliography distinct in its treatment of subjects. There is a bibliography of medicine, a bibliography of surgery, a bibliography of electricity, a bibliography of education, a bibliography of religions, a bibliography of politics—making comparatively easy the researches into the history of the various matters that interest mankind.

The time has come when every literary work of historical importance must be accompanied by a bibliography. Scholars want authority for statements made in published works, and authors must respect this want in order to impress the highest value upon their productions.

VI. INDIAN MASSACRES IN BUTLER COUNTY IN 1818.[1]

By Rev. Charles Edward Crenshaw, Verbena.

During the last years of the territorial condition of Alabama the southern portion was settled by emigrants from the several Atlantic States, but principally from Georgia and South Carolina. Several families settled in the northern part of the present county of Butler, north and northwest of where Greenville is now situated.

William Oglesby, with his wife and five children, settled about four miles from the present village of Manningham and seven miles from Greenville. With Mr. Oglesby, John J. Dickerson boarded. On the 13th of March, 1818, Oglesby having gone from home on some business met with an old friend, Elias Stroud, with his wife and child, who went home with him to spend the night. Dickerson, who cultivated a farm several miles away, did not return home that evening. Just as the evening twilight came on, a band of Indians, under the lead of a notorious chief named Savannah Jack, made an attack on the two families. Oglesby went to the door with his gun to fire upon the Indians, but he was killed before he made a shot. Stroud and the two women ran out into the yard. The former hid in the high grass. Mrs. Stroud was tomahawked, from the effects of which she afterwards died. Mrs. Oglesby hid under a large log which crossed over a ravine near the house.

The Indians, after killing all of Oglesby's children except the youngest, about a year old, which they thought they had in fact killed, having struck it a blow with the tomahawk, left the house and passed over the ravine on the log under which Mrs. Oglesby was hid, without seeing her. She fortunately escaped.

Mrs. Oglesby now returned to the house and found her husband and four children lying dead in their blood, which covered the floor. The baby girl was so wounded by a blow on its head that

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[1] See *infra* for sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw, father of this writer.

it was an imbecile for life. What words can properly express the deep anguish of this wife and mother; it is enough to arouse human sympathy even now, after eighty-two years.

Dickerson returned home early next morning to be shocked at the sight of his murdered friend and his household. Stroud had called in some of the nearest neighbors to assist in burying the dead. This was, indeed, a very difficult task to perform, as they had no material with which to make coffins and no place near enough to procure them in time, so they were compelled to bury their dead in such a manner as to shock us at the very thought of it. They buried them all in one grave, using a small cart body for a common coffin.

After the days of sorrow had passed Mr. Dickerson and Mrs. Oglesby were married and raised up a family of boys and girls, who became good citizens of that part of Butler county. Frank Dickerson, a grandson, now living at Manningham, remembers hearing his grandfather tell about this tragedy as I have related it. With what feelings of gratitude should we cherish the memory of the brave pioneers who came to Alabama and suffered so much hardship, and risked their lives among the savages and wild beasts to make it a happy and prosperous dwelling place for us!

For the protection of the first settlers the Federal government had a roadway opened from Montgomery to Fort Claiborne on the Alabama river, called the Federal road. On this road were built several forts—one called Fort Bibb, in honor of the first governor of Alabama, and another, in Butler county, named Fort Dale, in honor of Gen. Sam Dale, one of the heroes of the celebrated canoe fight with the Indians on the Alabama river.

About the first of April, 1818, Capt. Wm. Butler, with four other men, while traveling this road between these forts, was fired upon by a party of Indians in ambush. Butler and two of the men were shot from their horses, the two men killed and Butler mortally wounded. One of the men who was not hit in the fire, endeavored to get Butler behind him on his horse while the Indians were loading their guns, but failing in this, he fled away to save his own life. The Indians then finished the work of murder. After this tragedy, when the county of Butler was laid off, it was named in honor of Maj. Butler; but strange to say, it was forty years before the citizens of Butler county performed appropriate

service in honor of this brave pioneer and defender of the lives of their ancestors.

In the year 1858 the citizens of Greenville had the bones of Butler disinterred and given an honorable sepulchre in their cemetery. Sam Dale, who was honored in Alabama not only with the name of a fort but a county also, died near Old Daleville, Lauderdale county, in Mississippi, where he now lies in an unmarked grave.

It is our duty as patriotic citizens to cherish the memory of all who died in defense of the lives, liberty and rights of our forefathers. The Confederate monument on capitol hill in Montgomery is evidence of grateful memory in honor of the men who laid down their lives for our liberties.

The Indians were not removed from Alabama until 1836, so that until that time there was great fear of hostilities, and there were some murders and depredations in different localities from 1818 to 1830. The Federal government kept soldiers in Alabama for several years after the death of Butler.[2]

I remember when a boy about five or six years of age, how we feared the Indians. One day about noon one came by my father's home and asked for something to eat. He could speak English well enough to be understood. He would not come into the house to get his dinner, but requested my mother to send it out to him. She sent it to him on a plate, which he placed on a stump nearby. He then ate the dinner with great relish, while I looked on with fear and trembling.

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[2] For other particulars *see* Owen's edition of Pickett's *History of Alabama*, pp. 618-620; and J. B. Little's *History of Butler County, Alabama*, pp. 19-33.

VII. SEMI-CENTENNIAL ODE.[1]

By Warfield Creath Richardson,[2] Tuscaloosa.

'Tis fifty years,—how, runs the world away!
Since first we met, as meet we here to-day.
Not long agone the State had been a wild,
Where roamed at will th' untutored forest child.
Not long agone his council-fires had shone
On dusky braves in lodges wild and lone,
The good Manito's hands were largely spread
In blessings o'er his bare and tufted head,
And not a sound disturbed the wide domain,
Save hoot of owl far out upon the plain,
Save the gaunt grey wolf's ululating roar
From Coosa's brakes or Estanaula's shore.
The white man came,—the tomahawk and knife
Against the paleface waged a deadly strife—
The night attack, the torch, the hundreds slain,
The cabins sacked, the booty burnt or ta'en,—
All these, in swift succession, hurry by
To chill the blood or fright the startled eye.

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[1] Delivered before the Alabama Historical Society at its fiftieth anniversary, June 18, 1900.

[2] In the latter part of the 18th century three Richardsons, brothers emigrated to this country from England. When they reached America, they separated, one remaining in Virginia, the others finding homes respectively in North and South Carolina. The subject of the following sketch descended from the Virginia branch of the stock. Warfield Creath Richardson, fourth child of Thomas Gaines and Sarah (*Perry*) Richardson, was born in Maysville, Kentucky, June 23, 1823. His father and mother came to Kentucky, when quite young, from Culpeper Court House, Virginia. The mother, Sarah Perry, was of Scotch-Irish descent. She was reared in Woodford county, in the Blue Grass region, between Lexington and Versailles, on a farm adjoining Ashland, the home of Henry Clay. When a boy, Dr. Richardson attended the Rand and Richeson academy, where he was a schoolmate of U. S. Grant. In 1837 his father moved to Tuscaloosa, and in 1839 he entered the State University, where he graduated in 1843. After graduation he taught for about thirty years in various schools in Alabama, and was twice connected officially with his alma mater. He was married, November 16, 1855, to Miss Kate Jones, of Wilcox, accomplished daughter of Rev. John C. and Mary Ann (*Walker*) Jones, of Williamsburg, Va. Her great-grandfather, John Jones, was twice speaker of the house of burgesses, and was occupying the chair when Patrick Henry made his memorable speech, concluding with "Give me liberty or give me death." She is a sister of Richard C. Jones, late President of the University. Dr. Richardson has two children living, Mrs. Belle R. Harrison, well known in the literary world, and wife of J. Calhoun Harrison, and Mrs. Ida May Wood, wife of Sterling A. Wood, of Birmingham, for many years clerk of the Supreme court of Alabama.

The *Register of the University of Alabama* (1901), gives in part Dr. Richardson's record as follows: Principal Wilcox Male Academy, Camden,

'Tis fifty years,—how runs the world away!
Since first we met, as meet we here to-day,
Intent to grave on tablet sure and fast
The faithful annals of a bloody past,
Behold our ranks—how thin! ah, some are gone
Into the golden gates of life withdrawn.
Some dwell in distant lands, some seek afar
"The bubble honor" in a foreign war;
Some are astir, some have lain down to rest,
And found earth's lap soft as a mother's breast,—
Where'er they be, awake, asleep or dead,
Heaven's choicest blessings settle on each head.

All things are vocal: man alone records
His actions and his history in words.
There's not a pebble tossing on the beach
But has the cunning faculty of speech,—
Tells of the parent rock from which 't was torn,
Tells of the tides by which 't was inland borne,
Tells of the whirl that rounded it, and gave
A polish glossy as the ambient wave.
The land has speech, the hoary mountains tell
Of by-gone ages when they 'gan to swell,
Like slumbering giants bursting thro' the earth.
The babbling rivers prattle of their birth.
The trees inscribe their eons in a book
Of ribbed papyrus where the sages look.
The sea has tongue, and to the wise is heard
To tell her sources, tho' no wave be stirred,
How from the cloud each crystal drop is hurled
Athwart the sphere to swell the ocean world.

O Alabama, first of all the States,
The cap-stone and the key—thy haughty mates
Like sheaves of Joseph's brethren bow to thee,
The prince, the arch file-leader of the free.
I fling thee kisses, honor, reverence, awe,
I bask in peace beneath thy aegis—law;
Beneath thy vine and fig tree I repose,
No fear of factions and no fear of foes.
And shall thy deeds in silence roll away,
Without a hand to rescue or portray?
Thy incidents are rife on every hill,
Thy characters a Pantheon would fill.

1851-55; professor natural science, Centenary Institute, Summerfield, 1855-62; lecturer on chemistry, University of Alabama, 1864-65; president Tuscaloosa Female College, 1866-68; acting professor of Greek, University of Alabama, 1876-77; adjunct professor of English literature and instructor in mineralogy and geology, University of Alabama, 1877.

The degree of Ph. D. was conferred on Prof. Richardson by the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn, Ala., in 1878. Dr. Richardson's literary, scientific and educational miscellanies would fill several large volumes. He has delivered innumerable commencement, Sabbath-school, educational and temperance addresses. He edited the first two temperance papers in the State, viz: the *Crystal Fount*, of Tuscaloosa, and the *Orion*, of Montgomery. He was also, in Ryland Randolph's absence, engaged upon the *Blade*. He is the author of *Gaspar*, a poetical romaunt, which was praised by Bryant. Also of the "Fall of the Alamo," an unpublished epic prepared at the instance of the Alabama Historical Society. —EDITOR.

There's not a spot in all the wide, wide State
But hath some myth or legend to relate;
There's not a plain but shows some conquest won,
Some bleeding cause "bequeathed from sire to son;"
There's not a gorge where warriors have not fought,
Or valor shown or deeds of prowess wrought.
Sweet glamor gilds and romance silvers o'er
Each mountain, river, valley, slope or shore.
Could we but lift the soft, ethereal haze
That shrouds them, on what actors would we gaze,
What scenes recall, what retrospects disclose
Of Alabama and her early foes?
Who were they? let renowned Emuckfau tell,
Tohopeka, and each reddened copse and dell,
From Tallassee to Burnt Corn, where began
The conflict that with blood of hundreds ran.

Take up, take up the broken chords of song,
Take up her history delayed too long,
Take up the tablet and the stylus—write
What long neglected no man may indite;
Let harp be strung—let all her fibres ring,
Ere rust dissever each corroded string.

Have ye no thesis? ah, there is a name,
The synonym of glory and of fame,
A name that's registered so passing high,
That it can never pale, can never die,
A name the talisman of every son
That Alabama looks in pride upon.
Go write it on your State's escutcheon, where
Millions can view its splendor and repair
To do it homage: other names are small,
For Hobson's dwarfs, impoverishes all.

My country, O my country—'t is to thee
I proudly turn, but tremble when I see
Thy giddy height, thy fulgent ensign raised
Aloft, where anxious, prayerful eyes have gazed,
Thy breast-plate is a continent,—the sea
Thy moat,—the lofty Rockies be
Thy castle and defence,—thy sons thy stay
And muniment,—away, away
Thy path is through the centuries,—thy head
Knocketh the stars,—thou walkest over dead
Empires whose colossal fragments lie,
Heaped like dry bones between the earth and sky,
And shall thy glories crumble? Shall thy brow
Be ever less majestical than now?
Great God forbid! As the swift years roll on,
May not thy chariot wheels wreathed with renown
Go crashing down the ages like the sun,
Or the scorched wheel of headlong Ixion.

We have a flag with deathless colors dight,
We have a flag that never flew in flight.
Far may it fly, but not in conquest—not
To fling a shadow o'er earth's humblest spot,
To carry shackles or a menace be

To a brave people struggling to be free.
Far may it fly, the empyrean through
A constellation in the sparkling blue,
The cynosure of every patriot eye,
Unmarred, unstained, untarnished let it fly
Not like the Roman eagle stained with gore,
Not with the tears of captives dabbled o'er,
But sworn as now to break th' oppressor's thrall,
And carry equal privilege to all.
To spurn the sphere, to scale the lofty skies,
To catch from yonder sun supernal dyes,
To soar in triumph over land and sea,
And lead men on to peerless liberty.

VIII. THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS.[1]

By Dr. Joshua H. Foster, Walter Guild, James M. Van-Hoose and John Snow.

DR. FOSTER'S REMINISCENCES.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, Members of the Alabama Historical Society:

The honor accorded me is sincerely appreciated. I made an earnest and honest plea to be excused from the duties assigned me. I pleaded that all I could recall of the history of this Society had already been said or written on former occasions and was preserved in its archives. What then can I do but either repeat, or fabricate? The former would be superfluous, the latter an untried and perilous task. But my friend Owen was simply inexorable;—not that he would burden me, but rather crown me with the honor he deems due to superior age and to faithful service as your first secretary.

In his annual address as president of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1899, Dr. Charles Francis Adams says, "The society organized by eight Boston gentlemen on the 21st day of January, 1791, in the private parlor of William Tudor, on Court street, Boston, was certainly the first historical society in America, possibly the first in the world." The name given it by these eight gentlemen, all of whom were Englishmen by birth and education, and four of them "divines of the provincial period," confirms the suggestion that they at least knew of no similar organization in the world. They called it "The Historical Society." Three years afterwards it was chartered as "The Massachusetts Historical Society," by which name it has been known for 106 years. In the same address Dr. Adams expresses the regret that it had not been organized in 1691,—a hundred years sooner. The original and fundamental idea was a co-operative method by which

[1] Owing to the loss of all manuscript administrative records of the Society prior to 1898, these reminiscenses possess an unusual interest. In the future preparation of the history of the Society these papers will be the most valuable sources apart from existing newspaper accounts of meetings.—Editor.

the materials of history might be collected and preserved. A little progress showed that occasional publication of collections made, largely enhanced the entertainment of the meetings and enlarged and widened the interest among the people and so multiplied its patrons.

Other States followed, in the passing years, in the organization of historical associations until, in the middle of the 19th century, when this Society was formed, there were, at least, as many as fourteen other State societies, as well as four organizations somewhat similar waiting to greet Alabama's new institution. Why an aid so much needed by the Alabama historian did not appear sooner perhaps none can say with fullness and precision. If there were reasons to regret that the Massachusetts Historical Society did not originate one hundred years earlier there were reasons quite as potent why we should regret the late appearance of this. It could not indeed have come a hundred, or half a hundred years sooner; for, fifty years before its origin, Alabama had no existence as a State, or a territory, or even as a colony, as Massachusetts was a century before her society began. Scarcely had a generation passed away after the birth of the State and only thirty-six years from the separation and naming of the territory, before the origin of this Society.

Then there are obvious reasons why a few years must elapse before an enterprise of this character could have a being. The pioneers and early settlers were too busily engrossed in providing for themselves and their families the necessaries, and the simplest comforts of life. Subduing the forest, tilling the rich virgin soil, fortifying against the attack of savages and wild beasts, bettering their financial condition were some of the matters of absorbing interest with the settlers. And the adventurers among them were too much occupied in laying the foundations of the fortunes they had come to seek; and there was only here and there a solitary man who thought of noting down the few events of general interest that took place about him, and he could rarely hear of what occurred a hundred miles away. Then followed a period of making roads and better dwellings, and establishing schools; and early in the thirties the increasing stream of immigration suggested the probable enhancement of the value of lands and the desirability of purchasing larger bodies while they might be ob-

tained at government price. A contagious "land-fever" was widespread over the State. A logical sequel of which was the general and reckless speculation of 1836, with all its disastrous results.

But now, in the middle of the century, when the State was thirty-one years old, and her university only nineteen, when the wild speculations of 1836 and the consequent universal financial depression and extensive bankruptcy of 1837 and following years had all passed away, prosperity again dawned in the forties. Then succeeded an epoch of universal thrift and plenty, seldom equaled in the history of any country. The circumstances suggested improvements in many lines. There was leisure for social intercourse, for reading, investigation, writing and for literary entertainments. The historical societies of older States had sent out some of their publications, and the time seemed auspicious for the organization of such an enterprise here.

Dr. Basil Manly, then president of the University of Alabama, was the prime mover in this direction. He wrote many letters to prominent citizens, announced a meeting in connection with the commencement of 1850, and in response to the call a number of representative men convened in the old United States court room, at Tuscaloosa. In the address of the occasion, Dr. Manly explained the objects of the proposed association, read a constitution which he had prepared, suggested the enrollment of names of the members of the Alabama Historical Society. Forty-six names were enrolled, the constitution was adopted without change, and the officers for the ensuing year were elected: Hon. Alexander Bowie, *president;* Col. A. J. Pickett, *first vice-president;* Gen. E. D. King, *second vice-president;* Hon. W. Moody, *treasurer;* Joshua H. Foster, *secretary; executive committee*, Judge J. J. Ormond, Dr. Basil Manly, Bishop N. H. Cobbs, Prof. L. C. Garland, Prof. M. Tuomey.

But there are features of reminiscence that, at the outset, almost forbid my advance on that line. Who ever read a thoroughly satisfactory book of reminiscences relating to people whom he knew? And who can expect to make one? Reminiscences cling to those who have drawn us to them, and drop off from those toward whom we feel indifferent. What therefore is reminiscence to one is forgotten by another, who was equally an eye-witness. And usually the character of an author who writes his recollec-

tions may be somewhat estimated by the characters he delineates. If there be no rule to bind him, he will make his own selections of those characters on which he loves to dwell. But this is not the chief difficulty. There is a temptation to egotism on the part of the narrator, and a stronger temptation to suspect it on the part of those who read or hear. Write on the wall a great letter "I" eight feet wide and fifteen feet high; and within its body write 1,000 little "i's" and that figure will symbolize much that is called reminiscence. It is *"I"* who saw, *"I"* who heard, *"I"* who select, *"I"* who clothe in words, *"I"* who choose them, *"I"* who accent and emphasize and fix the meaning; and the poor little "u's" can only listen and meekly wait till "I" have done. True some little "u's" may then suddenly exchange positions and names with the great "I." Then woe be to the latter if he has gone astray.

Now, Mr. President, I am afraid that I shall say "I" until I am ashamed; for I was the first secretary and though presumed to know many things that I never knew, I am yet expected to tell some things that I do know.

With these and other objections, reminiscence is nevertheless a part, and a necessary part of writing and speaking. The generations overlap. Every age has its old men and old women in each of whom the seventy year clock of life has overrun its winding—men and women who antedate the masses,—the horizon of whose experiential long-sighted vision sweeps far back among the years of a past generation. Now grown long-sighted by age, they discern, with minuteness of detail, many of those distant incidents better than they see the events of intervening later years. Their prime energies have been largely expended among those now passed away and their status among men might appear abnormal, and their lives useless, if they could not on occasion lift from the old fountain a cold refreshing draught to reinvigorate and cheer the busy, weary worker, toiling under his burdens in the heat of the day.

Beginning then with the meeting for organization,—I was profoundly impressed with the importance and magnitude of the objects proposed; and before the close of the meeting, felt that the enterprise was in the hands of strong and earnest men, who would make its success a prime desideratum. The inspiration of that

hour urged me to the assiduity and care with which I served the body as its secretary; and the fires enkindled then have never gone entirely out, though for thirteen years the smouldering embers gave but little evidence of life. During my two years of service as secretary my ample compensation was the uniform courtesy of the officers and members and of my fellow citizens with whom my duties brought me in contact; added to the wide interest awakened largely by my official instrumentality. And when, at the end of two years, I declined re-election as secretary, it was not because I had grown tired of the work or lost interest in it, but because increasing duties in another line rendered it impossible to give sufficient time and energy to this.

After the thirteen years of suspension by reason of war and reconstruction, my solicitude led to frequent consultations with Col. James M. VanHoose, then the last secretary and librarian, who still had in charge the books and papers, and finally with his consent, and that of the president and faculty of the University of Alabama, to the placing of these books and papers in the University library, in 1874, for safe protection. And, soon afterwards, when requested by the editor of the *University Monthly* to furnish an article for that paper I assumed the role of a cadet editor and wrote the article which appears under the caption "The Alabama Historical Society," on page 64, vol. i, March, 1874. Not long thereafter, a meeting was called and the Society was revived and reorganized on the night of June 30, 1874, at the Alabama Central Female College. Dr. James Guild, Sr., was elected president. After that, the work then resumed was kept up and annual and other meetings were held. The growing interest added to the membership, and many valuable papers were received, read, and filed. These have been generally published. A large proportion of these papers came in at the monthly meetings of the Society, held by order of the annual session in 1878, at which time I was elected president. These occurred on the first Friday night in each month for more than two years, and certainly widened and intensified sympathy in the work for the time—furnishing a precedent whose results suggest repetition. To the enthusiasm of Mr. John Snow (of Willits, Mendocino county, California), then secretary, and to the earnest and faithful co-operation of Mr. Walter Guild, his volunteer assistant, this revival of interest was

largely due. A long and serious sickness suggested my resignatin in May, 1880, and Gen. S. A. M. Wood was elected my successor as president.

Satisfactory sketches of the founders and original officers of the Society would draw out this paper to too great length. In this brief allusion to some of them, the law already enunciated would naturally put Dr. Basil Manly first; for to him more than to any other one man, my venerated father excepted, I owe what little my life has accomplished. But there is also another law that claims for him the first place—the law of propriety—of right. He was not the president, but the originator of the enterprise. Of him, I will say here but few words. He was a great man, great in heart, great in intellect, great in purpose, and great in the discipline and proper subordination of all his passions and powers to the wise ends and objects of life. "Success" might be written as the logical sequence. Throughout his long and eventful career the various enterprises he labored for were blest by his touch. "Being dead, he yet speaketh." "His works do follow him."

I herewith present a sketch of Hon. Alexander Bowie, the first president of the Society. The data embraced in the sketch was kindly furnished me at my request by his grandson, Hon. Sidney J. Bowie, of Anniston, Ala., condensed from a volume entitled *The Bowies and their Kindred*, by Walter W. Bowie (1899), pp. 318-320:

Chancellor Alexander Bowie, the eleventh child of Maj. John Bowie, a Scotch emigrant to South Carolina; and his wife, Rosa (*Reid*) Bowie, was born near Abbeville, South Carolina, December 14, 1789. He graduated at the South Carolina College; after which he studied law and was admitted to practice at Abbeville in 1813. He successfully pursued his profession as a lawyer in that town for a number of years. During the War of 1812 he was commissioned a colonel of the 8th regiment, South Carolina militia, and later commander of the Abbeville nullifiers. He was several times a member of the South Carolina legislature. In 1835 he removed to Talladega, Alabama, where he at once rose to prominence in his new home; and in 1839 was elected over E. W. Peck, chancellor of the northern division of Alabama. He presided on the chancery bench with marked ability for six years. He was a trustee of the State University and was

distinguished for his graceful elocution, scholarly attainments and independent judgment. In Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama* he is ranked with the very foremost men in his State, and is also accorded the highest praise in Brewer's *History of Alabama*, which says: "Few excelled him in conversational powers and legal ability, and none in integrity and probity of character." In January, 1814, Judge Bowie married Susan Barnett Jack, daughter of John and Mary (*Barnett*) Jack, natives of North Carolina. John Jack, with his brother James, participated in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and James Jack was the bearer of the Declaration to the Continental Congress. John Jack was the son of Col. Patrick Jack, of Charlotte, North Carolina, and his wife, Lillie McAdough. He was born about 1700, and was the son of Charles Jack, and a grandson of William Jack, born about 1610 in Ireland of noble parentage. The latter became a Presbyterian minister and was ejected from his "living" for nonconformity. Chancellor Bowie died at his home December 30, 1866, and his wife in 1868.

To the foregoing I will add only a personal reminiscence. In July, 1851, I came from my home in Foster's settlement to attend the University commencement and the annual meeting of the Society. At the old "Bell Tavern" kept by the famous hotel man, Samuel G. Frierson, I was, as if by chance, made the joint occupant of a room with Chancellor Bowie. I had known him slightly, but now, in the four or five days of commencement exercises, a thorough mutual acquaintance and warm friendship developed. He was thirty years my senior, and was president of the Society while I was its secretary. I was gratefully surprised to find one almost double my age, and so far my superior, in every respect, able, without the slightest show of condescension, to come to the level of a perfect equality with me, and to inspire a feeling of genial and unreserved companionship. His presence in our room during the intervals between the public exercises, made it more attractive to me than any other place. His vivacious conversation, so full of wisdom and noble suggestion, charmed and instructed me on whatever theme our discourse turned. One word-picture which he gave me left its permanent photograph on my mind. Perhaps my experience connected with the removal of the

Creek Indians in 1836 had the better prepared me to receive the impression.

In their emigration westward, some of them had camped where the University observatory now stands. With other boys I had visited their camp and bought from them a few trinkets. We had gone again to another camp at Jemison's mill across the Warrior river, where we saw some boys and girls—fifty or more—between the ages of two and twenty years,—not clad in modern bathing suits, but all "in their birthday suits," or "in undress uniform"—all paddling like ducks in the creek. I had seen Opothleyohola and his lithe and graceful daughters, and heard the great chief talk in eloquent pathos of their bitter grief on leaving their hunting grounds and the graves of their fathers. I had passed the grave of a chieftain's son in the northwest corner of the observatory old field, and seen its lonely sentinel—the pet dog of the little boy—as he kept his ceaseless vigils over the tomb of his master. My heart yearned in youthful sympathy for the poor Indian.

Judge Bowie's story was of their removal. Two days after the Indians had left their homes and started on their weary journey to their western reserve, he and a friend were passing on horseback through the mountainous region of their deserted "nation." On reaching a gap in the mountains, his friend told him that a short distance through the woods would bring them to the summit from which they would see the finest landscape in the country. On reaching the top, there spread out before them an enchanting vision of the valley of the Coosa to the enclosing hills and mountains on either side. Their rapturous emotions had not found time for utterance before they simultaneously discovered a few yards before them an old Indian man, and a little farther off, to the left, another, each bearing the marks of extreme age and great infirmity, each sitting on a log, his elbows on his knees and his head bowed in his hands, his steady gaze fixed on the landscape on which he had so often looked. Silently the travelers took in the whole situation. Unable to go with their tribe, the two old Indians had repaired to this point, where they might sit and view the grounds so long endeared to them, the scenes of their youthful joys, the prototype of their Elysium, and there might sit and wait and die. They moved not a muscle, the two horsemen spake not a word. The scene was sacred and awed them into reverential

silence. Slowly and sadly they turned their horses away and not until they had reached the road they had left, was the painful silence broken.

Of the other officers, not herein mentioned, fragrant memories linger with me, and it would be grateful to refer to them. But let this suffice.

MR. GUILD'S REMINISCENCES.

Influenced by the sentiment enshrined in the old Latin phrase, *Haec olim meminisse juvabit,* "it will be pleasant to remember these hereafter," and in obedience to the request of our distinguished Secretary I have concluded to make an attempt to add something as a reminiscence to the entertainment of this interesting occasion,—the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Alabama Historical Society. For two potent reasons, however, what is related must be brief. First, because it is the wish and expectation of all concerned that it *shall* be brief. Secondly, considering the short notice and other conditions precedent, it could not be otherwise than brief even if desired. In further explanation I would say that upon the reception of Mr. Owen's request my first impression was to decline, for the want of data or any thing tangible with which to refresh the memory and insure something like an intelligible and systematic arrangement. It has been nearly twenty years since my active membership in the Society. In the meanwhile, being out of touch with its workings and without access to the records, you can readily appreciate the difficulties encountered in the attempt to give from memory alone an orderly and systematic story.

One of the most pleasant and interesting memories of my connection with the organization is that of my association with Mr. John Snow in the publication of the *Alabama Historical Reporter* under the auspices of the Society and during the administration of Dr. J. H. Foster, the learned and honored veteran in all the good work of its advancement since its birth, fifty years ago.

Mr. Snow and myself at this time, 1879, were the recording and corresponding secretaries, respectively. If I mistake not the idea of the *Reporter* was conceived by him, and its expenses guaranteed from his private purse. This expense was promptly met

by him till, within a few months, the publication having grown in favor and circulation, was enabled to pay its own way. In the meanwhile Mr. Snow being engrossed in business, the editorial department devolved upon the writer. Along with the publication was inaugurated the monthly meetings of the Society. The principal feature of the periodical was the record of the minutes or proceedings of these meetings that were held in the old city hall, across the way from the Tuscaloosa county court house. These meetings were fully attended by the local members, and were made particularly interesting by the reading of original papers and communications from different portions of Alabama and from other States. The reports of these meetings, circulated throughout the country, created an interest in the Society unknown for years. It is reasonable to presume that this was a means of bringing to the archives many of the valuable papers which were contributed during this period. Among these contributions can be recalled the distinguished names of Claiborne, Gaines, Driesbach, Hardaway, Grant, Halbert, Saunders, Jones, of Georgia, and others. Encouraging letters were received from the venerable Anson Nelson, the distinguished secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society. Among the local contributors to the archives as well as to the pleasure and improvement of these meetings, were Dr. W. S. Wyman, Dr. J. H. Foster, Col. E. A. Powell and others. It was at one of these meetings, I believe, that Dr. Wyman first made public the true significance and etymology of the Indian word Alabama, "the people that gather mulberries." Thus he immolated upon the altar of science the alluring and poetic fancy of "Here we rest," which had for so many years been the tenderly cherished idol of the popular mind.

The *Reporter*, from private subscriptions and exchanges, was extensively circulated and soon brought the Society in touch with those of other States. Many valuable periodicals and publications were received in exchange from the societies of Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin, Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia. As intimated above, access to the records or a glance at the old files of the *Reporter* would have, perhaps, refreshed my mind as to dates and incidents and given to this reminiscence something more substantial than what is related.

While rummaging among some old papers ravaged by time and other despoilers, hoping to find something suggestive that would help me out of my difficulties, I came across a copy of the *Reporter* —a solitary and lonely reminder of the days that are gone. I recognized it as a long lost and almost forgotten friend whose ghost had suddenly risen from the dead years of the past. The early history of the little periodical, the details of which are omitted for reasons already mentioned, was fraught with difficulties and discouragements that always attend enterprises which are novel and out of the regular routine. It must be confessed that I was not very sanguine of the success of the publication when first proposed by Mr. Snow. Like the gambler who refused to bet, either way, on a race between a thoroughbred and a mule, affirming, as his reason, that "There's no telling what the *darned* mule might do," I also was unwilling to lay a wager upon the outcome of this race between our fledgeling and the veteran time. It was indeed a match race between the little *Reporter* and the famous old sprinter. Which was the thoroughbred and which the mule, and the final result must, I presume, be left only to posterity. This connection with the *Reporter* ended with my active membership in the Society in 1884.

During the era of monthly meetings of the Society I considered the *Reporter* pretty much under the protecting wing, so to speak, of Mr. Snow, whose enterprise and zeal added so much to the revival of interest in the Society, and to its prosperity during this period. In this connection I deem it a special privilege to give testimony to his intelligent zeal and devotion to the high aims and advancement of the Society during the few years of his active membership and will express the hope that his unselfish work may be remembered.

In conclusion I submit some notes from the issue of the *Reporter* above referred to. It has the following title:

"ALABAMA
HISTORICAL REPORTER,
Being the monthly proceedings of the
ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Headquarters at Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
Vol. I, No. 3. December, 1879. 25 cts. a year."

The numbers were often enhanced in interest by the publication

of important papers. Several of them I remember contained Maj. J. D. Driesback's "Weatherford—The Red Eagle," published serially.

The meeting, the proceedings of which appear in this number, was held in the city hall on Dec. 15, 1879, the president, Dr. J. H. Foster, in the chair. Thirty resident and corresponding members were elected, and twenty-six other names placed in nomination. A number of valuable donations were reported. On motion of Gen. S. A. M. Wood the constitution was amended so as to exempt ministers of the gospel from dues. The president caused to be read an article from the Grove Hill *Democrat* entitled: "Historical Points No. 4" describing various localities of historic interest to be found in or near that portion of the Alabama river extending from its junction with the Tombigbee to the town of Claiborne—embracing the battle ground of "Maubila," the scene of the "Canoe Fight," and of the "Fort Mims Massacre," and other points which have rendered this portion of Alabama historic ground. A few extracts from the editorials will not, I hope, be out of place:

"An invaluable aid would be rendered to the objects of our Society by the contributions of biographical sketches and essays upon the lives and characters of the noted men of our State; the sturdy characters who have made its history and whose individual deeds of glory and usefulness are fast fading into mere traditions, and which, in time, will lose their interest and become only 'as a school boy's tale, the wonder of an hour.'" "Written history is the most potent of all the forces which have tended to civilize, enlighten and elevate mankind." "There is a charm in personal reminiscences and biographies of these great men, which general history possesses not. Here their private characters are delineated, the minor traits and individualities—the little things of life (albeit they have combined to make the possessor famous among men) are brought to view, enabling the coming generations to make a proper estimate of their positions on the roll of fame. The grandeur of Washington's private character, his spotless integrity and patriotism—that sublime unselfishness which so elevated him above common humanity—was exhibited to the world only through the written history of his private character. Boswell's life of Dr. Johnson has made this old rugged Titan of English literature the

most famous of the literary celebrities of modern times. Note with what eagerness the civilized world looks forward to the time when the reminiscences of the wily diplomat, Prince Talleyrand, will be published to the world. See with what avidity is read, by all men, the recently published Memoirs of Madam De Remusat and Prince Metternich, simply because they treat of the private character of the ruling spirit of the age, Napoleon Bonaparte."

"We make an earnest appeal" to those interested "to contribute for the archives biographies of the men of our State, who, if not already distinguished in her annals, will, by this means, have their noble deeds and characters rescued from the oblivion which will soon obliterate them forever if not so recorded." Another item:

"The last of our border heroes, Hon. Jere Austill, aged 85 years, has just died at his home, in Clarke county. Every schoolboy is familiar with his name as one of the heroes of the celebrated Canoe Fight which occurred on the Alabama river in 1813 when he together with Sam Dale, Smith and the negro Caesar, attacked a canoe manned by nine Indian warriors, killing them all, while sustaining but slight injuries themselves."

MR. VAN HOOSE'S REMINISCENCES.

At the annual meeting of the Society, in July, 1854, I was appointed secretary at the instance of the late Professor Tuomey. My information was that the Society had lost much of the interest with which it inspired the public during the administration of its efficient first secretary, Dr. Joshua H. Foster. At least I found that its treasury was well nigh empty and a large number of its members delinquent in the payment of their annual subscriptions. The secretary was instructed by the meeting (July, 1854) to push the collection of these arrears as far as polite solicitation would permit. The meeting for the first time attached a *promised* salary of $250 to the office of secretary. This would seem to make it interesting to such officer and stimulate him to industrious efforts in collecting subscriptions from tardy members. Courteous notice was given to each member whose oversight had placed him amongst the "delinquents" in annual dues of $5.00 for each one. The replies, generally, contained a remittance of amount "due to

date" with a polite "bow of retirement" from "further participation."

The amount received is not remembered accurately—near fifty dollars I think—but whatever it may have been it was turned over to the treasurer, Judge Washington Moody.

During the early spring of 1855 I corresponded with the Hon. A. B. Meek, then in Mobile, requesting him to deliver a lecture or an address "On Alabama History" at our annual meeting at Tuscaloosa in July, 1855. His reply was favorable and at the meeting it was decided to have the lecture delivered in the Methodist church at night because the great reputation and eloquence of the orator was sure to draw an audience too large for our usual place of assemblage. There was no disappointment in the result, for the audience was large and the classic "Address" up to the high standard of the orator. By order of the Society it was printed in pamphlet form.

A "History of Blount County" came into my hands as secretary with accompanying directions from the Society to edit and publish it. This manuscript "History" was by Mr. George Powell, of Blount county, and was written at the instance of the venerated Prof. Michael Tuomey, professor of geology and mineralogy of the State University, and State geologist of Alabama. Mr. Powell had guided Prof. Tuomey in his explorations of Blount, being thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the county. Prof. Tuomey's clear discernment of "good metal" discovered that Mr. Powell was of valuable "grit" and laid him under contribution for our Society. The result was the "History of Blount County," a brochure of some thirty-five printed pages as published in the winter of 1855-56, by J. F. Warren, proprietor of the *Observer,* Tuscaloosa. This little historical pamphlet was unique as a model for such brief histories of our various counties as the Society so much desires. This and the address of Mr. Meek appeared in the *Transactions* of the Society for 1855.

On July 13, 1858, the annual address—by invitation of the Society—was by the Hon. Newton L. Whitfield, on "The Philosophy of History" or some similar title, according to the recollection of the writer. Mr. Whitfield was a man of great native intellect and was a lover and student of the best works of English, French and German authors, on subjects kindred to that chosen for his ad-

dress. To those who can remember the force and mental power of the man it is needless to say that the lecture of Mr. Whitfield was thoughtful, polished and highly appreciated by the large audience which heard it in our venerated and *ever regretted old Rotunda* on the University campus.

In 1859 there was no annual address before the Society according to the recollection of the writer, but only the usual "business meeting" consisting of a small "meeting" without the "business."

In 1860 "coming events cast their shadows before," and but little was thought of among Southern people but the pending and omninous presidential election.

During the whole period of the writer's secretaryship there were no other "collections" than the newspapers of the State which were generously given to the Society by their numerous and intelligent editors and proprietors, and a few books. These were carefully preserved by the secretary with the small collection of fossils and Indian relics contributed to the Society in its earliest days. In 1862 Tuscaloosa being a "military post," was the rallying point for the volunteer troops of a number of neighboring counties. At various times their assemblage was so large that rooms and buildings for sheltering the men were frequently demanded. The little collections of the Society were stored in the law office of the secretary, which consisted of two large rooms, a small room, a hall and large back yard. This constituted a comfortable barracks for a full company; and at that period no man would for a moment refuse its occupation by them when its use was requested. With abundant cautions to protect the contents of the office it was turned over to the gallant fellows; and after three or four weeks use as a barrack it is hardly necessary to say that there was scarcely "a wreck behind," the valuable collection of newspapers having been burnt "to start the winter fires."

Thus the early life of the Alabama Historical Society passed; but it was reanimated by the efforts mainly of Thomas M. Owen, the present efficient secretary in 1898.

Let me be pardoned for a concluding paragraph which is more suggestive than reminiscent. The secretary of a historical society is to a great extent *the society itself*. It is a unique illustration of our national motto—"*E pluribus unum.*" Upon the secretary

devolves the whole working capacity of such a society; and the history of all such organizations here and abroad is that *the secretary is the society.* Such officer should receive a salary that will justify the devotion of his whole time to the important work. Yes! *important,* for if the early history of Alabama is not in a very high degree epic and heroic, yet the events of the passing days are historic material, and five hundred years hereafter our descendants will want to know what their ancestors wore, what they ate, what they read, how they worshiped, what were their habits, customs and sports, their laws, their crimes and virtues, what their products, their literature, their business, &c. All of those current matters constitute the "warp and woof" from which the future philosophic historian will weave the fabric called—HISTORY.

COMMUNICATION FROM JOHN SNOW, A FORMER SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Mr. John Snow, a native of Tuscaloosa, Ala., was for some years secretary of the Society. He is now a resident of Willits, Mendocino county, California, and in reply to inquiries has responded in an interesting communication. Although not part of the semi-centennial program, it is deemed proper to include with the proceedings of the meeting. There was no more zealous member or officer of the Society than Mr. Snow, and his removal from the State deprived the organization of its "intellectual beast of burden."

UKIAH, MENDOCINO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, *Feb. 14, 1899.*

Mr. Thomas M. Owen,
Secretary and Treasurer
Alabama Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have before me your last letters, and in a recent postal I explained to you why I had not answered them sooner. Your letters enclosed the Announcement for 1898-9 which I have read with great interest. You need not have apologized for troubling me, for you wrote in reference to a cause in which I have for many years felt a deep interest, and which will always be very dear to me.

It is so long since I gave up the work (12 or 15 years ago) that some of your inquiries I cannot answer positively but will do so from memory as I best can.

My recollection about the minute book that I used is the one which had been used long years before I became connected with the Society. It was I think an old leather back book, similar to a merchant's ledger, being about 1 or 1¼ inches thick. At any rate I am confident I delivered to my successor the minute book, the subscription book containing the names of those who subscribed to the *Historical Reporter,* and also the account book in which I kept an account with the members when they paid their annual dues.

As to my successor I am not certain who he was, but think it was either Walter Guild or Montgomery Burton. The library by the direction of the president I sent to the University for safe keeping; and with it I think quite a lot of miscellaneous papers which my successor could not well care for.

In regard to "previous records," "previous roll" and "ante-bellum records" I don't remember about them, but if they are not in the old minute book I spoke of above I don't think I ever had them. From the time I became secretary I kept a complete register of members which I transmitted to my successor.

In regard to the "cut" used in the *Historical Reporter* I think it is an adaptation of the old seal of the State of Alabama and was used for that reason, but I do not know who suggested it, or when it was adopted and why, nor whether it was ever intended or used as a Society seal, or simply as a design or illustration. For some years M. I. Burton, who had a job printing office in Tuscaloosa did all our printing and had the cut, and if it has not been found it is doubtless in his possession.

I paid him $5.00 a month for printing the *Reporter* trusting to reimburse myself with subscriptions which never came in.

I am glad that there has been a revival of the Society. It was a noble cause, and I feel almost a sacred cause, and the reason I think that I always felt so much interest in it was that I knew as time passed the interest would grow and then it would be a matter of regret to Alabamians that so much had passed into oblivion, and I was anxious to help save as much as possible of the vast amount of history that was rapidly passing away. And I am grat-

ified that our legislature saw fit to help you, and especially glad that the Society has such a secretary as it has, for more depends upon him than anyone else. There is lots of work and little pay, glory or thanks, and few men are willing to undertake such work. I shall always be glad to help you in any way that I can and you need not hesitate to write to me as often as you may find cause to do so. I will always answer you as promptly and as fully as my abilities and opportunities will permit. If Major Driesbach is still living he will be a very useful member. I think he lived in Monroe county, at any rate Col. McCorvey can give his address. Mr. H. S. Halbert also took a very deep interest in the collection of passing Indian history.

No, the Society is still very dear to me, and many of my happiest memories have grown out of my connection with it. How well do I remember the little meetings we used to have once a month with usually from four to eight members present, more often four than eight; we often met in private houses as we had no money to rent a room. I recall a meeting we once had in the parlor of the late Thomas Maxwell. There were present besides Mr. M. and myself I think only Dr. Peter Bryce and Rev. Joshua H. Foster. It was a cold winter night, but a big fire and some refreshments kept up our spirits as well as our zeal. Only four of us, but when we met we did something and four zealous men can do more than a hundred indifferent ones. Dr. Wyman was also a regular attendant on our meetings, as well as several others.

I still keep in touch with Alabama, get the papers, and take a deep interest in the affairs of my old home, and in the doings of the Historical Society, but accumulating years, indifferent health and the bread and butter problem prevent me from taking an active part in its work.

If you wish it, I would feel honored to be retained as a corresponding member and should I ever have the opportunity would be only too glad to contribute my mite toward the work.

In regard to the photograph I have none taken during the period you indicate, but I send in another package one taken soon after my removal to this State.

Yours very truly,

JOHN SNOW.

IX. DR. BASIL MANLY, THE FOUNDER OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

In the observance of the semi-centennial of the Alabama Historical Society we are confronted with a most serious sense of obligation to the brave and earnest spirits who, realizing the necessity for the organization, wisely planned, projected and fostered it. Fifty years have passed since the little meeting at Duffee's in the city of Tuscaloosa on the eighth of July, 1850, which marks our beginning as an organization. Looking back over this half century of existence, although that which has been accomplished is far short of the plans of the founders, our admiration is excited and our emotions of gratitude stirred in contemplation of the work which they designed. A recital therefore in the briefest possible limits of the facts of the genesis in connection with a sketch of our founder, Dr. Basil Manly, cannot be other than appropriate here. I am able to do this with considerable fullness through the courteous co-operation of his son, Dr. Charles Manly, of Lexington, Va., who has placed at my disposal all of his father's correspondence which contains references to the Society. He has also supplied extracts from his father's diary of all items bearing on the Society. These are printed in full as a part of this paper.

Dr. Basil Manly, to whom we look as the founder of our Society, was a native of North Carolina. His birthplace was about three miles north of the village of Pittsboro, Chatham county, and the date of his birth was Jan. 29, 1798, more than one hundred years ago. He was the son of Basil and Elizabeth (*Maultsby*) Manly, and the grandson of Thomas and Mary (*Ford*) Manly. Thomas Manly immigrated from Ireland early in the eighteenth century, and settled in the province of Maryland. The senior Basil Manly was born in St. Mary's county, and prior to the War of the Revolution removed to North Carolina, first locating in Bladen county. During the Revolution "he was a bold and active partisan officer, holding the commission of a captain during that

war."[1] After the close of hostilities, owing to ill health, he changed his residence to Chatham county. It is said of him that he was "much respected for his high moral courage and his inflexible integrity." The wife of Basil Manly, Sr., was Elizabeth Maultsby, who has been characterized as a "pious and exemplary wife, a woman of great mental endowments." The real worth of this devoted couple is, however, more strikingly emphasized by the eminent success and high character of their three distinguished sons than in any other manner. These were Charles Manly, governor of North Carolina, Matthias Evans Manly, judge of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina, and Dr. Basil Manly, preacher, educator, and founder of institutions. It were going too far afield to speculate how much the influence of parental instruction and impression operated in making and moulding the character and aspiration of these men. Certain it is that their lives indicate a source of superior strength.

Of the three sons, however, the life of the last named, Dr. Basil Manly, was undoubtedly the most far-reaching and permanent in its results and influences. Serious and meditative as a youth, he was at the age of eighteen the subject of Divine grace. In his twentieth year he was licensed as a preacher by the Baptist Church. In Dec., 1819, with funds furnished by his father, he entered the junior class of the South Carolina College, at Columbia, whence he graduated with first honor Dec. 3, 1821. Thus equipped he at once entered upon the ministry of the gospel. His charges were successively at Edgefield Court House, 1821 to 1826, and at Charleston, S. C., 1826 to 1837, when in the latter year he resigned his pastorate to accept the presidency of the State University of Alabama. As a pastor, leader, theologian, minister, he had been remarkably successful and his fame, "noised abroad," caused his promotion to the new field of teaching. He succeeded the Rev. Alva Woods, D. D., the first president of the University, and on Jan. 29, 1838,[2] under his administration, exercises were resumed. For eighteen years he was at the head of the Uni-

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[1] Wheeler's *Reminiscences of North Carolina*, pp. 112-113.

[2] This is the date given in Clark's *History of Education in Alabama* (1889), p. 48, but Dr. Manly's diary contains the following: "On the first Monday in February, according to the resolution of the Board, the exercises of the University were commenced," and elsewhere it is stated that this date was Feb. 5, 1838.

versity and during this period it attained a wide growth and expansion. Not to enter into details it is proper to summarize the achievements of these years. The University was in disfavor, without discipline, and without an orderly correlation of work. He stimulated perfect confidence, restored discipline of a firm but conciliatory character, enlarged the faculty, widened the courses of instruction, and gave shape and form to a real University life. It was he who secured Dr. F. A. P. Barnard as a member of the faculty. It was during his term that the astronomical observatory was erected, the president's house built, the Geological Survey established, the library catalogued by Dr. Wilson Gaines Richardson, the funds of the University placed in the keeping of a regular official treasurer, and the Alabama Historical Society organized. It were too broad a claim to assert that all of these things were brought about by him, but he was the cordial supporter of all, and all had his sanction, while some were due altogether to his initiative.

The observer cannot avoid an exclamation of involuntary admiration for the many-sided activities of the man. In the midst of his daily official duties from which he had no rest for his entire eighteen years of service, he found time to ponder the needs of his State, his Church, and the University, and to organize new agencies for usefulness and good. He often preached. He filled the chair of mental and moral philosophy in the University. He took part in the deliberative organizations of the Baptist Church; and in 1845 was one of the organizers of the Southern Baptist Convention. He was a most interested observer of political events. He was a voluminous letter writer. He took all knowledge for his province, and was thoroughly conversant with the character of work done by each member of his faculty.

It is no wonder to us, therefore, that he should take the lead in bringing about the formation of a State Historical Society. How long he had considered the subject is not known, but after mature and deliberate conference and reflection doubtless, he determined upon action. To this end he prepared a circular letter dated January, 1850, which he alone signed, and which he mailed to his friends and others calling on them to meet for organization. This circular, which was printed on the first page of a commercial size folio is the very first item in our bibliography, and I append

a copy. In this circular he declares the truth which all have come to feel that "It is doubted whether any ingenuous and earnest patriotism can be transfused beyond its founders, when a State fails to record and preserve its own history." The tone of this circular is lofty and embodies an array of reasons for action which cannot be improved. From a letter to his friend, ex-Chancellor Bowie, which he begins on the third page of the circular and which is given hereinafter, the interesting fact is learned that the first of the circulars issued was addressed to Col. A. J. Pickett. How appropriate! Col. Pickett was then the recognized head of historical work in the State and his valuable *History of Alabama* in two volumes was to appear the next year. The letter to Bowie also requests a list of names, and it has the curious statement that Curry, referring to the distinguished Dr. Jabez L. M. Curry,[2] "declines attempting a list of names, without your aid."

As a result of the call the meeting was held in the old U. S. court room (Duffee's Hotel) on Monday, the 8th day of July, 1850, but instead of convening at eight o'clock in the evening the session was held at four in the afternoon. In imagination I look in on that gathering. Gov. Henry W. Collier raps the assemblage to order, and on his suggestion Chancellor Bowie is called to preside. Suggestions and propositions are then in order. Dr. Manly rises and speaks. He calls attention to the importance of organized effort in caring for the history of the State, and refers to what other State societies are doing. He exhibits some of their circulars and publications. This done, he offers a draft of a constitution which he had prepared. On being read it is unanimously adopted. Forty-six names are then enrolled as members. The work is inaugurated, what will be the result?

The extracts which I append tell the story. For five years Dr. Manly strove diligently and continuously, and his efforts only ceased when on Oct. 3, 1855, he left Alabama. Accepting no office save a place on the executive committee he did more work and displayed more activity than all of the officers and other members of the committee combined, with perhaps the exception of Dr. Joshua H. Foster, the secretary from 1850 to 1852. How keenly those of us with similar experiences can appreciate the extracts which follow—the failure of members of committees to perform

[2] Dr. Curry died Feb. 12, 1903. *See infra* for sketch.

their duties, the indifference of the average individual to voluntary effort, the difficulty in securing the preparation of historical papers, the embarrassments of obtaining anniversary speakers and the annoyances of editing and proof-reading. The wisdom of his observation on the necessity for a paid executive official and a permanent headquarters has been vindicated by the action of many of our sister States. And Alabama must follow the suggestion of our revered founder, and the well-established precedents of other States before we can hope to achieve success commensurate with our glorious history. I shall comment no further on the extracts. They present a really satisfactory account in his own words of the origin and first five years of the Society. Read consecutively, they afford valuable and instructive lessons for our guidance and inspiration.

On the 19th of April, 1855, Dr. Manly announced his resignation as president of the University to take effect on the first of the following October. This step was due to his failing health. The following extract from his last report cannot be read without a feeling of intense conviction of his strength and greatness:

"It has been the steady aim of the undersigned, and of that body of able and honest men who have composed the Faculty of this University for the last eighteen years, to raise and maintain a high standard of scholarship. To have done this is a great achievement for a college, for a State, and for posterity, essentially involving the true elevation and advancement of a people for all time. The gratifying consciousness is ours that we have reared for the University an elevated standard of scholarship; that notwithstanding the paucity and insufficiency of schools, the indulgent spirit of wealthy parents, and the alleged indisposition of Southern youth to severe application, we have inspired the ambition of high attainments in the ingenuous young men who have remained with us, and have dismissed them to their employments in the world, endowed with self-mastery and prepared to stand with no enfeebling consciousness of inferiority on any platform of duty and trial to which the providence of God may call them.

"Grateful for all your generous confidence and much attached to you individually by the amenities of a kindly intercourse, I now surrender to you the important trusts committed to my hands."

Leaving Alabama he again took up pastoral work at the Wentworth Street church in Charleston, S. C. Here he remained from 1855 until 1859 when he returned to Alabama as a general

missionary of the Baptist denomination. In 1859 he had aided in the organization of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Greenville, S. C. On Dec. 30, 1860, he became pastor of the First Baptist church of Montgomery, Ala.; and in 1863 he returned to Tuscaloosa, where he resided until 1867. In the latter year he removed to Greenville, S. C., where his son, Basil Manly, Jr., resided as a professor in the Theological Seminary; and here surrounded by the members of his family he passed away Dec. 21, 1868. On the day following his death, Dr. James P. Boyce delivered a funeral discourse; and Rev. Dr. Samuel Henderson preached a memorial sermon at the annual session of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, Nov. 14, 1869, at Oxford. There were other tributes.

The late letters of Dr. Manly contain no reference to the bantling he had so fondly cherished for five years. Indeed it is not supposed that he took any part in the work of the Society after 1855. But an explanation for this is doubtless found in the fact not only that he was deeply absorbed in other matters, but also because of the association of the Historical Society with the University, by which it was supposed to be nourished and fostered. The story of the first five years of our history is full of interest, but no feature of it is more prominent than the noble work of him who founded and fostered it with so much patriotic zeal.

The wife of Dr. Manly was Sarah Murray Rudolph, of S. C., to whom he was married Dec. 23, 1824.

It is of interest to state that on our rolls will be found the names of his sons, Dr. Charles Manly, of Lexington, Va., and R. Fuller Manly, of Birmingham, and of his grand-daughter, Miss Louise Manly, of Clearwater Harbor, Fla.

Extracts from Dr. Manly's Letters.

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM DR. BASIL MANLY TO HON. ALEXANDER BOWIE. *Ben Lomond*, TALLADEGA COUNTY, ALA., JAN., 1850.

University of Ala, *Jan., 1850.*

Sir,

The history of a State is an object of peculiar interest;—not less when it enters on its broad career by the peaceful will of a virtuous and free people, than when it struggles into being amid the throes of revolution and the horrors of carnage. It is doubted whether an ingenuous and earnest patriotism can be transfused

much beyond its founders, when a State fails to record and preserve its own history. And the fact, that, in the absence of verities and authentic narrative, nations have always resorted to fiction and fable, shows the common judgment of mankind that the uses of history are indispensable; and must be secured for a people, by some means.

In an inquisitive age, devoted to the collation and comparison of facts, and the deduction of right conclusions from them, it would be an unpardonable negligence, in the citizens of Alabama, to permit the still recent facts of her own history to pass from remembrance, without a record; or to be thrown into the confusion and darkness of garrets and vaults, awaiting their sure destruction. No succeeding age will forgive the inconsiderateness, if, while we are busy in amassing fortunes for ourselves, and providing for our families a name, we omit to give completeness and method and perpetuity to the materials for a history of our *State,* —that impersonation of all that gives security and value to man's social interests; which cherishes by being cherished, and enobles by being honored and loved.

Impelled by these views, a distinguished citizen of the State has urged the Faculty of the University to take the lead in calling attention to this important object; and has suggested the time and place of the next annual "commencement," as suitable for obtaining a first meeting of those who may take an interest in it.

Presuming on your readiness to encourage the formation of a State Historical Society for Alabama, we take the liberty of inviting you to meet others similarly inclined in the late U. S. court room, Tuscaloosa, (Duffee's) at eight o'clock in the evening of the second Monday in July, A. D. 1850.

In behalf of the Faculty of the University,

B. MANLY.

To The Honble.

Alex. Bowie.—

Endorsed on the third page of the foregoing circular, in addition to other matters, is the following paragraph from

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, FEB. 23, 1850.

"My Dear Friend,

"On another part of this sheet, you have the circular to those who may be designated as proper to be invited to enter into the

formation of a State Historical Society. This is the *second* copy issued. I was writing to *Col. Pickett,* the other day, & sent him one. Will you do me the favor to enter, with our friend Curry, into the matter of a list of names to whom it shall be addressed? Only 150 copies have been struck off: it may not be best to send even that number. Curry declines attempting a list of names, without your aid. Both, together, may accomplish the object better than either alone."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, SEPT. 20, 1850.

"We have had a quorum of our Executive com. of the Hist. Socy. together; Bp. Cobbs & Prof. Garland being absent from the city. Judge Ormond has been made chairman on my motion; and seems to take hold with evident satisfaction. *This relieves me greatly.* We are having the constitution printed—also the document to which you refer, exhibiting the scope of the Society.—A number of copies of this document will be printed on a letter sheet, suitable for more general distribution. Judge Ormond has also undertaken to write to Individuals (those whose names were given in, & many others) to elicit all the information, within our scope, possible. We are adopting the only feasible plan of success —viz directing the attention of *individuals* to *specific objects, appropriate* to them. Moody has been engaged to prepare the history of Tuscaloosa & its vicinity,—beginning with the first settlements, the organization of the county, Indian memoirs of all kinds, the churches— & *everything,*—even to the 'gullies'—those great sores of the municipal body.—

"This will begin at the right place, at home; and may furnish a specimen of what we wish in regard to other places. He will have that ready for our next meeting (annual). The *committee* will meet on the first monday evening in next month. By the way, did it ever occur to you that our lexicographers do not recognize the word 'gully?' It is a word, though, 'for a' that.'

"Of course, you are one of the executive committee, and may exercise the privilege of engaging your friends in efforts to promote our object. Either by yourself, or some other, prepare a minute account of the battles & other Indian memorials associated with Talladega; the history of the county, & town:—engage the Pastors to gather & arrange the facts about the churches; & every other matter can be equally well provided for.—

"If you know of any one who can prepare minute accounts of any other of the battles—Horse Shoe &c., &c.—it will be extremely desirable to do this, for our next meeting.—Also, the facts connected with the removal of the Indians, westward. Judge Chilton knows much about the Indians. Can he be induced to undertake something? Walker Reynolds knows a great deal. *You* can *write* down what he will *tell you.* The Indians, trying to imitate his name, applied words of their own to it—which have an amusing significance in such juxta-position. For Walker, they said 'Wakka' meaning 'cow'—& for Reynolds, they said 'renna,' meaning 'running'—i. e. *running cow.* It is curious also that he first recd. his *convictions* from chasing an Indian who had stolen his cow—he discharged his gun at the fellow, without effect; & dodged behind a tree that was a little *too small* to protect the rotund gastronomical appendage that (in common with that of *some of his friends*) is quite conspicuous: —it came to the Indian's turn, now, to shoot,—and his ball just grazed the *bark* of the *tree,* & the *bark of this appendage, aforesaid.* His narrow escape led to his first serious impressions, which changed his whole character.

"A diagram, & a *full* description of that battle of Talladega, with all its circumstances, antecedent, concurrent, and consequent, will give our next annual meeting an *exceeding interest. Curry* must employ his elegant pen, & his accurate research for us.—We shall, of course, require a speech from *you* at the annual meeting. You can do nothing to compare, in interest, with such memoirs of historical events as fall directly within our scope. I remember being *excited to a very high pitch,* hearing Judge *Shortridge* (the father) relate a great variety of things respecting the Indians.—His knowledge can be still gleaned, no doubt, from some of the old chroniclers around you, male or female.—I hope you will do much in this way."

DR. MANLY TO THE REV. E. B. TEAGUE, DEC. 16, 1850.

(Extract from a letter on the third page of the Society's second circular which contained an elaborate statement of its scope and objects):

"So far as any department of labor indicated in the preceding schedule may be within your scope, I shall be happy you will direct your attention to it,—prepare a paper—come to our annual

meeting, & read it,—&c. &c.—The annual meeting will be during commencement week, 2nd. mond. July 1851."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, FEB. 23, 1852.

"The document published by our historical Society, Col. Croom's address on the Cotton plant, has come out with some very awkward typographical errors, caused by the printer not sending the proof of a part of the sheets to the Committee for superintending the publication. On inspection of the manuscript, by the committee (which was not done till the first proof that came before them) it was found to have been written very carelessly—as to the structure of the sentences.—This they strove in some measure to obviate, by corrections in the proof; but the printer remonstrated against that, as giving him double trouble—and they thought it improper to go into the responsibility of re-writing the whole. It has been, therefore, published pretty much as it was.—Seabrook's Memoir on that subject left nothing to be done: and our publication can be useful only where that does not circulate. We must provide an anniversary orator. Whom do you suggest? A great many letters have been forwarded to persons in many of the principal counties, asking for county histories. We shall make the list complete at our next meeting—1st Mond. March. The meeting in Feby. failed—or we should have done it then.—

"We need a permanent Secretary—to be devoted mainly to the business of the Society;—a man full of antiquarian tastes—of habits laborious enough to make a splendid fortune,—but who is willing barely to earn a subsistence. He must have ability enough to make a chancellor—but will content himself with the pay of a constable.—You will oblige us, if, when you find such a man, you will 'trot him out.'"

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, MARCH 7, 1852.

"We have applied to John A. Campbell to become our anniversary orator.—He remains to be heard from.—The lawyers are so engaged at the Supreme court, at the time of commencement, that we can rarely rely on any of them. Yancey has failed two or three times, on that account.—For a Secretary, I did not hint at you; merely because your residence would preclude you from serving the Society while it is located here. An officer of the University is objectionable on the ground that they have so much to

do—as to have no leisure for such a purpose. A tutor, moreover, is not permanent. Benagh has remarkable tact that way—and the suggestion is a good one,—if we can find nothing better. It is not yet certain that Mr. Foster will resign. We have appointed Nicholson in Bp. Cobb's place on the Exec. Com^ee^—Tuomey gives me the name of a man in Virginia, who has been gathering up old Revolutionary manuscripts with a true antiquarian enthusiasm. His name is Campbell.—He is the man for us—if we can support him. I had thought he might be made Editor of Slade's paper—&, from both sources, might get support. But Tuomey thinks he is a democrat &, also, an Anti-bankman. This does not suit the 'Monitor.' What a misfortune to have inconvenient politics!—I have got Tuomey to put the question to him, direct—whether his politics are *convenient?* We may hear from him soon."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, MAY 19, 1852.

"Mr. Foster, our Secretary of the Hist. Socy. was requested to send to your address a number of copies of our proceedings.—Have you received them? We have caused a number of letters to be written to engage men in writing the histories of their counties, respectively. I fear that in all the labors of this year, we shall have but 'a beggarly account of empty boxes.' Up to this hour, we have no anniversary orator engaged. Campbell has declined. We are now knocking at Hilliard's gate; but have not got his response.

"Nothing can be done, to purpose,—without a paid Secretary—devoting his whole time, con amore, to the business. The Society must provide the means to obtain & keep such an officer, or we may as well give up the whole thing at once, & save ourselves from the disgrace of a still more notorious & palpable defeat. Even our committee are relaxing in zeal. On last Monday, we strove to get a meeting;—Mr. Foster came up—Tuomey & I went down, & found Ormond there; but Moody, Garland, & Nicholson did not attend; & we had no quorum.—Nicholson had been appointed in place of Bishop Cobbs,—who resigned, after his removal to Montgomery. All three of the delinquents had been 'warned in' during the day.—Our chairman does not drive business ahead with either regularity or dispatch. But we can *make him do*, if we have a Secretary (a regular working antiquary)

hired & paid,—and a room at our exclusive control. The trustees must give us a room in the old State House.—Give us these two things; and we will accomplish the history of Alabama in the course of time. Tuomey knows a man in Virginia, who will do for us—if we can pay him enough for a moderate support. At first, we thought of getting Slade to take him as Editor of the Monitor; & we thought that between us both, a salary can be made out. But, after a good deal of recollecting & guessing Tuomey thought that, *perhaps, the man was a democrat.* So, I told him to write to him to know whether his politics are *convenient.* It is a very awkward business, I find, for poor men, who cannot afford to keep even a conscience, to keep on hand inconvenient politics. Indeed, politics, like fresh fruits, will not *keep,* anyhow."

DR. MANLY TO REV. BASIL MANLY, JR., MAY 30, 1852.

"As yet the Historical Society has no orator. Our proceedings, this year, will be a failure, I am afraid."

DR. MANLY TO REV. BASIL MANLY, JR., JUNE 23, 1852.

"Nicholson is to make an address at the anniversary of our Hist. Society. I do not know of a single paper that has been got ready for the occasion."

DR. MANLY TO REV. BASIL MANLY, JR., JULY 6, 1852.

"Tuskaloosa is dead. Moody has had the history of the county to write for our historical Society, *for two years.* He undertook it, promised to do it; and I don't believe that he has written a line, or made one memorandum. All the young men of the place, Lawyers & Doctors, are loungers—no one studies—no one has any definite or elevated aim.—

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, OCT. 8, 1851.

"As yet we have had no meeting of the Exec. Com^ee^ of our historical Society—in consequence of our absence. Tuomey & I are to select a room for the accommodation of the body,—& will do this on to-morrow. We must try to have our meetings there—and to do business more efficiently than we have done."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, DEC. 15, 1852.

"We have had a meeting of the historical Society's com^ee^ since

I wrote.—We adopted sundry measures. But if they all issue as did that for the selection of a room,—we might have spent our time better at home.—We agreed to meet at Judge Ormond's office on Sat. at 9 o'clock—to go down in a body, and select a room for our accommodation in the old Capitol. Garland was lugged along—& we found Nicholson in the office; but neither Ormond, nor any one else, came.—The population of Tuskaloosa is dead. I know of no way to rouse any body, not under my authority, which has not already been tried, to no purpose. And I do seriously fear that the whole affair will come to the ground."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, FEB. 17, 1853.

"Your George *Beckett,* Secy. of the Hist. Society is no other than our good Professor of pure Math^cs George *Benagh* Esq. son-in-law to his Excellency, the Governor and Commander-in-chief in & over the State of Alabama.—Your optics are bad, my friend, to torture a poor fellow's name in that way. However, that will all be forgiven,—if you will produce that article, and make our annual meeting interesting and useful. Judge Shortridge is engaged in the land speculations along the line of your railroad.—I know how easy it is for men to talk: And, if writing materials for history cost neither time nor money nor patient laborious investigation comparison & reasoning, we should have materials enough.—What they would produce with little labor would be worth as little as the labor they gave it. So we must be content to plod on in the cold & discouraging labors of silent unrequited toil."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, MAY 28, 1853.

"I trust that nothing will prevent your coming to the meeting of the Historical Society. Bring Mrs. Bowie along to take care of you. You will find a hearty welcome & a quiet home in our house; and the change of scene, meeting of friends, &c—will greatly revive you.—I am not aware of any thing in course of preparation, to make a public demonstration with,—except a paper of Prof. Garland, and what you may be able to do.—We have failed in our efforts to procure an orator:—all applications for county histories, town-histories &c. &c.—have failed.—The committee, itself, would never meet,—if I did not go around & remind them, & drum them up. Such has been the feeble state of my

health, all this year, that I have often omitted that;—and then there had been no meeting.—I regret this state of things, exceedingly. The apprehension of such an issue made me reluctant, in the beginning, to embark in the enterprise. But, I will say no more to discourage you.—Do the best you can, toward the history of your county;—Select all the most inspiring topics, the battles, sieges, escapes, adventures;—clothe them in your very felicitous style—and come along. We shall all perhaps be inspired with new zeal,—by your presence & example."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, JULY 15, 1853.

"The Hist. Socy. had a good substitute for an ann. Orator in a learned & interesting address from Prof. Garland on the alleged discoveries of this Continent by the Northmen, before Columbus. The weight of evidence preponderates, largely, in favor of their claim of prior discovery.—In the afternoon, we had our annual meeting, some 40 or 50 present. Two new members were elected. A large arrear list, of defaulting members lies on the table.—The Treasury is pretty 'scant,'—some $40 or $50—I believe, on hand. —To save us from utter failure, we had a memoir from Prof. Tuomey on the physical features & soils of Alabama. And George Powell of Blount County presented a history of his county. Neither paper was read, from want of time. That of Tuomey was committed to the executive committee,—also that of Garland on the Northmen. Powell's history of Blount was retained by the author, to complete some of the dates & statistics, also the Botany of the county. It will be found, I judge, a very curious & interesting performance; and may have some effect in stimulating & directing the labors of others in that same neglected and difficult line.

"Gov. Collier is made President of the Society in your place. Ormond & I have slipped out of the committee, and Judge Wallace & Prof. Barnard have been put into the vacant places. 'New hands at the bellows' will do better work I hope. I am glad that the thing did not quite die on *our* hands.—Let us, however, try to do something toward county histories the coming year. If we can get this ball well started, & publish in the news papers some pithy spicy extracts,—that thing will go on,—& we may yet do good service to our State. .....

"Barnard * * * delivered a capital discourse on the life & services of Col. W. R. King before the citizens of Tuskaloosa on the 4th of July.—That is to be deposited among the collections of our historical Society,—in manuscript, if they do not print it."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, JAN. 25, 1854.

"I have herad of no meetings of the Hist. Society's comm^ee^."

DR. MANLY TO B. MANLY, JR., AND OTHER CHILDREN, JULY 3, 1854.

"Col. Pickett is here—to address the Historical Society on Wed. night."

DR. MANLY TO MR. BOWIE, JULY 11, 1855.

"A. B. Meek gave us a noble & most interesting address before the Historical Society on Monday night. I have not had time to go about or to see whether the Historical Society has been increased in numbers, nor whether the members have paid up."

DR. MANLY TO B. MANLY, JR., JULY 11, 1855.

"Judge Meek delivered a very engaging discourse on Mon. night before the Hist. Society."

EXTRACTS FROM DR. MANLY'S DIARY.

The following are the only references to the Historical Society to be found in the diary of Dr. Manly:

"1850. Monday, July 8th, is devoted to the Historical Society at Duffee's: the Trustees are invited to attend.

"1851. Tuesday afternoon, July 14th, a meeting and an address before the Historical Society.

"1852. July 12th, Monday, forenoon and afternoon, is devoted to the uses of the Ala. Historical Society.

"1853. There has been no selection of rooms in the old Capitol, either by the Society of Alumni or by the Historical Society. The building is leaky and tending rapidly to decay, in important parts; and it is not fit for occupancy without an outlay by the University which no use they might have for it would justify.

"1854. Thursday, July 13. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on Col. A. J. Pickett, of Montgomery.

"1855. Judge Meek, of Mobile, delivered the oration before the Historical Society Monday night (July 9th) in the Methodist church."

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In *Proceedings Agricultural Convention of Alabama,* 1841, pp. 9-30.

Divine efficiency consistent with human activity. | Notes of | a sermon | delivered by | Rev. Basil Manly, D. D., | at | Pleasant Grove Church, Fayette Co., Ala., | April 8th, 1849: : together with extracts | from the proceedings of a council, | assembled at the same time and place. | Tuscaloosa: | printed by M. D. J. Slade. | 1849. |

8 vo. pp. 24.

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8 vo. pp. 49.

Life and death the Christian's portion. | A discourse | occasioned by the funeral services | of the | Rev. Basil Manly, D. D., | at Greenville, S. C., December 22, 1868. | By the | Rev. James P. Boyce, D. D., | professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. | Sheldon & Co., New York. | Starke & Ryland, Richmond, Va. | Manly & Co., Tuscaloosa, Alabama. | 1869. |

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Christianity exemplified: | a | memorial sermon | of | Rev. Basil Manly, Sr., D. D., | preached, by appointment of the board of directors, at the | annual session of the Alabama Baptist State Conven- | tion, Oxford, Sabbath, November 14th, 1869. | Published by resolution of the Convention. | By | Rev. Samuel Henderson, D. D., | president of the Convention. | He....chose, as it were, his pictures of words from the life of reason.—Lord Bacon. | Atlanta, Georgia: | Franklin steam printing house—J. J. Toon, proprietor. | 1870. |

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Clark's *History of Education in Alabama* (1889), pp. 76-79.

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X. THE MISSION OF FRANCIS SCOTT KEY TO ALABAMA IN 1833.

By Thomas Chalmers McCorvey,[1] Tuscaloosa.

Near the close of the year 1833, Francis Scott Key, the famous author of our national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner," came to Tuscaloosa, then the capital of Alabama, charged with the management of one of the most critical complications in the po-

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[1]Thomas Chalmers McCorvey, who now holds the professorship of history and political economy in the University of Alabama, was born in Monroe county, Alabama, August 18, 1851. He is a son of the late Murdock McCorvey, who filled the office of probate judge of that county from 1856 to 1868, and of Lydia (*Ranaldson*) McCorvey, who was the daughter of Drury Allen Ranaldson and Mary (*Singletary*) Ranaldson, of the same county. His paternal grandparents, John McCorvey and Barbara (*McMillan*) McCorvey—whose ancestry were of the Campbell clan—came when children with their parents from Kintyre, Scotland, and settled in Robeson county, North Carolina, in 1783. His Ranaldson ancestors were also of Highland Scotch origin; but they had come earlier to this country. They had followed the "Young Pretender" at Culloden, 1746, and after the final overthrow of the "lost cause" of the Stuarts and the breaking up of the clan system by the British parliament, they emigrated with others of their clansmen to Cumberland county, North Carolina. Through intermarriages of the Ranaldsons with earlier settlers, there were strains of English blood in this original Scotch stock.

The three closely related families of the Murphys, McCorveys and McMillans came from Robeson county, North Carolina, and settled in Monroe county, Alabama Territory in 1818; and some of them joined with other settlers in forming a neighborhood and establishing a Presbyterian church still known as "Scotland"—about two miles from Kempville station on the new Southern Alabama Railroad. Among these Scotch settlers and kinsmen who came to Monroe county in territorial days were John Murphy, who afterwards became the fourth governor of the state of Alabama, and his brother Murdock Murphy, who became the first pastor of the Government Street (Presbyterian) church of Mobile.

Mr. McCorvey spent his boyhood with his parents in the village of Monroeville, Monroe county. He attended Erskine College, South Carolina, in the session of 1870-71. He entered the University of Alabama in the fall of 1871 and was graduated as a bachelor of philosophy in 1873. He received the degree of bachelor of laws in 1874, and of master of arts in 1878. Immediately after graduation he was elected commandant of cadets in the University, and some years later there was added to his duties the professorship of mental and moral philosophy and political economy. In 1888 the chair of history and philosophy was established and he was elected to the professorship. On the establishment of the new department of pedagogy and psychology in 1899, the title of his professorship was changed to history and political economy.

Professor McCorvey has done, at intervals, a considerable variety of literary and journalistic work, and he is now an occasional contributor to some of the leading magazines and newspapers. In 1895 he published

litical history of the State. While his fame was born amidst scenes of war[2]—"the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air"—his mission to Alabama, as events proved, was one of peace. He came commissioned by the iron-willed Andrew Jackson, then president of the United States, to represent the Federal government in the matters at issue with the State of Alabama, growing out of the conflict between State and Federal authority in the territory lying within the borders of Alabama which had been ceded to the United States by the Creek Indians in the Treaty of Cusseta, in 1832. The success with which his mission was crowned in averting the collision that at one time seemed inevitable is proof that with his talents as a poet and a jurist were combined those of the diplomat and the statesman.

To understand properly the chain of events which led to the coming of Mr. Key to Alabama requires a glance backward into the territorial history of the commonwealth. The memorable campaign of Andrew Jackson against the Creek Indians in the Mississippi (afterwards Alabama) Territory, which culminated in the battle of Tohopeka, in the horseshoe bend of the Tallapoosa river, March 27, 1814, left unexpectedly to the people of the future State a serious political problem. The treaty which Jackson forced the chiefs, deputies and warriors of the Creek nation to conclude with him, August 9, 1814, at Fort Jackson—on the site of old Fort Toulouse, between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, about four miles above the junction of these rivers—continued and confirmed virtually an *imperium in imperio*, an Indian

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(Philadelphia), *The Government of the People of the State of Alabama.* In 1886 he was appointed by President Cleveland a member of the Board of Visitors of the United States Military Academy at West Point. He is a member of *The American Historical Association*, sometime of *The American Academy of Social and Political Sciences*, and of other learned associations. He was married July 22, 1880, to Netta L., daughter of the late Henry and Julia (*Ashe*) Tutwiler, of Greene Springs, Hale county, Alabama. There are four children of this marriage—two sons and two daughters.

Col. McCorvey's valuable study, here presented, was originally read by title at the annual meeting, June 21, 1898, but was not put in finished form until the meeting of 1900. *See Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 12.—EDITOR.

[2]"The Star Spangled Banner" was partly composed while Mr. Key was detained on board a British vessel from which he witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry, the chief defense of Baltimore (September 12, 1814)—the inspiration of the poem being the sight at dawn, on the day after the bombardment, of the flag still waving over the defenders of the fort.

nation within what was afterwards to be the State of Alabama. By the terms of that treaty the Creeks, while yielding their claims to all other lands in the Mississippi Territory, were confirmed in the possession of their hereditary fields and forests east of the Coosa and north of a line drawn southeastwardly from Wetumpka to a point on the Chattahoochee river below Eufaula[3]—except that the right of the United States to establish military posts and trading houses, to open roads and navigate the waters within the guaranteed territory was acknowledged. Thus a map of the Alabama Territory, or of the State of Alabama prior to the final cession by the Treaty of Cusseta in 1832, would show all that part of the State which is embraced in the *present* counties of Barbour (in part), Bullock (in part), Russell, Macon, Lee, Tallapoosa, Elmore (in part), Chambers, Coosa, Randolph, Clay, Tallapoosa, Cleburne, and Calhoun, as the domain of an Indian nationality. The existence of this Indian nation within the territorial limits indicated was formally acknowledged and virtually guaranteed by the United States in article 8 of the treaty of Fort Jackson, which says that "a permanent peace shall ensue from these presents, *forever,* between the Creek nation and the United States."

With the subsequent cessions by the Creeks of their lands lying within the State of Georgia, this sketch, of course, has nothing to do; but there was an unsuccessful attempt to pare down their territory within the State of Alabama by the pseudo treaty of

[3] The western and southern boundaries of the Creek possessions which fell within what was afterward the State of Alabama, were thus indicated in the first article of the Treaty of Fort Jackson: "Beginning at a point on the eastern bank of the Coosa river where the south boundary line of the Cherokee nation crosses the same; running thence down the said Coosa river with its eastern bank, according to its various meanders, to a point one mile, above the mouth of Cedar creek, at Fort Williams, thence east two miles, thence south two miles, thence west to the eastern bank of the said Coosa river, thence down the eastern bank thereof, according to its various meanders, to a point opposite the upper end of the great falls, (called by the natives Woetumpka), thence east from a true meridian line to a point due north of the Ofucskee, thence south by a like meridian line to the mouth of the Ofucskee, on the south side of the Tallapoosa river, thence up the same, according to its various meanders, to a point where a direct course will cross the same, at a distance of ten miles from the mouth thereof, thence a direct line to the mouth of Summochico creek, which empties into the Chattahouchie river on the east side thereof below the Eufala town."—This "old creek boundary line" is shown on Smith's *Geological Map of Alabama* (1894), as well as in earlier publications and maps.

Indian Springs, concluded February 12, 1825, and ratified March 7, 1825. This treaty was negotiated by Duncan G. Campbell and James Meriwether, as commissioners on the part of the United States, and was signed by William McIntosh, head chief of the Cowetans, and fifty other chiefs of the Creek towns. In this treaty, besides ceding to the United States all their remaining lands lying within the boundaries of the State of Georgia, the Creeks, "those of Tokaubatchee excepted," also ceded the lands "lying north and west of a line to be run from the first principal falls upon the Chattahouchie river, above Cowetan town, to Ockfuskee Old Town, upon the Tallapoosa, thence to the falls of the Coosaw river, at or near a place called the Hickory Ground."[4] The carrying out of this provision would have circumscribed the Creek territory in Alabama to a small part of the domain guaranteed by the treaty of Fort Jackson; but troubles arose among the Creeks which led to the abrogation of the Indian Springs treaty. It would be foreign to the purpose of this paper to give any account of these troubles, in which William McIntosh lost his life; and, in this connection, it will only state how the treaty was set aside. The treaty of Washington, concluded January 24, 1826, and ratified April 22, 1826, between James Barbour, secretary of war, and the chiefs and head men of the Creek nation, after reciting in its preamble the protests of a great majority of the chiefs and warriors against the execution of the treaty of Indian Springs and the fact that it had been signed on their part by persons having no sufficient authority to form treaties or make cessions, declares, in the first article, "the treaty made at Indian Springs.....to be null and void to every intent and purpose whatsoever." While the treaty of Washington, in subsequent articles, provided for a modification of the cessions of lands within the State of Georgia, it left unimpaired the Creek domain in eastern Alabama, as it had existed prior to the treaty of Indian Springs.

But the Saxon greed for land—which first manifested itself in historic times when the followers of Hengist and Horsa began, in

[4] This "New Creek Boundary Line" is shown on a small wall map of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, published by A. Finley, Philadelphia, 1826—during the interval between the ratification of the Indian Springs Treaty and its abrogation by the Treaty of Washington. A copy of this map is in the library of Dr. W. S. Wyman, of the University of Alabama.

449, the appropriation of the fairest fields of Kent, and which has gone on gathering under the dominion of that race the continents and the islands of the sea until to-day we see it lapping back upon the Asiatic coasts in our struggle for the possession of the Philippine Islands and in the threatened partition of China—was not to permit the proud Maskoki to remain long upon this last foothold of his ancestral domain. It is not necessary here to give the facts or methods of negotiations that led to the final treaty with the Creeks; but to give only some of its provisions and to indicate the important political complications which grew out of its ratification. The preliminary negotiations were conducted at Cusseta, in the present county of Chambers;[5] but it was concluded in Washington between Lewis Cass, thereto specially authorized by the president of the United States, and the representatives of the Creek tribe of Indians, March 24, 1832, and it was ratified April 4, 1832. Its first article provided that "*the Creek tribe of Indians cede to the United States all their lands east of the Mississippi river.*" But there were important conditions attached. While ample provision was made for the removal of the Creeks to the lands which were granted them west of the Mississippi and the desire of the government was expressed that they should emigrate to their new homes, it was expressly provided that the Indians should not be compelled to go, but they should be free to go or stay as they pleased.

The condition in the treaty that gave rise to that conflict of authority between the State and Federal governments, which led to the sending of Mr. Key to Alabama, was embraced in the fifth article.[6] It provided for the removal of all white intruders from the ceded territory until the government surveys were completed and the various allotments made to the ninety principal chiefs and the heads of Creek families—excepting, however, from the

[5] Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 50, *note*.

[6] The following is the full text of article 5: "All intruders upon the country hereby ceded shall be removed therefrom, in the same manner as intruders may be removed by law from other public land, until the country is surveyed and selections made; excepting, however, from this provision those white persons who have made their own improvements and not expelled the Creeks from theirs. Such persons may remain until their crops are gathered. After the country is surveyed and the selections made this article shall not operate upon the part of it not included in such selections. But intruders shall, in the manner before described, be removed from these selections for the term of five years from the ratification of this treaty, or until the same are conveyed to white persons."

immediate execution of this provision those white persons who had made their own improvements. These last mentioned were allowed to remain until their crops were gathered. As soon, however, as it was understood that the land had passed by treaty to the United States, not only did the white intruders refuse to leave, but there was a rush for first choice of lands, not unlike that which we have witnessed in recent years in the settlement of Oklahoma. There were something like twenty-five thousand men, women and children of the intruders, and under the provisions of the treaty, as interpreted by the authorities at Washington, these were to be removed by the strong arm of military force.

This rush of settlers began before the formal assertion of State authority over the ceded territory. The Montgomery *Gazette* of August 31, 1832, tells of the earliest conflict between the intruders and Federal authority. Certain former residents of Pike and other southeastern counties of the State found it to their interest to move into the Indian territory and build a village on the banks of the Chattahoochee which they named Irwinton.[7] When Mr. Crawford, the United States marshal for the southern district of Alabama, reached the spot he notified the settlers that they had acted in violation of the instructions he had received from Washington, and he requested them to leave peaceably. This they refused to do, and threatened him with violence. A short time afterward a detachment of Federal soldiers under command of a lieutenant was marched to Irwinton from Fort Mitchell[8] and the village was burned. When the news of the burning reached the authorities of Pike county, a warrant was issued for the arrest of the lieutenant in command; but when the deputy sheriff attempted to execute the warrant, he was pierced by a Federal bayonet, so that his life was despaired of. Thus ended the matter for the time.

But the State of Alabama was not slow in asserting its sovereignty over the ceded territory. By an act of the general assembly, approved December 18, 1832, nine counties were carved out of it: Coosa, Benton (now Calhoun), Talladega, Tallapoosa, Rus-

[7] Now Eufaula. It was first named in honor of Gen. William Irwin, of Henry county, and was incorporated as Irwinton in 1837; but its name was changed to Eufaula in 1843.

[8] In what is now Russell county, Alabama, on the western bank of the Chattahoochee river, about ten miles below Columbus, Georgia.

sell, Randolph, Chambers, Macon, and Barbour; and over them was extended the administration of State laws. The chief executive of Alabama at that time was Governor John Gayle, who, although he had been elected, in 1831, as a representative of the anti-nullification sentiment of the State[9] and had been a warm supporter of General Jackson for the presidency, held views as to State sovereignty very different from those of the president. However, in justifying the action of Alabama in extending her jurisdiction over the ceded territory, Governor Gayle urged that the general government had invited and encouraged such extension. He afterward in a statesmanlike letter to Lewis Cass, secretary of war, dated Tuscaloosa, October 2, 1833, pointed out the inconsistency of the administration in admitting the jurisdictional rights of the State, and at the same time, by the enforcement of the treaty provision for the expulsion of the settlers, depriving the State of the means of enforcing its jurisdiction. For, along with other settlers, the court officials of the new counties and other persons necessary to enforce the laws of the State were to be removed, leaving no power to punish offences committed by the Indians or to subject them in any way to the restraints of the law. Governor Gayle emphasized the necessity for the action of the general assembly in forming the new counties. Aside from the fact that without this measure State laws could not be made to operate with effect upon a large and rapidly increasing white population, was the important consideration that the treaty having extinguished the Indian title to the land, "the Indians had become citizens of the State and amenable to its laws by their own consent." Governor Gayle seems to have been thoroughly impressed with the modern notion that the ownership of a definite territorial area by a people is essential to the idea of nationality. From his point of view, the Indians having ceded their territory, the Indian nation had by that act ceased to exist, and the individuals who had previously formed the nation within the boundary of Alabama had become, in some sense, citizens of the State to which they owed allegiance and from which they could demand protection.

The fundamental and far-reaching contention of the State ad-

[9] However, the gubernatorial contest did not hinge upon the nullification issue, for neither of Governor Gayle's opponents, Nicholas Davis, of Limestone, and Samuel B. Moore, of Jackson, held opposing views on that question.

ministration was that the general government could make no treaty in derogation of the right of the State to jurisdiction within its territorial boundaries. This contention found voice and explicit statement in one of a series of resolutions afterward introduced in the general assembly. These resolutions were introduced December, 1833, by Jesse Beene, one of the representatives from Dallas county, chairman of a special committee of the Indian troubles, and the fourth one, just referred to, was in the following words: "*Resolved,* That the power conferred by the constitution of the United States upon the president and two-thirds of the senate to make treaties is limited and restrained by the grants of power therein contained, and that all treaties which encroach upon the reserved rights of the State are usurpations of power, subversive of government and destructive of civil liberty." It was claimed that the "treaty doctrine" of dealing with Indian tribes within the limits of any particular State had been exploded for several years, and that the president himself had uniformly acquiesced in the right of the States to enforce their laws throughout their boundaries—notably in what the Richmond *Enquirer* at that time called "his manly vindication of the rights of Georgia in the case of the Cherokee Indians."

The mode of procedure in the proposed removals of intruders from the ceded territory was that provided by an act of congress, approved March 3, 1807, entitled "An act to prevent settlements being made on lands ceded to the United States, until authorized by law." This act provided that removals should be made by the United States marshal, aided by military force if necessary, acting under orders from the president. The position of Alabama, as it had been that of Georgia, was that the act of 1807 did not apply to intrusions upon lands lying within the boundaries of any State, and was applicable only in territories where State governments had not been established. In support of this position as to the general policy of the government in such matters, the case was cited where the commissioner of Indian affairs had, in effect, directed Colonel Josiah Harmar, in 1785, when he was engaged in removing settlers from the public lands in the West, not to use military force within the limits of any State. The second of the resolutions of the series, heretofore mentioned, introduced in the general assembly by Mr. Beene, formally set forth this position

in these words: "*Resolved,* In the opinion of this general assembly, the act of congress, of 1807, was not intended to have effect within the limits of the States of the Union; that the execution of the provisions of said act, by military force, would be subversive of the rights of citizens, destructive of free government and incompatible with the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the States."

But the government at Washington apparently took a different view of the matter, and the United States marshal for the southern district of Alabama began the execution of his orders for removal. A collision occurred in which Hardeman Owens, formerly a citizen of Columbus, Georgia, a commissioner of roads and revenue for Russell county, was killed. The late Jeremiah Austill, one of the heroes of the famous "Canoe Fight," was at that time the marshal for the southern district of Alabama, and he reported the killing of Owens to the secretary of war under date of "Creek nation, July 31, 1833." He said that a number of chiefs had complained to him of alleged outrages committed by Owens, who lived twenty miles from Fort Mitchell—that he had taken their fields from them, had killed their hogs and horses, and had beaten some of the Indians severely. When ordered by the marshal to leave the Indian nation, Owens replied that he would die before he would leave. The marshal left him, but soon returned with a detachment of soldiers and arrested him. Owens then promised to leave in peace, but before the marshal had gone more than fifteen miles, he was overtaken by some Indians who stated that Owens had threatened to burn their homes and kill any one who dared to come upon the fields he had taken from them. When the marshal returned, Owens had sent his family off and had set a mine in his house. As the marshal was riding up to the gate, an Indian warned him that there was powder in the house. Just at that time Owens went out in the rear and escaped. The mine exploded, but fortunately no one was hurt. Another detachment of Federal soldiers was sent to arrest Owens. He resisted, and when he was about to discharge a pistol at the sergeant in command, one of the soldiers fired upon him and killed him. "He was one of the most daring men I ever met with," said Mr. Austill in his report, "and one of the most dangerous."[9]*

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* It should be borne in mind that the circumstances attending the killing of Owens here given are based upon the *ex-parte* reports of Federal officers.

The action of the Federal officials in this matter, whether justifiable or not, aroused the strongest indignation throughout the new counties which rapidly spread to other counties of the State. Mass meetings were held, stirring resolutions were passed,[10] and steps were at once taken for meeting force with force. It was at this juncture, when Federal troops were massing at Fort Mitchell ready to move into the newly organized counties for the purpose of removing settlers, that a timely proclamation from Governor Gayle addressed to "the citizens of the counties of the Creek nation" and dated October 7, 1833, had the effect of averting the needless effusion of blood. After arraigning the Federal government for its inconsistent attitude in the matter of the removal, he urged the exasperated settlers to look with abiding and undoubting confidence to the majesty of the law, to yield a ready obedience to any processes from the courts of the United States and of the State of Alabama, and especially to abstain from all acts of unlawful violence towards the Indians, who being ignorant of our laws and of their rights, should be taught to look up to their more intelligent neighbors for information and protection. The address had the desired effect. The settlers in the new counties, feeling that the sympathy of the chief executive of the State was with them, listened to his wise words of counsel, and as the troops remained at Fort Mitchell, the danger of a further collision was for the time averted.

The grand jury of Russell county promptly indicted for murder the officers and soldiers who had been instrumental in the death of Hardeman Owens, and a formal demand was made upon Major McIntosh, the commanding officer of Fort Mitchell, for their delivery into the custody of the civil authorities; but that officer refused to pay any attention to the mandate of the Russell county court, and swore that he would not suffer any of the men to be arrested. The court then issued an attachment for the officer and his men; but the sheriff being warned by McIntosh not to touch him at his peril, returned to the court the next day and made oath that he could not execute the attachment for fear of

[10] Particularly strong were the resolutions passed at a mass meeting of the citizens of Lowndes county at Hayneville, Saturday, September 28, 1833, in which it was declared that "the removal of our citizens from their settlements by force is unconstitutional, oppressive, and utterly subversive of the sovereignty of the State, and *we cannot and will not submit to it.*"

death. Thereupon the presiding judge sent an express to Governor Gayle asking for military power sufficient to arrest Major McIntosh and his men and bring them before the court. In his message to the general assembly, November 19, 1833, Governor Gayle called attention to these facts, and while asserting his legal power to call out the militia of the State to enforce the processes of the State courts, he stated that his anxiety to avoid armed conflict between State and Federal troops had induced him to take no other step than to forward the papers in the case to the secretary of war for the consideration of the president. He also expressed the belief that the offenders would be delivered by the Federal authorities for trial by the State courts. It transpired afterward as the governor had believed. Mr. Lewis Cass, then secretary of war, some weeks later wrote to Governor Gayle that as soon as the report of the death of Hardeman Owens had reached the war department, instructions had been sent to Major McIntosh to facilitate, by all means in his power, any investigation which the civil authorities might consider necessary; but that there had been some mistake in the transmission of orders. The president now issued an order to the same effect direct to Major McIntosh, and the secretary of war then enclosed a copy of it to Governor Gayle.[11]

The order of Governor Gayle, dated executive department, Tuscaloosa, 16th September, 1833, addressed to Brigadier General Thomas B. Scott, directing him to organize the militia of the new counties, probably justified, at that time, the declaration of the Tuscaloosa *State Rights Expositor* that "military preparations are making for the defense of the settlers;" but the terms of the order itself, in advance of the governor's message to the legislature already referred to, showed that this was to be a last resort. In closing his instructions to General Scott, Governor Gayle said: "In the present difficult, and to me painful and unexpected conjuncture, I earnestly recommend to our people, in selecting the officers, civil and military, embraced by this order, that they guard

[11] Niles' *Register*, December 28, 1833, editorially exclaims: "A *Gordian Knot* has been cut! The soldier who killed Owens in Alabama has *deserted*, and the officer who commanded has given bond for his appearance in court." In this connection, Mr. Key after his return to Washington wrote to Governor Gayle under date of June 11, 1834: "As the officers and soldiers will not be forthcoming to take their trial, I shall not have the pleasure of defending them, and you will have to forfeit their bond."

against all undue excitement, and that their choice be directed to those only who are distinguished by their prudence, firmness and intelligence." The possibility of a state of civil war was fully appreciated by the supporters both of the State and the Federal administrations. The Mobile *Commercial Register* of December, 1833, said: "We have just learned, from an authentic source, that orders have been issued from headquarters for the immediate marching of ten companies of United States artillery, completely equipped for the field, to Fort Mitchell in this State. This detachment, added to the troops already stationed at that post will constitute an effective force of fourteen companies; and it is probable that a general officer will be designated to the command .....How utterly misjudged, ill-timed and inappropriate are the sneers and taunts of the nullifiers that 'the president has backed out,' that 'he has succumbed to Governor Gayle,' and that he will not dare to execute laws and treaties, and maintain inviolate the plighted faith of the nation." The intense interest and excitement over the issue extended beyond the borders of Alabama. Offers of volunteers from other States came to Governor Gayle. One of these which is especially noteworthy was dated "Hudson, New York, December 29, 1833," and signed by J. VanVleck, N. T. Rosseter, and others, who, "sensible of the injustice with which Alabama was threatened in the proposed forcible removal of settlers from the Indian territory," proposed to place a volunteer company of young men of that city under the governor's orders.[12]

Fortunately for those of that generation, the "irrepressible conflict" growing out of the dual character of our government had not yet reached its acutest phase. There was still room for compromise. The Alabama delegation in congress, composed at that time of William R. King and Gabriel Moore, in the senate, and of ex-Governor John Murphy, Dixon H. Lewis, Clement C. Clay, and Samuel W. Mardis, in the house, exerted themselves to the utmost to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy.

[12] This document, with many others of the period, is preserved in Colonel Joseph Hodgson's excellent book, *The Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 195. It was Colonel Hodgson's good fortune in the preparation of the eighth chapter of his book to have placed at his disposal the correspondence of Governor Gayle by his accomplished daughter, the late Mrs. Anna Maria (*Gayle*) Bayne, wife of the distinguished New Orleans lawyer, Colonel Thomas L. Bayne, now deceased. Copies of all of this correspondence are now in the hands of Thomas M. Owen, the Director of the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.

Early in December, 1833, Senator King and Representative Murphy secured, in a personal interview with President Jackson the guarantee that "no measures should be taken for the removal of the settlers who had not interfered with the possessions of the Indians." Following this interview several of the Alabama delegation, at the suggestion of Secretary Cass, joined in a written address setting forth their views of the matter at issue. In the meantime the administration commissioned Mr. Francis Scott Key, then serving as district attorney for the District of Columbia, to proceed to Alabama to aid the district attorney for the southern district in the legal investigations growing out of the conflict between State and Federal authority, and to represent the Federal government directly in its dealings with the State government in the matter of the proposed removal of settlers from the newly organized counties.

Soon after his arrival in Tuscaloosa, Mr. Key addressed a formal communication, dated December 16, 1833, to Governor Gayle, setting forth the terms of settlement that he was authorized to offer. He stated that the surveys of the reservations allotted to the Indians in the ceded territory would be completed by the 15th day of Jaunary, 1834, and that the government would make no removals of settlers from the lands outside of these Indian allotments. Furthermore, the intruders upon the Indian reservations would have the power to purchase the Indian titles to the lands which they occupied. These were the terms, in brief, of the Key compromise, and it will be readily seen that they virtually amounted to a withdrawal of the orders for the removal of the settlers. As a matter of fact, it appears that a great deal of the trouble which threatened actual hostilities between the State of Alabama and the Federal government grew out of misunderstandings—misunderstandings due, to some extent at least, to the slowness of intercommunication before the days of the electric telegraph and the completion of railroad lines in the South. The fact that there were misunderstandings is clearly indicated in the following extract from a letter, dated Washington, December 3, 1833, to Governor Gayle from ex-Governor John Murphy, who appeared in this controversy as a special mediator between the Governor and the President: "I believe it was never intended to expel all the people from the ceded Creek territory. * * * * * The order is-

sued was general in its nature to apply to what had taken place, or might possibly afterward take place and to cover any stipulation of the treaty intended for the benefit of the Indians. It was merely asserting the control of the government over the subject should there arise the necessity to exercise it; but evidently the execution of the order would be governed by necessity. Why remove the whole population while only a few individuals have been guilty of trespass, and indeed while the Indians for whose benefit all this was done had no desire that any but a very few should be removed? It could never have been necessary, and therefore could never have been intended."

The proposition submitted by Mr. Key opened the way for an amicable adjustment of all questions in dispute, and his admirable tact in meeting the manly firmness of Governor Gayle soon bore its peaceful fruit—a practical victory, though it was, for the right of the State to exercise its sovereignty over the territory embraced within its acknowledged boundaries, unhindered by a treaty made by the Federal government. In view of the premises, Governor Gayle sent a special message, December 20, 1833, to the general assembly, then sitting in Tuscaloosa,[13] stating that "the principal object of this unpleasant controversy having been obtained by asserting and vindicating those great principles which were established by the constitution for the security of the people and for the protection of the States in the exercise of their rightful jurisdiction, it cannot fail to be a source of the highest satisfaction to our fellow citizens in these new counties that the calamity with which, at one period, they were threatened has been averted, and of pride and patriotic exultation to our people everywhere that the supremacy of civil over the military authority has been successfully maintained." It is interesting to note that the compromise offered by Mr. Key, which proved satisfactory to Governor Gayle, was never formally accepted by the general assembly; in fact, the nullification Hotspurs of that body came near passing the quasi-nullification resolutions of Mr. Beene's committee, heretofore referred to and, in part, quoted. When

[13] The old State capitol building in Tuscaloosa, which was the seat of the government of Alabama from 1825 to 1846, is still in a good state of preservation, and is used by the Baptist denomination for a female seminary known as the Alabama Central Female College. It is the property of the State University.

these resolutions came up in the house, Arthur Francis Hopkins, then a representative from Madison county, afterward of Mobile, moved that they be indefinitely postponed. The vote stood thirty-three for postponement and thirty-four in the negative. A motion to table the resolutions was then lost. Finally a motion to refer them to a select committee was carried by the narrow margin of thirty-six to thirty-three, and they died in the hands of the committee; for the press and the people had so unmistakably approved the compromise offered by Mr. Key and approved by Governor Gayle that the select committee had no occasion to make a report.[14]

It should be noted in passing that while Governor Gayle's reelection without opposition, in 1833, was a practical endorsement of his attitude in the Creek controversy, there were not lacking men and journals of influence in the State that steadily upheld the Federal administration's original policy of removal. The Mobile *Register,* especially, twitted the governor for what it considered his inconsistency in condemning nullification in South Carolina and virtually becoming the champion of the Alabama variety. In his message to the legislature which convened on the 5th of December, 1832, Governor Gayle had said: "If it shall be considered as the true constitutional doctrine that a State can remain a member of the Union, and at the same time place her citizens beyond the reach of its laws, ours will not be the shadow of a government, and for all practical purposes it will be dissolved. * * * * * As sure as it shall succeed, its triumphs will be stained with fraternal blood, and the proudest of its trophies will be the destruction of constitutional liberty." On the other hand, his second inaugural address in December, 1833, denounced the orders for removal by the Federal government in the strongest terms —as an attempt to suppress by military force the government of the State in eight of its counties and to establish, in effect, military tribunals as substitutes for the civil courts. Commenting on this inaugural, the *Register* of December 6, 1833, said: "And yet, his excellency, not long before, took occasion to denounce nullification in good set terms: perhaps he has a prejudice against the phrase; it may be that he thinketh it unpopular, or that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." But to the mind of

[14] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy,* p. 203.

Governor Gayle and of his supporters there was a distinct difference between the attitude of South Carolina in nullifying a tariff law and of Alabama in insisting upon her jurisdictive rights within her acknowledged boundaries. The Federal government in passing a tariff law, however unwise or unjust, was keeping strictly within the letter of the constitution which gives to congress, in express terms, the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises." But when the Federal government undertook to prevent the State from enforcing its civil and criminal jurisdiction within its acknowledged boundaries by removing court officials and other agencies for the enforcement of the law in counties which had been erected virtually by the sanction of the Federal government itself, this was plainly withholding from the State rights which had been reserved to it under the Constitution, and, in the eyes of Governor Gayle, destructive of the form of government provided by that instrument. Although the attitude of the government might be in obedience to the terms of a treaty, it was in violation of the constitution, which was a "higher law" than a treaty. From this *post-bellum* period in the history of our country—since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution, by its declaration of a *national* citizenship, has clearly marked a change in our government from that designed by its fathers—we can look back to those earlier days of devotion to the constitution as it then stood, and do ample justice to the consistency as well as the honesty of Governor Gayle and others who stood with him in his resistance to the encroachments of Federal authority.

While the Key compromise averted a collision between State and Federal authority, the controversy out of which it grew left wounds of a personal and political nature that were never healed. There were charges and counter charges of corrupt land speculation. The Tuscaloosa *State Rights Expositor,* in the course of a violent editorial, said: "There is a vile speculation in the cabinet (Jackson's) or among its menials: they cannot compete with the settlers and would therefore drive them away." On the other hand, the Washington *Globe* intimated that Alabama's resistance of the proposed removal was actuated by motives of sordid gain on the part of the State officials. This charge is referred to in the correspondence between Governor Gayle and ex-Governor

Murphy. In reply to a letter from Murphy, in which he deplored the breach between the governor and the president, Governor Gayle said, under date of February 24, 1834: "My feelings have had no effect to change the favorable light in which I have always regarded the prominent measures of General Jackson's administration, or his qualifications and fitness for the office he fills, but I can never yield him the zealous and active support which I have heretofore extended, under the charges of corrupt speculation and furnishing a combination with nullifiers, which were dealt out against me some time since by the *Globe,* as it is understood with the approbation, if not at the instance, of the president." Senator William R. King, afterward vice-president of the United States, also appeared in the role of a pacificator between the governor and the president. Under date of March 18, 1834, he wrote the Governor: "As to the publications or strictures which appeared in the *Globe,* you must not take them as conveying either the sentiments of the president or of any responsible person connected with the administration. The editor of that paper is perfectly reckless in his course, and although it is considered in the country as the official paper, God help the administration if it is to be held responsible for all of Blair's indiscretions."[15] But it was all to no purpose. The high-spirited Gayle could never forget the insinuations from Washington that his attitude in the Creek controversy had been actuated by other than patriotic motives, and in the succeeding presidential contest he fought Van Buren, who had been anointed by Jackson as his successor. Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, had been nominated for the presidency by the Alabama legislature; and when Van Buren became the nominee of the Democratic party by the Baltimore convention of May, 1835, which was attended only by Van Buren men, Governor Gayle refused to acquiesce in the nomination and led a losing fight on the White electoral ticket in Alabama in 1836. The Governor now found himself, a life-long Dem-

[15] After his return to Washington, Mr. Key wrote to Governor Gayle, under date of June 11, 1834, as follows: "You have seen no doubt that the *Globe* has at last done you justice and acknowledged its fault. Blair is rather awkward in such matters, but I hope he has done it in a way satisfactory to you. It is unfortunate that he is too easily led into such attacks, and in your case, I have no doubt that some enemy of yours at home prompted him in his course towards you."—MS. letter in possession of Mrs. Gen. Gorgas.

ocrat (Republican), in sympathy with his former political opponents, now marshalled under the new party name of Whigs, and his subsequent public career was identified with that party. His name was on the Harrison and Tyler electoral ticket in the memorable "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840, and in the following year he received the Whig support for United States Senator against William R. King.[16]

The subsequent troubles with the Indians which led to the so-called Creek war of 1836 and the final removal of the remnant of the Creeks to their new homes west of the Mississippi, belong to another chapter in Alabama history. It remains here to note only the formal announcement from Washington of the success of Mr. Key's mission in restoring friendly relations between the State and Federal governments. A letter from the secretary of war to the governor of Alabama, dated March 12, 1834, gave him official notice that the additional troops ordered into Alabama had been withdrawn, and that only the ordinary garrison at Fort Mitchell would remain in the Creek country. The letter also expressed the pleasure of the president at the recent attitude of the State government of Alabama, and stated that he would be much gratified if the enforcement of the stipulations of the Creek treaty should render it unnecessary for him to resort to the provisions of the Act of 1807—which he had not the slightest wish to do unless required by the obligations assumed by the United States. Later, after Mr. Key's return to Washington, he wrote to Governor Gayle, under date of June 11, 1834: "I called on the secretary of war soon after receiving your letter and he expressed the fullest confidence in you and his willingness to leave the whole matter (of Indian troubles) to yourself." The happy results here indicated of Mr. Key's diplomatic mission to Alabama closed one of the most interesting and important episodes in the history of the State; but there remain to be told some pleasant incidents in the unofficial side of his visit.

The Alabama poet and historian, the late Judge Alexander B. Meek, who had been graduated from the new University of Ala-

[16] The vote stood King 72, Gayle 55. In 1847, Governor Gayle was elected a representative in congress, defeating the Hon. John T. Taylor, of Mobile; and at the end of his two years' term he was appointed, by President Zachary Taylor, United States district judge—a position which he held until his death, July 21, 1859.

bama (in the class of 1833) just before Mr. Key's visit, some years later noted in an editorial preface to some of Mr. Key's verses in *The Southron*,[17] that during his stay in Tuscaloosa the literary and fashionable circles of the little city were much delighted with the brilliancy and wit of his conversation. Judge Meek recalled the efforts at the time of some of the society young ladies to procure souvenirs of the poet's visit in the shape of original verses for their albums. The most interesting social features of Mr. Key's visit to Alabama have been preserved in the journal of Mrs. Sarah Ann (*Haynesworth*) Gayle, wife of Governor John Gayle, which is in the possession of her only surviving daughter, Mrs. Amelia Ross (*Gayle*) Gorgas, widow of the late General Josiah Gorgas, who was the chief of ordnance of the Confederate government.[18] Mrs. Gayle was one of the most accomplished women of her day, and the fragments of her literary work that remain to us show that she could have won as proud a place in the field of letters as her distinguished husband held in statecraft, had she not esteemed the duties of the home a higher and nobler sphere of effort. A proof of her gift of poesy will be offered hereafter—a gift which Mr. Key was prompt to recognize. During his negotiations with Governor Gayle, Mr. Key was frequently a guest at the executive home, and Mrs. Gayle has left several glimpses of the poet-diplomat on the occasion of these informal visits. "Mr. Francis Scott Key, the district attorney for the District of Columbia," wrote Mrs. Gayle in her journal, December, 1833, "is here at present for the purpose of assisting to settle the Creek controversy. He is very pleasant—intelligent, you at once perceive, and somewhat peculiar in his manners. He is a little, nay, a good deal absent in company, not always attending when others converse, and often abruptly breaking in with a question, though evidently unconscious of what he has done. His countenance is not remarkable when at rest, but as soon as

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[17] *The Southron*: A Monthly Magazine and Review, published in Tuscaloosa by R. A. Eaton from January to June, 1839, (six numbers only). While Judge Meek's name does not appear as editor, it is well known that he filled that post in addition to his work as one of the chief contributors. Among other contributors were Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, Frederick A. P. Barnard, Henry W. Hilliard, William R. Smith, Judge A. B. Longstreet, and William Gilmore Sims.

[18] Mrs. Gorgas is now the honored and efficient librarian of the University of Alabama, and it is through her courtesy that I am enabled to give a few extracts from her mother's journal, now in her possession.

he lifts his eyes, usually fixed upon some object near the floor, the man of sense, of fancy, and the *poet* is at once seen. But the crowning trait of his character, I have just discovered—he is a Christian." Again Mrs. Gayle writes in her journal: "Mr. Key the agent of the government in this State, interests me greatly. He is a man of much intelligence, a lawyer of high standing, a man of honor, a poet, and a Christian. He has been to see me frequently and sat an hour or two last night chatting to me and the children. He made Sarah read for him and then he read for her some of the fine hymns and psalms in the Book of Common Prayer—one of his own, beginning 'Lord with glowing heart I'd praise thee' is in it. He seems to be fervently pious and I dearly love to hear him talk on the subject. He speaks with much simplicity upon it, and it is his own remark that religion is a system of simplicity, nothing metaphysical in it or what is not suited to all. I must preserve for my daughters his contribution to Margaret's album, and to understand his verses, mine must be prefixed—the verses beginning 'Thanks, gentle Fairy, now my album take.'" These informal social visits to the governor's family left a lasting impression of pleasure upon Mr. Key. After his return to Washington he wrote Mrs. Gayle, June 14, 1834: "I have often thought of Tuscaloosa and your family circle, and could I transport myself as easily as my thoughts, I should still be a frequent visitor."[19]

During one of his visits to Governor Gayle's family, Mr. Key wrote the following verses in the album of the Governor's little nine year old daughter, Sarah Ann Gayle, who afterward became the wife of Dr. William B. Crawford, of Mobile:

THE ROCK OF THY SALVATION.

If life's pleasures cheer thee,
  Give them not thy heart,
Lest the gifts ensnare thee
  From thy God to part.

His praises speak, His favors seek,
  Fix there thy hopes' foundation;
Love him, and he shall ever be
  The rock of thy salvation.

[19] MS. letter in possession of Mrs. Gen. Gorgas.

If troubles e'er befall thee—
  Painful though they be—
Let not fear appall thee,
  To the Savior flee.

He, ever near, thy prayer will hear,
  And calm thy perturbation;
The waves of woe shall ne'er o'erflow
  The rock of thy salvation.

Death shall never harm thee,
  Shrink not from his blow;
For thy God shall arm thee,
  And victory bestow.

And death shall bring to thee no sting,
  The grave no desolation;
'Tis gain to die, with Jesus nigh—
  The rock of thy salvation.

It must be candidly confessed that these verses add nothing to Mr. Key's reputation as a poet; but they serve to bring out prominently what Mrs. Gayle discovered to be the crowning trait of his character—his unwavering Christian faith. As a matter of fact none of the verses written by Mr. Key on the occasion of his visit to Alabama would be effective, in the slightest degree, in any effort to take him out of the list of single-famous-poem poets. It must be remembered, however, that these verses were made to order, so to speak, on the spur of the moment, without any expectation of their appearance in print; and they are reproduced here not on account of any supposed literary excellence, but for the purpose of throwing some side-lights upon the character of the man and the circumstances surrounding his mission to Alabama.

In a somewhat different and lighter vein than the verses already quoted, but closing with the same pious injunctions, are the following lines addressed to the same little maiden of nine years:

Thine hand, fair little maiden—let me see
How run the mystic lines of destiny?
A poet once (so ladies kindly said
Of the enthusiast their charms had made),
I may, though cold and dead the poet's fire,
Touch with a kindred hand the prophet's lyre.
The face too I must look upon, for there
I once could read more plainly of the fair.
With hands and face, those tell-tales of the heart,
If I have not forgotten all my art,
Some secrets of thy fate I may impart.

Now my divining's done—list to the lay
That tells the fortunes of thy future day.

Sarah Gayle! thou wilt be fair,
So a thousand youths shall swear;
And beloved thou shalt be,
And be rhymed incessantly.

Light the task, to lovers pale,
To sing of lovely Sarah Gayle.
Ne'er did words or numbers fail
To sound the praise of Sarah Gayle.

See, from distant hills and dale
They come to gaze on Sarah Gayle
And teach the Alabamian vale
To echo the name of Gayle.

When from distant land they sail
'Tis to catch a favoring *Gayle*.

In summer's heat they'll wish a *Gayle*
And even in winter's storm and hail,
They'll still desire to have a *Gayle*.
If thou shalt frown, they'll sadly wail,
With broken hearts, for Sarah Gayle;
And many a heavy cotton bale
They'd count light weight for Sarah Gayle.

Sarah Gayle! thou wilt be kind,
And, it may be, some day inclined
To take a name more to thy mind
Than one that is so much berhymed.

Sarah Gayle! be wise as fair,
E'er thou makest this change, beware!
And when thou givest an honored name
Give thy heart with it to the claim
Of one who comes with heart as pure
As that he seeks, and name as sure
Unstained and honored to endure.

Sarah Gayle! be good as fair,
Look to Heaven, thy home is there—
May this be prophecy—it is my prayer.

But it required the touch of a kindred poetic spirit to call forth from Mr. Key the best of his verses which were written on the occasion of his stay in Tuscaloosa. A little niece of Senator William R. King, Margaret Kornegay—who in her young womanhood became the wife of George W. Gayle, of Dallas county, a near kinsman of Governor Gayle—prevailed upon Mrs. Gayle to write a rhymed request to Mr. Key for a contribution to her album—the contribution heretofore referred to in Mrs. Gayle's journal, which she declared her purpose to preserve for

her daughters. The verses written by Mrs. Gayle at the request of her young friend with the album were spirited into Mr. Key's room. One may well imagine his feelings when he found the album with the following graceful lines:

TO MR. F. S. KEY.

Thanks, gentle fairy! now my album take,
And place it on his table, ere he wake;
Then whisper that a maiden, all unknown,
Claims from the poet's hand a trifling boon:
Trifling, perchance, to him, but oh! not so
To her whose heart has thrilled, long, long ago,
As his inspiring lays came to her ear,
Lending the stranger's name an interest dear.
A timid girl may yet be bold to admire
The Poet's fervor and the Patriot's fire;—
But 'tis not these, though magical their power—
They cannot brighten woman's saddened hour:
And she, the happiest, *has* saddened hours,
When all life's pathways are bereft of flowers,
And her bowed spirit feels, as felt by thee,
That to "live alway" on this earth, would be
For her—for all—no happy destiny.
Poet and Patriot! Thou may'st write for fame,
But by a tenderer, and a holier name,
I call thee—Christian! write thou here one lay,
For me to read and treasure, when thou art away!

Tuscaloosa, 10th December, 1833.

The following lines in reply were written in the album by Mr. Key, and in some of them he strikes a chord in many respects worthy of the author of the "The Star-Spangled Banner:"

TO MISS——[20]

And is it so! a thousand miles apart,
Has lay of mine e'er touched a gifted heart?
Brightened the eye of beauty? won her smile?
Rich recompense for all the poet's toil!
That fav'ring smile, that brightened eye,
That tells the heart's warm ecstacy,
I have not seen—I may not see—
But maiden kind! thy gift shall be
A more esteemed and cherished prize
Than fairest smiles, or brightest eyes!
And this rich trophy of the poet's power,
Shall shine on many a lone and distant hour.
Praise from the fair, howe'er bestowed, we greet,—
In words, and looks outspeaking words,—'tis sweet,
But when it breathes in bright and polished lays,
Warm from a kindred heart, this—this is praise!

[20] The *Southron*, from which these verses are reproduced, fell into the slight error of saying that they were addressed to a daughter of Governor Gayle.

We are not strangers: in our hearts we own
Chords that must ever beat in unison.
The same touch wakens them; in all we see,
Or hear, or feel, we own a sympathy.
We look where Nature's charms in beauty rise,
And the same transport glistens in our eyes.
The joys of others cheer us, and we keep
A ready tear, to weep with those that weep.
  'Tis this that, in th' impassioned hour,
  Gives to the favored bard the power,
  As sweetly flows the stream of song,
  To bear the raptured soul along,
  And make it, captive to his will,
  With all his own emotions thrill.
This is a tie that binds us; 'tis the glow
The "gushing warmth" of heart, that Poets know.

We are not strangers: well thy lines impart
The Patriot's feelings in the Poet's heart.
Not even thy praise can make me vainly deem
That 'twas the Poet's power, and not his theme,
That woke thy heart's warm rapture, when from afar
His song of victory caught thy favoring ear;
That victory was thy country's, and his strain
Was of that starry banner that again
Had waved in triumph on the battle plain.

  Yes, though Columbia's land be wide—
  Though Chesapeake's broad waters glide
  Far distant from the forest shores
  Where Alabama's current roars;
  Yet over all this land so fair
  Still waves the flag of stripe and star;
  Still on the Warrior's banks is seen,
  And shines in Coosa's valleys green;
  By Alabama's maiden sung,
  With patriot heart, and tuneful tongue.
  Yes! I have looked around me here,
  And felt I was no foreigner:
  Each friendly hand's frank offered clasp
  Tells me it is a brother's grasp;
  My own I deem these rushing floods—
  My own, these wild and waving woods;
  And to a Poet, oh, how dear!—
  My own songs sweetly chanted here.
  The joy with which these scenes I view
  Tells me this is my country too!
  These sunny plains I freely roam—
  I am no outcast from a home;
  No wanderer on a foreign strand:
  "This is my own, my native land."

We are not strangers: still another tie
Binds us more closely, more endearingly:
The Poet's heart, though time his verse may save,
Must chill with age, and perish in the grave:
The Patriot too must close his watchful eye
Upon the land he loves, his latest sigh
All he has left to give it, ere he die.

But when the Christian faith in power hath spoke
To the bowed heart, and the world's spell is broke,
That heart transformed, a never-dying flame
Warms with new energy, above the claim
Of death to extinguish—oh! if we have felt
This holy influence, and have humbly knelt
In penitence for pardon, sought and found
Peace for each trouble—balm for every wound;
For us, if faith this work of love hath done,
Not alike only are our hearts— they're one;
Our hopes, fears, joys and sorrows, all the same;
One path our course, one object all our aim.
Though sundered here, one home at last is given—
Strangers on earth, but fellow heirs of Heaven.

Yes, I will bear thy plausive strain afar,
A light to shine upon the clouds of care—
A flower to cheer me in life's thorny ways:
And I will think of her, whose favoring lays
Kind greeting gave—and in the heart's best hour,
For thee its warmest wishes it shall pour.

And may I ask, when this fair volume brings
Some thought of him who tried to wake the strings
Of his forgotten lyre at thy command—
Command which warmed his heart and nerved his hand—
Thou wouldst for one who, in the world's wild strife,
Is doomed to mingle 'mid the storms of life,
Give him the blessings of a Christian's care,
And raise in his defense, the shield of prayer!

Tuscaloosa, December 13, 1833.

Surely no apology should be needed for giving in full in an historical sketch the verses here reproduced; for in no other way, perhaps, could be better shown the spirit and temper of Mr. Key in undertaking the difficult and at one time doubtful task of allaying the excited feelings of the people of Alabama at that juncture. One can hardly read these verses now without a feeling of something like gratitude that the masterful man then at the head of the government at Washington sent as his messenger and representative to Alabama the pure-souled patriot, Francis Scott Key.

XI. THE BUFORD EXPEDITION TO KANSAS.

By Walter Lynwood Fleming,[1] West Virginia University, Morgantown.

By the Kansas-Nebraska act passed by congress in 1854, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized and thrown open to settlement with the proviso that all questions relating to slavery were to be decided by the people of each territory when it should be ready for admission into the Union as a State.[2] The South conceded and the North was sure of the admission of Nebraska as a free State. In the case of Kansas it was doubtful if the anti-slavery party would ever be strong enough to control the elections, but the leaders at the North intended to make a fight to secure the State. Consequently there was great excitement in different sections of the country, especially at the North, where, almost before the bill became a law, emigrant aid societies were formed whose object was to assist emigrants opposed to the institution of slavery to go to Kansas and settle in order to be ready to vote at the proper time. In this movement of importing men the North had already two years the start, the South being confi-

[1] Walter Lynwood Fleming, born April 8, 1874, at Brundidge, Pike county, Alabama, is the son of William LeRoy and Mary (*Edwards*) Fleming. He graduated with the degree of B. S. from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1896, and received the degree of M. S. in 1897. After graduation he was elected assistant in English and mathematics, and later assistant librarian. On May 1, 1898, he enlisted in the 2nd Alabama volunteer infantry and was made first sergeant of Co. "H;" in July, 1898, promoted to second lieutenant of Co. "A," 3rd Alabama volunteer infantry, and in January, 1899, detailed by General Frank as quartermaster of the 2nd division 4th army corps field hospital. After being mustered out he returned to the Alabama Polytechnic Institute as assistant librarian. In 1900 he entered Columbia University in the City of N. Y., and in 1901 took his degree of M. A. He will receive the degree of Ph. D. in 1904. After a year's service as lecturer in history in Columbia University, N. Y., he was elected to a professorship of history, in West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. For family sketch *see Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 833.—Editor.

[2] "And when admitted as a State or States, the said Territory, or any portion of the same shall be received into the Union with or without slavery as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission. * * * * * it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." Act of May 30, 1854.—*U. S. Statutes at Large*, vol. x, pp. 277-290.

dent that no exertion would be necessary in order to secure Kansas as a slave State. So there was very little pro-slavery emigration into this debatable land before late in 1856, except from the neighboring State of Missouri.

The first territorial elections were in favor of the Southern party, but the emigrant aid societies in the Northern States kept pouring men and arms into the territory until late in 1855 the outlook was gloomy for the pro-slavery cause.

Pro-slavery emigrant aid societies were now organized in Missouri, and soon other similar societies were formed in the remaining Southern States. Missouri appealed to her sister States in the South to come to her assistance. For two years, the appeal stated, she had borne the burden alone and would still do her utmost for the integrity of the South. But now the leaders said:

"The time has come when she can no longer stand up single-handed, the lone champion of the South, against the myrmidons of the North. It requires no foresight to perceive that if the 'higher law' men succeed in this crusade, it will be but the beginning of a war upon the institutions of the South, which will continue until slavery shall cease to exist in any of the States, or the Union is dissolved.

"The great struggle will come off at the next election in October, 1856, and unless at that time the South can maintain her ground all will be lost. We repeat it, the crisis has arrived. The time has come for action—bold, determined action. Words will no longer do any good; we must have men in Kansas, and that by tens of thousands. A few will not answer. If we should need ten thousand men and lack one of that number, all will count nothing. Let all then who can come do so at once. Those who cannot come must give money to help others to come. We tell you now, and tell you frankly, that unless you come quickly, and come by thousands, we are gone. The elections once lost are lost forever."[3]

With Kansas a free State, Missouri and the States west of the Mississippi would soon be abolitionized, then Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, until finally slavery would be shut up in a few States on the Gulf and South Atlantic.[4]

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[3] An appeal to the South from the Kansas Emigration Society of Missouri.

[4] Charleston *Mercury*, 1855, quoted in *Advertiser and State Gazette*, Montgomery, Ala.

In all sections of the country during the fall and winter of 1855, there was excitement and agitation over the Kansas question. The South was now thoroughly canvassed by agents of the pro-slavery emigrant aid societies. Bands of men were made ready to start for the Territory in the early spring. Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia took the lead among the slave States in the work of sending men to Kansas to settle and vote for the interests of the South.

In Alabama the first body of pioneers for Kansas was enrolled by Thomas J. Orme, who, on November 18, 1855, made this proposition:

"If the people of Alabama will raise $100,000, I will land in Kansas 500 settlers. I have over one hundred volunteers now."[5]

Nothing resulted from Orme's proposition, but on November 26, 1855, Major Jefferson Buford, a lawyer of Eufaula, who had served with distinction in the Indian war of 1836, published the following call:

AID TO KANSAS. COL. BUFORD'S PROPOSITIONS.[6]

To Kansas Emigrants—

Who will go to Kansas? I wish to raise three hundred industrious, sober, discreet, reliable men capable of bearing arms, not prone to use them wickedly or unnecessarily, but willing to protect their sections in every real emergency. I desire to start with them for Kansas by the 20th of February next. To such I will guaranty the donation of a homestead of forty acres of first rate land, a free passage to Kansas and the means of support for one year. To ministers of the gospel, mechanics, and those with good military or agricultural outfits, I will offer greater inducements. Besides devoting twenty thousand dollars of my own means to this enterprise I expect all those who know and have confidence in me and who feel an interest in the cause, to contribute as much as they are able. I will give to each contributor my obligation that for every fifty dollars contributed I will within six months thereafter place in Kansas one bona fide settler, able and willing to vote and fight if need be for our section, or in default of doing so, that I will on demand refund the donation with interest from the day of its receipt. I will keep an account of the obligations so issued, and each successive one shall specify one emigrant more than its immediate predecessor,

[5] *Advertiser and State Gazette,* 1855.

[6] Published in Eufaula *Spirit of the South* and copied in other Southern papers.

—thus: No. 1 shall pledge me to take one emigrant; No. 2, two; No. 3, three, etc., and if the State makes a contribution it shall be divided into sums of fifty dollars each and numbered accordingly. Here is your cheapest and surest chance to do something for Kansas,—something toward holding against the free-soil hordes that great Thermopylae of southern institutions. In this their great day of darkness, nay, of extreme peril, there ought to be, there needs must be great individual self-sacrifice, or they cannot be maintained. If we cannot find many who are willing to incur great individual loss in the common cause,—if we cannot find some crazy enough to peril even life in the deadly breach, then it is not because individuals have grown more prudent and wise, but because public virtue has decayed and we have thereby already become unequal to the successful defence of our rights.

November 26, 1855. J. BUFORD.

In a letter written near the close of December,[7] Major Buford describes the prospective settlers whom he had already enrolled as "honest, clever, poor young men from the country, used to agricultural labor, with a few merchants, mechanics, printers, and carpenters."

On January 19, 1856, Buford published in the State papers the following announcement:

TO KANSAS EMIGRANTS AND TO ALL OF THE SOUTH.

I had proposed to start with my company of Kansas emigrants on the 11th of February next, but many of them being unable to get ready by that time, and others being unwilling to go before spring, and especially as I am advised by my correspondents that the Missouri and Kansas rivers are already impeded by ice, I have determined to postpone starting until the winter breaks.

The emigrants may rendezvous at Eufaula on the 31st March next; at Columbus, Georgia, on 3d of April; and at Montgomery, Ala., on the 5th of April next,—so that I can start from Eufaula, via Columbus and Montgomery,[8] collecting on the way those that I find at the different places of rendezvous. The company will travel from Montgomery by steamers via Mobile and New Orleans, or else by railroad via Atlanta to Nashville, and thence by steamer to Kansas. I engage to transport no baggage except six blankets, one gun, one knapsack, and one frying pan to each emigrant. For baggage over and above this the emigrant himself must engage transportation; many will have no more and I must treat all alike. While I thought my company would be small I

[7] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 29, 1855.

[8] Silver Run, now Seale, Ala., was afterwards designated as a place of rendezvous.

expected to be able to take women, children and slaves; but I find I must leave them to give place to men, who are now greatly needed in Kansas to preserve the public peace and enforce the laws. I now expect over four hundred men and I will take no females, nor slaves, nor minors under eighteen years of age. Women and children should not be exposed there in tents in the spring, but the husbands should go first and prepare houses.

The regiment will be divided into companies of forty or fifty men under the usual military officers, elected by the men. Officers will have no emoluments, and the organization is on the principle of volunteer militia to sustain the laws. A majority of each company may expel any member. Rations, transportation and fare, that of soldiers in service.

By way of remunerating me for the privilege of joining my party, for subsistence and transportation to Kansas, and for furnishing means to enter his pre-emption, each emigrant agrees to acquire a pre-emption, and to pay me, when his titles are perfected, a sum equal to the value of one-half of his pre-emption, which obligation he may discharge in money or property at a fair valuation, at his own option. I had heretofore, from misinformation, supposed pre-emptions assignable before patent, but on examining the act I find they are not. Neither does the donation act apply to Kansas; but each male of full age, widow, or head of family who has not a pre-emption under the act of 1841 and does not own 320 acres of land, and who has improved and settled on it—not to sell for speculation—but for his own use and cultivation, is entitled to enter 160 acres at $1.25 per acre, payable at any time before the land sales.

I have simplified my proposals to a single proposition, as above, in order to be more easily understood and to obviate the many questions that overwhelm me.

Besides taking only free males over eighteen, the great number of emigrants compels this further modification, i. e., I will receive only those emigrants who rendezvous at the places above designated,—at either of which places, Eufaula, Columbus or Montgomery, I will receive all males over eighteen from any Southern State, who join me at the time above designated; their rations to begin from the time above named for rendezvous. Emigrants must pay their own expenses to the place and day of rendezvous. Those gentlemen in Carolina and other States forming companies to join me, can very easily obtain free transportation for their companies by proper application to the directors of the railroads over which they must pass.[9]

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[9] Here follows a description of Kansas, the country and its products, wages, etc., from information given by Judge Cato and Dr. Walker. Judge Lewis L. Cato was an Alabamian and succeeded Rush Elmore, as

Let every one wishing to go urge his neighbors to hold meetings, and appoint agents to solicit every man's contribution, either in money or note, payable after the emigrants are taken out. Contributions must not be to individual members, but for the common benefit. I could by the last of March raise five thousand men, if the contributions reached, say $10 per head, for that would enable me to furnish all with their military and agricultural outfit.

I am asked, what military and other service do I require? *None,* except that when he gets to Kansas, the emigrant shall begin some honest employment for a living, if he be working on his claim, that will give him credit to buy bread on. On his way there he is expected to be orderly and temperate, to attend the reading of the Scriptures and prayer night and morning, to learn to fear God, to be charitable to our enemies, gentle with females and those in our power, merciful to slaves and beasts and just to all men.

All who intend to go will please write me immediately.

W. P. Belche, Esq., Abbeville C. H., S. C., and Capt. E. B. Bell, Graniteville, Edgeville, S. C., I understand, are raising companies to join me.

They, doubtless, can get free transportation for them to Columbus, Ga., and Carolina emigrants might do well to come with one of them.

All editors friendly to the enterprise, it is hoped, will copy this address in full.

J. BUFORD.[10]

On his return Buford was to make a report giving the name and place of enrollment of each settler, and showing where in Kansas he was left. Contributions were asked for and those who could not contribute in cash were asked to do so in notes, thus:

CROSS ROAD P. O., BARBOUR CO., ALA., *January 1, 1856.*

One year after date I promise to pay to Jefferson Buford (.....) per head for every emigrant he may take to Kansas within that time, provided that I shall in no event be liable to pay over.....dollars.

(Signed) .....[11]

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associate justice for Kansas Territory. *See* Brewer's *Alabama,* p. 131. Corn is 25 cents per bushel; 100 bushels per acre; land richer than Chattahooche bottoms; six tons of hemp per acre can be raised worth $140 per ton; climate is good; wages $300 to $600 per year; Kansas is the starting point for the far West.

[10] Brewerton's *Wars of the Western Border,* pp. 210-213; also *Alabama Journal,* Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 1, 1856.

[11] *Advertiser and State Gazette,* Dec. 29, 1855.

January 7, 1856, forty plantation slaves were sold by Major Buford in Montgomery, at the average price of seven hundred dollars, and the proceeds put into the fund for defraying the expenses of the expedition. Donations were coming in, and William L. Yancey was appointed to receive contributions. The State was thoroughly canvassed by Buford and others during the month of February. Buford himself spoke at Cahaba, Woodville, Benton, Lowndesboro, Mt. Willing, Greenville, Valleyton, Troy, Elba, Geneva, Daleville, Newton, Waterford, Columbia, Franklin and Abbeville. Alpheus Baker spoke in the interest of the crusade in Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, and his wonderfully persuasive speeches convinced many of the need to secure Kansas. William L. Yancey, the most splendid orator of the time, Henry W. Hilliard, his old opponent in politics, Henry D. Clayton, LeRoy Pope Walker, and others, delivered addresses to the people of Alabama, calling for good and true men to protect Southern rights on the Kansas battle ground.[12] Representative F. K. Beck, of Wilcox county, introduced a bill in the State legislature to appropriate $25,000 for the purpose of aiding emigrants to settle in Kansas. The bill was referred to the committee on Federal relations and was never reported.[13]

Early in January Major Buford made a speech in Montgomery before the State legislature, in which he explained his plans for securing Kansas to the South. A citizen of Worcester, Massachusetts, Wm. T. Merrifield, was in Montgomery at the time and heard of the designs of Buford. He at once returned to Massachusetts, told Eli Thayer, the originator of the emigrant aid societies, about Buford's plans, and arranged with him to send men to oppose this Southern force. One hundred and sixty-five men well armed with Sharpe's rifles (Beecher's Bibles)[14] were sent to Kansas for this purpose.[15]

The Eufaula *Spirit of the South,* in editorial comment on the situation in Kansas, said: "We are grateful to see that the proposed expedition of our friend, Major Buford, to Kansas, is be-

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[12] Montgomery papers of January, February and March, 1856.

[13] *Advertiser and State Gazette,* January 13, 1856.

[14] "The Border Ruffian" designation for Sharpe's rifles. It was reported that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher had advocated the use of Sharpe's rifles by free state emigrants.

[15] Thayer's *Kansas Crusade,* quoting from the *Worcester Spy,* of 1887.

ginning to attract the atention it so eminently deserves. Of late there has been an almost unmistakable stirring of the waters, and the South begins to move like the strong man in his sleep. From Virginia and Tennessee, from South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, every mail brings tidings of gallant young men buckling on their armor for the struggle that is to give Kansas to the South or surrender her to the vagabond creatures of the emigrant aid society of Massachusetts. Warm, true hearts all over the South yearn toward the fearless champion of our rights, who nobly perils everything in the cause. Meetings of citizens in Montgomery and Columbus have recognized him as a leader worthy of the enterprise and the occasion, and have tendered him not only their sympathy but material aid. At the former meeting, Colonel Gayle[16] of Dallas pledged the people of his county for not less than $5,000. Truly the good work goes on."[17]

Captain E. B. Bell, in the Edgefield *Advertiser,* called for 100 men to go to Kansas. "This pioneer band needs the aid of our moneyed citizens. They go to a far off country for the purpose of securing homes, and at the same time to defend Southern institutions. They appeal to their native State for aid, with the hope that their appeal will not be in vain. It is impossible that the people of South Carolina can hear without emotion the news which daily comes to us from Kansas. * * * * * * * We trust that these questions may be answered in a worthy and liberal manner. Let patriotism, State pride, and Southern spirit be expressed in some suitable practical form of aid for Kansas.[18]

"A daughter of South Carolina sent to the editor of a newspaper a gold chain which would realize enough to furnish one man, and she begged him to let the ladies of her neighborhood know when more money was needed. 'We will give up our personal embellishments and expose them for sale.' "[19]

It was intended that the party should go armed, but in March Major Buford announced that in deference to the President's

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[16] After the war between the States Col. Gayle was arrested for having offered a reward of $100,000 for the death of Lincoln. He was soon released.

[17] Holloway's *History of Kansas,* p. 280.

[18] Brewerton's *Wars of the Western Border,* p. 214.

[19] James Ford Rhodes's *History of the United States,* vol. ii, p. 151.

proclamation,[20] and in consonance with the true designs of the expedition, it would go unarmed.[21]

The legislature of Georgia, in session during January, 1856, passed a joint resolution to the following effect:

"*Resolved,* That the superintendent of the Western and Atlantic Railroad be instructed to give to Major Jefferson Buford of Alabama and his company of Kansas emigrants, and any other company of like character, upon their presentation to him of satisfactory evidence of their *bona fide* intention of emigrating to Kansas, a free passage over the State road on their route to said territory.[22]

The Eufaula contingent of about one hundred men left that place on March 31, accompanied by Buford and Alpheus Baker, who, at all resting points, made addresses of encouragement to the emigrants. A stop of one day was made at Columbus, Georgia, where a body of nearly one hundred was in waiting. Both Buford and Baker made speeches on the issues of the day and more men volunteered. From Columbus some of the emigrants, especially those who were paying their own expenses, went overland to Nashville and then took steamer. Buford, with the larger body, went on to Montgomery, reaching that place of final rendezvous on April 4.[23]

There were now collected here about three hundred and fifty men, of whom one hundred were from South Carolina, fifty were

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[20] Proclamation of President Pierce, February 11, 1856. "It also appearing that other persons, inhabitants of remote States, are collecting money, engaging men and providing arms [for purpose of intervention] I call on the citizens both of adjoining and distant States to abstain from unauthorized intermeddling in the local concerns of the territory * * all acts of illegal interference will incur condign punishment, and any endeavor to intervene by organized force will be firmly withstood."—Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* vol. v, p. 390; *Congressional Globe,* July 9, 1856.

[21] *Advertiser and State Gazette,* March 1, 1856.

[22] Georgia *Laws,* 1855-6, 553, Resolution, No. 5.

[23] "Buford gathered about 100 men at Eufaula; a few paid their own expenses. I was one of the few who paid their own expenses. Gen. Baker the silver tongued orator of Alabama made many speeches in the towns on the way. At Columbus Buford and Baker both made speeches on the questions of the day and here 100 men joined them. At Columbus a few went on by land to the territory but Buford and the main party went to Montgomery where more men—300 in all were gathered."—Extract from the account of E. F. Davis, one of Buford's men.

I am much indebted to Mr. E. Frank Davis, of Dothan, Alabama, for full accounts of his experiences in Kansas as one of the Southern settlers.

Georgians, one was from Illinois, one from Boston, and the rest were Alabamians.[24] The Alabama *Journal* of this date characterizes the emigrants collected in Montgomery as a superior class of young men, quiet, gentlemanly, temperate. Later, some members of the party seem not to have deserved this praise.

On the day of the arrival of Buford in Montgomery the citizens held a reception to the emigrants in Estelle hall. Alpheus Baker delivered a stirring address. He spoke of the unfavorable and unjust legislation against the interests of the South, especially since the Missouri compromise, the constant attacks of the abolitionists upon the South, their desire to deprive the people of the South of their property. Kansas, he said, was now the battle ground where the final decision was to be made. The South must commit no wrong and relinquish no right. Much had the South borne for the sake of the Union, but it was now time to show that she could no longer be persecuted. Her chivalrous sons must come to the rescue, to uphold and maintain their constitutional rights and protect their institutions. The South must unite against rampant fanaticism.[25]

The next day, Saturday, April 5, Major Buford formed his party in line in front of the Madison House on Market street, and addressed them, urging that they abstain from intoxicating liquors and conduct themselves as gentlemen and good citizens. In the afternoon they were marched to the agricultural fair grounds, where they were divided into companies and temporary officers were elected. Buford was made *General* of the battalion.[25]

Saturday night there was a meeting of the citizens of Montgomery in Estelle hall to express their approval of the Kansas movement and thank the crusaders for going to the relief of the South. Speeches were made by prominent men of the State. Major Buford explained the motives leading to the movement and his intention to people Kansas with true-hearted Southern settlers. No force, fraud, or lawlessness was intended or would be tolerated. But if the hired minions of Northern free-soilism and fanaticism brought on a conflict by interfering with their rights, the Southerners would defend themselves and their institutions. Kan-

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[24] Buford's statement, in Montgomery papers.

[25] Montgomery papers; Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 347-349.

sas was the "outpost" and must be held if the South wished to preserve her institutions and character.

One of the speakers, Judge Wm. P. Chilton, had always been, he stated, and was still, a "Union" man, but now every right of the South must be strictly maintained, if possible in the Union, if not, then out of the Union. The South had compromised too long, had sacrificed too much for harmony. By this course the North had been encouraged to new acts of aggression. For the future the South must suffer no infringement of her constitutional rights, but must assert and maintain equality with the North.

The meeting unanimously adopted these resolutions:

Resolved, That our grateful thanks are tendered to the noble band of emigrants who have so promptly responded to the call made upon them to march forth and throw themselves into the breach in defence of Southern Rights and the constitutional privileges of the South, and though we hope their mission may be a peaceful one, and not involve them in an appeal to arms, yet should Abolition fanaticism force such an issue, we wish them to consider themselves as but the vanguard of the mighty host of their brethren of the South, who are ready to march to their relief and stand with them in the struggle.

Resolved, That we are satisfied their conduct will be governed by a strict observance of all the constitutional laws of the Federal government, and that we deem it unnecessary to exhort them to oppose, by all the means placed in their hands by the God who made them, the least aggression on their rights and privileges by the base hirelings of Northern fanaticism.

Resolved, That the South has made sacrifices and compromises to promote the harmony, peace, and union of these States on divers occasions, and all such efforts have only tended to encourage our adversaries in their lawless and fanatical proceedings, and to urge them on to repeated outrages against our character and standing as equals in the confederacy; therefore, henceforth let there be inscribed on our banners, "No Compromise of our Rights" but a full, ample and entire equality with all our sister States, even at the hazard of Disunion and War!

The battalion attended divine services on Sunday at the Baptist church, where, after the sermon, the pastor, Rev. I. T. Tichenor, proposed that since some ministers at the North had been raising money to equip emigrants with Sharpe's rifles, they present each man of Buford's battalion with a more powerful weapon—the Bible. The necessary amount was subscribed at once and it being

found that there was not a sufficient number of Bibles in Montgomery, the money was turned over to Major Buford, who was to purchase them at some point on his route.

The next day the emigrants were marched again to the Baptist church, which was filled to overflowing with spectators, many of whom were ladies. Rev. Mr. Dorman of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, prayed that the blessings of heaven might rest upon Buford and his men and their enterprise. Dr. Tichenor then presented a large Bible to Buford and made an appeal to the emigrants to conduct themselves according to the teachings of the Holy Word. He wished them long life, prosperity and the blessings of God upon their efforts to preserve the institutions of the South, which were in keeping with the law of God. Buford received the Bible and answered in behalf of the emigrants that their hope of success was based on their belief in the rightfulness of their cause, and that they were impelled to their present duty by pure patriotism and a desire for the welfare of the South. A song written by a lady of Montgomery was sung by the crusaders and then benediction was pronounced by Rev. Mr. Dorman.

From the church the battalion was marched to the wharf, where the steamer *Messenger* was waiting to take them to Mobile.

It was noticed that the battalion carried two banners with inscriptions on them. One had in large letters upon it:

"THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE,"

and on the reverse side was

"KANSAS, THE OUTPOST."

The second banner had the simple legend:

"KANSAS."

The Montgomery company wore silk badges with the inscriptiton:

"ALABAMA FOR KANSAS—NORTH OF 36° 30′.
BIBLES—NOT RIFLES."

At the wharf a crowd of 5,000 people was waiting, a band of negro musicians played, and, mounted on a bale of cotton, Henry W. Hilliard made a short and eloquent address setting forth the

constitutional rights of Southerners in the territories, and urging that moderate and peaceful counsels prevail. They were armed, he said, with the Word of Truth and the constitution, which were better than Sharpe's rifles.

He expressed confidence in the final result of the contest and was sure the South would never have cause to blush for any acts of her defenders. Concluding, he said: "Providence may change our relations to the inferior race, but the principle is eternal—*the supremacy of the white race.*"

Alpheus Baker responded for the emigrants, speaking as he always spoke; the emigrants boarded the steamer and the expedition departed "amid the huzzas of a united people and the sound of cannon booming along the bluffs."[26]

A stop of two days was made in Mobile and an election for officers was held. In Montgomery the party had been divided into four companies and Buford made general. The officers elected now were:

B. F. Treadwell, of Eufaula, *Colonel.*

Major L. F. Johnston, of Alabama, *Quartermaster-General.*

Captain E. B. Bell, of South Carolina, *Adjutant-General.*

John W. Jones, Auburn, Ala., *Surgeon.*

Gordon, Brown, Andrews and Jernigan (of Georgia), *Captains.*[27]

On April 11, the command was marched to the book store of the Messrs. McIlvaine, where each man was supplied with a Bible, and then to the wharf to embark on the steamer *Florida* for New Orleans.[27*]

At New Orleans a few additional emigrants were picked up and the battalion was divided for making the trip up the Mississippi in the steamers *America* and *Oceana.*

St. Louis was reached on 23rd of April and a stop was made for one day. The people of St. Louis rated Buford's enterprise

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[26] This account of the stay of the Buford party in Montgomery is compiled from the Montgomery papers, April 4-9, which gave full accounts of all that concerned the party as long as it was in the State. Yet after it left there is very little in any of the papers relating to the expedition. *See also* Joseph Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy,* pp. 347-353.

[27] Mobile *Register.* Also letters from members of the party to Montgomery papers.

[27*] I have been told by old residents that more Bibles were presented to the crusaders than were carried away. Some of the ungodly used the leaves for pipe lighters and scattered them about the streets.

very highly, and regarded him as the best friend of Kansas in the whole South.[28]

While at St. Louis Buford addressed the following letter to the Governor of "Nebraska Territory," an organization attempted by Wyandotte Indians previous to the white settlement:

ST. LOUIS, *Apl., '56.*

DEAR SIR: I desire to settle a portion of my company on the Wyandotte reserve provided that tribe will freely consent to my doing so, but not otherwise. I would select for that purpose only orderly, good citizens,—among them blacksmiths, carpenters, brick and stone masons, physicians, school teachers, agricultural laborers, etc., etc., and any of them who becomes obnoxious to the Indians I would have removed. With such settlers, under such an arrangement, I think both parties would be benefited, and especially would it aid your views in building up your city of Wyandotte, which, by the way, seems the place endowed by nature for the great town of the Territory.

I hope to see you soon and confer more fully with you in relation to this matter.

Yours respectfully,
Yr. Obt. Servt.
J. BUFORD.[29]

COL. WM. WALKER, *of Wyandotte City, at Kansas City.*

As the party was leaving St. Louis on the *Keystone* for Kansas City, a thief broke into a trunk belonging to Major Buford and stole from it $5,000. It was believed that one of the emigrants was the thief, but the money was not recovered.[30]

Upon arrival at Kansas City, it is said, the emigrants were drawn up in line, Buford spoke to them concerning the objects of the expedition, and on bended knees the men swore not to leave Kansas until the question was settled.[31]

The next stop was made at Westport, where they were equipped for settlement and on May 2 they passed over the line and

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[28] Letter dated St. Louis, April 23, 1856, from A. B., Jr., to the *Advertiser and State Gazette.*

[29] I am indebted to G. W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society for a copy of this letter. It has since been published in Connelley's *Life of John Brown*, p. 173. It is the only letter of Buford known to be in Kansas and is in the private collection of Mr. Connelley, of Topeka.

[30] St. Louis *Herald*, April 26, 1856.

[31] See Mrs. Robinson's *Kansas*, p. 304.

scattered about the country seeking desirable locations for homesteads.

The arrival of Buford with settlers from the South greatly encouraged the pro-slavery leaders and alarmed the free State men. "Our hearts have been made glad," wrote one of the Southerners, "by the late arrival of large companies from South Carolina and Alabama. They have responded nobly to our call for help. The noble Buford is already endeared to our hearts; we love him; we will fight for him and die for him and his noble companions."[32] On the free State side, ex-Governor Reeder writes: "There have come to the Territory this spring three or four hundred young men, including Buford's party, who evidently came here to fight, and whose leaders probably understood the whole program before they left home."[33]

The following resolutions were adopted first at Lexington, Mo., and then at Independence, Mo.:

Resolved, That we hail with delight the interest now being manifested in the Southern States in regard to the settlement of Kansas with her pro-slavery and law-abiding citizens; and that we welcome with open arms those gallant sons of Alabama and other Southern States, now on their way to their new homes in Kansas Territory, as well as those who have preceded them on their way, as men with whom the South can trust her dearest rights under the Constitution; and we hereby pledge ourselves to them, and each to the other, that we will aid and assist them in every proper way, and, should emergencies require, we will march shoulder to shoulder with them to the last struggle for Southern rights.

Resolved, That we shall ever cordially welcome to the soil of Missouri our friends of the South, who have forsaken their homes and firesides to join us in the contest now going on in Kansas, and that we assure them that our homes shall be theirs, our hopes theirs, our fortunes theirs, and, in fine, Missouri grasps the hand of the South, and trusts that the future State of Kansas will be another to cement us in a common brotherhood."[34]

Before the party left Westport there was a meeting of the citizens to make the presentation to Major Buford of a fine horse, with fine saddle and bridle.[35] Nearly half a century later an old

[32] Manager of Lafayette County Emigration Society.

[33] Reeder's Diary, in Kansas Historical Society *Collections.*

[34] William Phillips's *Conquest of Kansas,* p. 250.

[35] *Border Times,* Westport, May 3, 1856.

citizen of Westport writes: "The people of Westport were glad to see Buford's men come. They were doubly glad when they went away finally."

By May 7th the colonists had scattered over different portions[36] of the Territory with the intention of locating permanently as citizens, and Buford was seeking some central location for himself in order that he might maintain communication with the members of his colony. Blue Jacket, on the Wakarusa, was suggested to him as a desirable place to settle.[37] His first camp was near Osawatomie.[38] Some of Buford's men now asked that the money for paying for their claims be given to them, but this their leader declined to do until they should select their quarter sections and settle on them. Others wanted him to support them at his own expense, pay their bills at hotels, etc. His refusal to do this soon caused the loss of a number of the most worthless of the party.[39]

The emigrants had not yet settled permanently, or at most few of them had done so, but were seeking favorable locations for claims on the government lands before pre-empting their quarter sections. Most of them were destined never to make their homes in Kansas, for at the very time they came over the border there was trouble again in Kansas between the territorial government and the free State settlers at Lawrence. Indictments had been found by the Douglas county grand jury against a number of free State men living at Lawrence, and the United States marshal feared to undertake their arrest without a strong posse. So on May 11 he summoned the citizens of Kansas to appear at Lecompton in force sufficient to execute the laws.

In response to this call for men, Buford gathered his colonists, some of them at Lecompton, but the greater part of them at Franklin, where they were enrolled and armed by Governor Shan-

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[36] E. F. Davis: "We found Kansas in such a state of excitement that we thought it prudent to settle only in large settlements. Some of Buford's men were west of Westport, some at Franklin and more at Lecompton."

[37] Letter from J. M. Thompson, Liberty, Mo., to General Strickler, of Kansas.

[38] Sanborn's *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 228.

[39] "Buford was unpopular with a few of his men in Kansas because he could not do for them what they demanded of him; as he could not pay hotel bills, &c., long after they arrived at the Border City."—E. F. Davis.

non as territorial militia.[40] Buford's force at Franklin numbered four hundred men, and was under the direction of United States Marshal I. B. Donelson.

Captain E. B. Bell, of South Carolina, one of Buford's officers (adjutant-general), was sent with a company of men to intercept arms and armed men and prevent them from getting into Lawrence, which was preparing to withstand a siege. May 16 he captured a wagon loaded with guns and sabres. Three days later he was notified that three wagons loaded with arms would attempt to cross a bridge near where he was stationed. Taking volunteers from the companies at Franklin, Bell went with thirty-six foot soldiers and five mounted men to catch the wagons. The mounted men reached the bridge first and drove off a sentinel party of free State men stationed there. These men warned the drivers of the wagons and they escaped. Shortly after the mounted men reached the bridge, a free State man came up and attempted to cross. He was halted "by order of the United States marshal." "I do not recognize that authority," he said, and tried to force his way across, presenting a pistol at the guards. He was "halted" three times and was then fired upon and wounded.[41] The next day ten of Buford's men carried G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, as a Federal prisoner to Lecompton. Two of these men on their return to Franklin were fired upon by a party of free State men and one of the Southerners was shot through the arm. The other Southerner killed the man who had shot his comrade, and then, followed by a volley, assisted the wounded man to escape.[42]

On May 20, the marshal began gathering his forces to assemble before Lawrence. On the morning of May 21, early risers in Lawrence were astonished to see a force of soldiery drawn up on Mount Oread, a high hill near the town. Buford did not arrive until 11 o'clock. His men carried the banners that had been brought from Alabama. These banners seem to have offended

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[40] *Alabama Journal*, Montgomery, Ala., May 31, 1856. *See also* Mrs. S. L. Robinson's *Kansas: Its Exterior and Interior Life*. They were armed with Mississippi rifles.

[41] Letter from Captain Bell, dated Franklin, May 20, 1856, to Charleston *Courier*, copied in *Alabama Journal*. Phillips's *Conquest of Kansas*, p. 285. Some of the captured boxes of arms were marked "Revised Statutes." *See* Senate Report, No. 150, 1st session, 34th Congress, p. 86.

[42] Correspondence in Montgomery papers.

some good citizens of Lawrence more than the capture of the town and the destruction of property. The force investing Lawrence was Kansas territorial militia under the command of United States Marshal I. B. Donelson and Deputy Marshal Fain. The last named, with a small party, entered the town and made several arrests, meeting with no resistance. He then returned to the militia assembled outside of the town and declared the posse disbanded. Samuel J. Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, immediately summoned the entire body to assist him in serving some writs.

The Free State hotel in Lawrence had been used during the Wakarusa War as a place of armed rendezvous, and each of the newspapers had published articles of an inflammatory and seditious nature denying the legality of the territorial government. Consequently the grand jury of Douglas county had declared them "nuisances," and as such had recommended their abatement. To "abate" them was the intention of Sheriff Jones[43] He marched his posse to the foot of the hill and formed a hollow square. Ex-Senator Atchison and others addressed the party, declaring their intention to destroy the hotel and the two printing presses. Major Buford and many others of the sheriff's posse protested against this outrage,[44] and endeavored to dissuade the sheriff from carrying out his designs. In a "Memorial to the

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[43] Holloway's *History of Kansas.*

[44] "I did not see any disposition of the sheriff's party to destroy or disturb any property even so much as taking a chicken for an evening stew. The party represented the law and order party and any violation would have been put down by that party as very low in principle. I did not hear any speak of doing violence to any one or their property,—but having to obey the order of the sheriff we did destroy the hotel or fortress located there by the Massachusetts Sharpshooter Society. In fact I did not see any private property destroyed by the Southern settlers, but by the Yankees. I saw them set fire to Col. Titus's house and also his stables and barns. Titus afterward settled in Florida and named a little town after himself and added the "ville" to the name, on or near Indian river. * * * * *

"As to Jeff Buford, I did not see him at Lawrence and if he was there I did not know it or cannot remember it. * * * * * * * * * *

"The hotel at Lawrence was a place for storing arms and ammunition, held against the laws of the territory for the purpose of driving out the pro-slavery settlers. The arsenal or hotel was surrendered to the sheriff and, after all private property had been moved out, shots were fired through it from a cannon and then it was fired. There was no disturbance at the time."—Extracts from letters of E. F. Davis.

"The people of Lawrence put in claims against the government, which were allowed, sufficient to cover the value of all the clothes, furniture, crockery, &c., that ever came into Lawrence—$318,718.63. The destruction of property for one year by both sides was estimated at $2,000,000.00 worth. *See* House *Reports* of Committees, 2nd Session, 36th Congress, No. 104."

President from the Inhabitants of Kansas" dated May 22, the prominent citizens of Lawrence state that, "Col. Buford of Alabama (and Col. Jackson of Georgia) disclaimed having come to Kansas to destroy property, and condemned the course which had been taken;" that he used his influence to restrain the sheriff, and expressed his disapproval of the outrage in the strongest terms.[45]

After the destruction of the hotel the Alabamians again separated, some going back to Lecompton with Buford, others camped on Bull Creek near Paola not far from the scene of the John Brown massacre, and a third party camped near Dutch Henry's crossing, where they were visited by John Brown, who passed for a Federal surveyor. He mingled with the men, heard their plans to catch him, and made his arrangements accordingly.[46]

Civil war broke out in Kansas after the murder of the pro-slavery settlers by John Brown. Colonel Sumner in command of the United States troops took the field and dispersed or drove out of Kansas all armed bodies of men. All of Buford's men who were in arms were forced to go back into Missouri, most of them returning to Westport. At this time Buford bought twenty-five horses for the use of his men at Westport. These horses were used in their trips to Kansas afterward, and became well known as "Buford's Cavalry."[47]

The events leading up to and following the raid on Lawrence

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[45] The full text of the memorial is given in Charles Robinson's *Kansas Conflict.*

[46] Sanborn's *Life and Letters of John Brown,* p. 230, says that John Brown obtained information from Buford's party that Doyle, Sherman and Wilkinson, who were afterwards murdered, had been giving information as to the movement of the free State forces.

Connelly says that the men murdered by Brown had been in constant communication with some of Buford's men who were camped about four miles from the scene of the murders. The line was surveyed through the Buford camp before the murder of the pro-slavery settlers. It was done by Brown and one of his sons in order to get information as to the designs of the Buford party. These murders were necessary to revive the spirits of the free State party whose cause seemed in danger after the arrival of Buford. See Connelly's *John Brown, passim.*

[47] Letter to *Alabama Journal,* July 2, dated Westport, June 15, from Wilson, a former printer on the *Journal.* He said: "Very nearly the last man of us is flat broke. Impossible to get work in the territory. Clothes are giving out. Some of the boys are returning home. Some are going to stay and see it out. Major Buford is preparing a statement of expenditures to show to the South. He has spent his fortune on this enterprise and will not have a cent left for his children. However, he relies on the sympathy of friends at home to assist him out and take care of us poor devils until the question is settled and Kansas becomes a State."

and the murders by John Brown had greatly demoralized the Buford settlers.[48] Unable on account of the hostility of the anti-slavery party to make homes for themselves in Kansas, they were forced to live on the country, by contributions made by sympathizers with their cause, or by impressment from their enemies. On the night of June 4 a number of Alabamians at Franklin were attacked by a free State company, who broke into the stores Buford had provided for the settlers and carried away provisions, arms, ammunition, etc. Four of Buford's men were wounded in this fight.[49] Two of the Montgomery company (Powell and Vickers) with three Georgians were sent by Buford for a wagon and returning were captured by the free State men, robbed of their arms, and tortured several hours before being released.[50]

The first week in June a large part of Buford's men accompanied General Whitfield into Kansas to protect pro-slavery settlers who were being driven from their homes. The Governor of the territory, however, ordered all armed parties to disband, and Colonel Sumner again sent the Alabamians back to Missouri. On this expedition into Kansas Captain Jernigan and four of his men were captured by free State guerrillas, but were released by the United States troops.[51]

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[48] "Soon the freesoilers began to attack the pro-slavery men from the territory. Buford's men were attacked at Franklin, when one was killed and a party of settlers near the settlement of the notorious John Brown were driven from their claims. Included with these were 40 with Major Treadwell of Eufaula. Driven out of the territory.

"The day after Franklin Col. Titus was attacked 3 miles east of Lecompton. One man killed. Some of Buford's men were with him. Titus and his men captured but soon exchanged. I and a man named Bradford, from Mobile, were in both fights."—E. F. Davis.

[49] In the attack on Franklin, a wagon load of hay was set on fire and pushed against the house in which the party of Georgians and Alabamians were stationed. This forced them out. A. A. Lawrence of the emigrant aid society of Massachusetts sent to each of the men who went with the wagon a share of stock in the society. Mrs. Robinson's *Kansas*, p. 336, Holloway's *History of Kansas Territory*, p. 357, Phillips' p. 348.

[50] Letter to *Advertiser and State Gazette*, from W. W. Cook (Westport, June 3).

[51] *Congressional Globe*, July 2, 1856, July 9, 1856. A company from Alabama and one from South Carolina were driven out by Sumner and the U. S. troops. Phillips, pp. 328, 329, Rhodes, vol. ii, p. 102. Jernigan, Bell, Walker and others of Buford's officers were with Whitfield and were forced from Kansas by the U. S. troops June 5. Bell and Jernigan went to Ossawatomie. Holloway, *Kansas*, 358, 361. A Georgia and Alabama settlement was broken up near the Meridocene. *See* House *Reports* of Committees, No. 104, 2nd Session, 36th Congress, p. 43. Buford complained to Gov. Shannon that his men were driven from their claims by United States troops and free State men.—Phillips, p. 379.

Buford himself spent the first part of June in Westport and Kansas City consulting with the pro-slavery leaders, and endeavoring to devise some plan to support the failing cause of the South in Kansas. Alpheus Baker and Major L. F. Johnston had returned to Alabama soon after reaching the territory for more men and more money. Now on June 21, Buford and others sent an appeal to the South for more emigrants to check the abolitionists in their efforts to drive the pro-slavery party from Kansas.[52]

June 26, Buford left the Territory on a mission to the South in the interest of Kansas. He visited Washington and the principal cities of the slave States.[53] In Washington he remained several weeks endeavoring to interest the Southern leaders in his scheme for the colonization of Kansas. Robert Toombs, R. M. T. Hunter, J. B. DeBow and other prominent Southerners gave him valuable aid in forwarding his projects.[54] After an absence of several months spent in trying to arouse the South to a sense of her danger, Buford returned to Kansas late in 1856.

Meanwhile all had not gone well with the colonists he had left behind.[55] Numbers had returned to Alabama after the first

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[52] *Alabama Journal.* "An Address from the Law and Order Party of the South." See also Professor Spring's *Kansas.*

[53] Buford went to New Orleans, Savannah, Augusta, Washington and Alabama. W. D. Wilks, one of his officers went to South Carolina. Alpheus Baker, Dr. Jones and Major Johnston canvassed central Alabama for men and money. The result was Clayton's expedition. *See* Wilder's *Annals of Kansas,* p. 112, and Mrs. V. V. Clayton's *White and Black under the Old Regime.* In Mrs. Clayton's book is given an account of the expedition led by her husband, Henry D. Clayton, afterward a major-general in Confederate Army and president of the State University.

[54] Letters belonging to Major Buford's daughter, Mrs. R. L. Hobdy, Union Springs, Ala. Copies in possession of the writer.

[55] August 5, some Georgia men were driven from a fort near Osawatomie. Aug. 12, Col. Treadwell had a camp called Fort Saunders on Washington creek, 12 miles from Lawrence. This was captured by free State men August 15.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas,* p. 104. After cessation of hostilities Buford's men fortified themselves in block-houses, 25 to 50 in a place. Each party made raids against the other. Kansas Historical Society *Collections,* 1875-80, vols. i and ii, p. 229. Buford's men had one block-house 1½ miles from Osawatomie and another in the Osage bottom, near Stanton. Sanborn's *Life and Letters of John Brown,* p. 230.

"When the Buford party arrived in Kansas the unsettled political questions of the day were such that a man who intended to make a home in Kansas was naturally 'flustrated.' From all appearances fighting would have the preference over any homemaking, and after the pitched battle failed (at or near Lawrence, sometime in August) the anticipated settlement of homes became doubtful. The general opinion of Buford's men had changed and one by one they left for the States, thinking that Kansas would not suit for their future homes."—E. F. Davis.

troubles in the territory in May. A state of civil war existed for months after the Brown murders and the raid upon Lawrence. The pro-slavery settlers lived in constant fear for their lives. Under such unfavorable conditions the Buford party disbanded. Quite a number enlisted in the United States troops stationed in Kansas, some of them went over to the other side and became free State partisans, others made their way South again,[56] while one party remained during the fall at Westport. They were encamped near the home of a Colonel McGee, an ardent State rights man who, however, suffered much from his hard up pro-slavery friends. "They were a lot of damned scoundrels," he says. "I had a hell of a time with them."

Buford was the best known of the Southern leaders and his party of emigrants the largest and most widely scattered. So they were held accountable for much of the mischief done by men of both sides with whom they had no connection.

The following letter shows how Buford was annoyed by the attacks of the free State party:

To the Editor of the Kansas Tribune, Published at Topeka, K. T.

SIR: I find copied into another paper a recent editorial of yours to the effect that one "Emerson, an honest man, had settled a claim two and a half miles below Tecumseh—that Lowe, a Missourian, pretending a right to it, went up with fifteen Missourians, and Buford, all armed, and threatened to kill Emerson and the other free State men of the neighborhood if they didn't leave." Now this is the first time I have ever heard of Lowe, Emerson, the claim, or the Kansas *Tribune*. I never was within ten miles of the place in my life. On inquiry, however, I learn that the facts, are that the claim is really that of Mr. Lowe; that he was

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[56] Von Holst; Mrs. Robinson; Phillips.

Some went home, some died from want and exposure, several were killed in fights, some shot from ambush. See Phillips' *Conquest of Kansas*, 314.

"The Buford party tried to settle in squads, but failed on their first effort, the Yanks attacking or demonstrating in a military attitude. They withdrew and went home, not all at once but a few at a time. Did not many of them remain in Kansas after the Topeka constitution was adopted which made Kansas a non-free State for the white race because we could not hold our property there. Few of the Buford men remained. It was too cold in the winter and too hot when the Yanks were after them. After the election in 1857 most of the men returned. I helped in surveying. Helped lay out Olathe and had first claim to Spring Hill, so called because there was no water within a mile of the place. I sold out to some Yanks and was glad to leave."—E. F. DAVIS.

living on it last summer, and was driven away by Lane's army of invasion, and that in his absence, your honest Mr. Emerson jumped his claim. Now, if Mr. Lowe (as he had a right to do) only reclaimed his rightful possessions, why are you making all this ado about it? and especially, why are you, in utter violation of the truth of the matter, lugging in a name the country has associated with past troubles in the territory? Are you seeking to brew up another war? If not, what personal malice can you entertain towards me that you should wrongfully stir up your people to hunt my life? Does it challenge your vindictiveness that I should be true to my education, true to my ancestral recollections, true to my section, that I should endeavor to act as if believing that the general good of our common country demanded the preservation of the existing relations of the white and black races at the South? and as necessary thereto, the extension of such relations to Kansas? I fight enemies only in open war; in peace I want peace, and treat all alike with courtesy and kindness; and being really a law and order man, I oppose mob-law, and prefer that where our friends are wrongfully ousted they resort to the courts rather than to lawless violence. Then why malign me with such baseless fabrications? Ignorant of the data on which you founded them and unable to prove your motives, it is for me to characterize your conduct; and whether it was the innocent consequence of misinformation, or whether from inability on your part to appreciate natural results, it is to be set down as the venal offense of a pious fraud, or finally, whether the act was of cunning malice, reckless and devilishly wicked, I leave to your own intelligence, candor and conscience to determine. But the whole truth requires me to confess that (since there is now no presidential election involved) in case you and your colaborers succeed in getting up another difficulty, I do not think that our leaders would act upon the retreating policy they seemed to think imposed on them last summer by political exigencies.

Yours, &c.,

J. BUFORD.[57]

The leaders of the party were of the best men of the State, Baker, Buford, Johnston, and others. The rank and file were good average farmers and workingmen who hoped to make homes on lands of their own in a new and fertile country. There were in the party, as in all similar bodies of men, persons of bad character and some of these gave much trouble. The general average was about the same as that of the emigrants sent out by the Massachusetts emigrant aid society, and they were less inclined to violence

[57] Copied in the New York *Day Book*.

in order to gain their ends. There were few men of means in the party, though many paid their own expenses The slave holder could not risk his property in such an uncertain venture. The very best men, North and South, with homes and lands of their own would, of course, stay at home.[58]

In December Buford was at Westport and made preparations to return to Alabama in the spring. He published an account of the receipts and expenditures of his expedition in the Westport *Star of Empire.* The figures were as follows:

Cost of enterprise, ...	$24,625 06
Contributions, ...	$13,967 90
Leaving a loss of	$10,657 16
Besides a sum stolen, ...	$5,000 00

These figures show the expenditures and losses of the Buford enterprise only. None of the expenses of the Clayton and other colonies are reckoned in this account. The loss was borne by Major Buford.

January 12, 1857, Buford with others signed an address to the South in behalf of the National Democratic Party of Kansas. This is the last appearance he makes in the affairs of the territory.

More clearly than any other Buford had foreseen the results that

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[58] Mr. E. Frank Davis says:

"With few exceptions the settlers of Kansas were men of fair education and good manners. There were a few ambitious people from the North, and the same might be said of the South, who went to extremes. The Missourians were the main settlers in Kansas and were considered of a higher tone than the Yankees. We were then in '56 for the supremacy of the white race, so we are to-day, so we always will be. You could not compare John Brown and his crowd to the Border Ruffians as we were called in '56 and '57. We were law and order settlers. Of course we had a few drunkards."

The climate was too severe for slaves. Reeder states in his *Diary*: "Mrs. Elmore lives in a cabin of one room; was compelled to nurse her negroes, and do the housework last fall; she says she never cooked a meal before. She bears the change well and is a most excellent woman." Judge Elmore had 19 slaves and during the winter he had to cut and haul wood and build fires for them. It was too cold for them; they could not take care of themselves. Certainly the slave-holder had little inducement to settle in Kansas. Elmore was from the Alabama black belt and went to Kansas as a territorial judge appointed by President Pierce.

"I do not remember meeting Buford in Kansas but once and the weather was very cold then. He had a face cover with a plate of glass in front and he could tell who you were but you would have to guess who he was. Buford was then quite dyspeptic and he had his bread made of unbolted flour. We thought that a fine way to make palatable bread."—E. F. DAVIS.

must follow the admission of Kansas as a free State. He gave his fortune to the cause, and worked long and faithfully to arouse the South to the impending danger, but his prophetic voice was not fully heeded. His colonization plan was a failure financially and politically. The institutions of the South could not be transplanted to Kansas. A question he hoped to have settled by votes in Kansas was finally settled by bayonets on a hundred bloody battlefields in the South.[59]

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[59] J. M. Buford, Esq., of Portland, Oregon, a brother of Jefferson Buford, gives the following account of the expedition:

At the time of my brother's death, Aug. 28, 1862, not one scrap of the history of the expedition, of the number of men enlisted in it, of their names, places of residence, or anything pertaining to it could be found. He had them all deposited in some bank or other place of custody in Washington city, that is, if he kept any, but of which he informed no one, so far as I know. No trace of them could be found after his death. He died very suddenly in Clayton, Barbour county, Ala.—was well and had been out superintending the erection of a dwelling house, came in at noon, went to his room, called his wife, said he felt faint, sat down on the bed, and was dead in less time than I take to tell it. He was a very secretive man and seldom informed any one of his plans and purposes. I was very much opposed to his expedition and ridiculed and opposed it all I could. Told him it would be a disastrous failure, but without avail.

He had an idea that Kansas could be made a Southern or slave State by sending emigrants there from the South sufficient to forestall Northern emigration and fix the character and status of the domestic life of the State. Perhaps that might have been the result if we could have got the Southern people to go there faster and in greater droves than the Northern people.

His idea was to raise companies of emigrants all through the South, send them there under some competent, trusty leader, pay their way, furnish them the means to homestead the land, and have them ready to vote with the South when the time should come. And to show his faith by his works he sold what slaves he had, some 30 odd, and put all the proceeds in a common fund, which was increased considerably by donations and popular subscriptions, principally in Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

Gen. Baker, that gifted orator and persuasive speaker, canvassed all those States, and made the most wonderful speeches of the kind ever listened to. There were comparatively few men, however, willing to leave their native South and engage in that venture. And those that did go, whether over or under 300 I have forgotten but under I think, were men of no prominence in the communities where they lived, mostly without a local habitation or name, and what was worse, as they showed up in the end, without integrity of character.

Gen Baker, Maj. L. F. Johnston and others, I do not remember now who, accompanied my brother in the expedition, and after getting the men there safely, all returned, except my brother who remained there several months, looking after the men and trying to get them homes. Some of them settled down, and I suppose the very first vote they cast was to make the State a free State, that is, if they voted on the question at all. As it turned out that was all right; it saved Lincoln the trouble of having so much more of the institution to abolish by his emancipation proclamation.

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Sundry old scrap-book collections of letters and newspaper clippings.

It was a signal failure politically and financially. The leaders of the crew got all the experience they wanted and I suppose the emigrants got what money they could and as much land as possible, while each man doubtless added thereafter to the list of freesoilers. Many of them wandered off, moving about the country and refused to settle down or homestead any land. They wanted the money turned over to them to enter land when and where they pleased and as this could not be allowed they abandoned the colony and left in disgust.

General Baker used to tell many funny incidents of the expedition which I can't repeat but which any one would greatly relish to hear from him.

XII. THE INDIANS OF MARSHALL COUNTY, ALABAMA.

By Oliver Day Street,[1] Guntersville, Ala.

This paper on "The Indians of Marshall County" might with almost equal propriety have been entitled "The Indians of the Tennessee Valley," as it deals quite extensively with the entire region, but neither the space at the disposal of the writer nor the materials at hand rendering possible the full treatment of the larger field, the less comprehensive title has been chosen.

I. THE PREHISTORIC INHABITANTS.

When that portion of Tennessee Valley lying west of Cumberland mountains first became known to the white man, the entire region stretching to the Mississippi and from the southern watershed of the Tennessee to the northern tributaries of the Ohio was without permanent inhabitants, and was used only as a hunting

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[1] Oliver Day Street is the son of Thomas Atkins and Julia Ann (*Beard*) Street. His father was from 1874 to 1898 probate judge of Marshall county. His grandfather, O. D. Street, Sr., was one of the pioneer ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama. His maternal grandfather was Major Arthur Campbell Beard, who represented Marshall county in the Secession Convention of Alabama, 1861. The latter's grandfather was Col. Arthur Campbell the noted pioneer of Abingdon, Va., and referred to at length by Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West;* and his grandmother was a sister to William Campbell, the Hero of King's Mountain. Maj. Beard though advanced in years went out with the 4th Alabama regiment, infantry, as A. C. S., and served until his health failed. Thomas A. Street was major of the 49th Alabama regiment, and commanded the regiment most of the time after the battle of Shiloh. He was captured at Port Hudson and kept in prison till the close of the war. O. D. Street was born at Warrenton, Marshall county, Ala., Dec. 6, 1866; was reared on a farm; educated at Guntersville high school and the University of Alabama, the junior class of which he entered in Oct., 1885. He was there two years in the academic and one year in the law course, taking his A. B. degree in 1887, and his degree of LL. B. in 1888. He began the practice of the law July 24, 1888, at Guntersville, where he has resided continuously since. Mr. Street takes much interest in historical work, and has collected a large library of Americana, as well as manuscripts, notes, etc. For list *see Report* Alabama History Commission, vol. i, pp. 313-16. He represents the 7th Congressional district on the first board of trustees of the Department of Archives and History. He is also one of the organizers and the first secretary and treasurer of the Tennessee Valley Historical Society.—Editor.

ground by the surrounding Indian tribes.[2] It is one of the most mysterious facts connected with the Indian race that this beautiful country with its broad prairies, its splendid rivers and magnificent forests abounding in fish and game of every kind, should be left thus unoccupied for ages, as it evidently had been. It is easy, however, to believe that with such warlike tribes on the north as the Algonquins and the Iroquois, and on the south, as the Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws, none found it safe to set up an exclusive claim to so charming a region and to attempt to people it. By a curious paradox the very attractiveness of the country rendered it uninhabitable.

There were, however, to be seen on every hand evidences of a prehistoric occupancy centuries before, consisting of mounds, shell heaps, stone implements, pottery, old fields, burial caves, and ancient cemeteries. In Marshall county these evidences consist of mounds, innumerable shell heaps along the Tennessee and its tributaries, stone implements, bark and cane matting, burial caves and human skeletons.[3] But no careful study has been made by competent authority of the archaeologic remains of Marshall county or the surrounding region, and hence it is not possible as yet to

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[2] Powell in the *7th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 78, 79.
Thomas in the *5th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 59.
Harrison's *Aborigines of Ohio Valley*, pp. 7, 20, 23, 31.
Force's *Some Early Notices of Indians of Ohio*, p. 3.

[3] In the Hampton cave one mile west of Guntersville have been found many skeletons, pieces of pottery, arrow-heads, spear-points, bark and cane matting, and a specimen of the spool-shaped ornament so well known to archaeologists and supposed to have been worn in the ear. The cave is large and the floor is covered to the depth of about four feet with fragments of human bones.—*12th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 285.

A few years ago, John H. West discovered in a cave on his farm twelve miles below Guntersville on Tennessee river an entire human skeleton lying in a horizontal position on the floor of the cave, and covered to a considerable depth with earth. Recently, Mr. West plowed up on the same farm in a shell-heap near the river bank another skeleton, the bones of which crumbled when struck by the plow. The feet he states were incased in a moccasin of some kind but he could not determine the material.

On or near the west line of the northwest fractional quarter of section 2, township 8, range 3 east, in Marshall county, and about 100 yards from the south bank of Tennessee river, stands a large mound about twenty feet high and on which is a dwelling, barn, stables, and stock lot. Its greater diameter is about half as long again as its shorter. It has never been explored.

Some years ago the writer saw one of the so-called "monitor" pipes which he was told had been picked up on Beard's bluff in this county. Not then appreciating the nature of the find, he has lost sight of the pipe.

speak with confidence as to who her ancient occupants were. However, for reasons which we will briefly state, it seems most probable that they were the ancestors of the Cherokees. These reasons are, first, the similarity of the archaeologic remains of this region to those of the eastern Tennessee Valley which are known to be of Cherokee origin; second, the now admitted fact that the Cherokees were even within historic times mound builders;[4] third, the well attested fact that in ancient times the Cherokee settlements extended much further southward than when the whites first began to have intercourse with them;[5] fourth, the generally accepted opinion that the Cherokees, as well as their neighbors, the Creeks, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, had been in their historic seats for a period much longer than the probable age of the mounds, and that these tribes were not, as has often been supposed, mere roving bands of nomads without permanent locations;[6] fifth, the absence of any tradition of an ancient occupancy of this region by any other tribe than the Cherokees, and lastly, the claim always steadfastly maintained by them that the Tennessee Valley as far west and north as Duck river was a portion of their hereditary domains.[7] These facts seem to warrant the assumption, at least until something is shown to the contrary, that the ancient occupants of this portion of Tennessee Valley, and whose remains are to be seen in Marshall county were the ancestors of the Cherokees. To determine, therefore, who this people were, we must ascertain who were the ancestors of the Cherokees.

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[4] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds,* p. 31.
Thomas in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 58, 60, 88.
Larned's *History for Ready Reference,* vol. i, p. 79.

[5] Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks,* vol. i, pp. 120, 146, 195, and also the several narratives of DeSoto's expedition.

[6] Force's *Some Early Notices of Indians of Ohio,* pp. 51, 56, 59.
Powell in the *7th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 29.
Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks,* vol. ii, p. 49.

[7] The late Gen. S. K. Rayburn, who came to this country many years before the removal of the Cherokees to the west and was intimately acquainted with many of them, told the writer that he had been informed by intelligent Cherokees that many thousand moons before, their people had occupied all the country westward to Bear creek and Duck river, but that on account of constant wars with the Chickasaws, they had sought quiet by withdrawing into the eastern mountains, though they had never renounced their title to the country.

Gen. Rayburn was for nearly thirty years next prior to his death register in chancery for Marshall county, and before that clerk of the circuit court. He was a man of great intelligence and long one of the most prominent citizens of northern Alabama.

II. IDENTITY OF THE CHEROKEES WITH THE TALLEGWI.

The ancestors of the Cherokees are now generally believed by students of the subject to be none other than the famous mound builders of the eastern Ohio Valley—the so-called Tallegwi, the oldest of all the Indian tribes of the United States, of whom there remains a distinct tradition.[8] The evidences of this identity are found, first, in the migration legends of the Lenape or Delaware Indians; second, in the traditions and history of the Cherokees themselves; third, in the practical identity of names, "Tallegwi" (belonging to the Tallike), as called by the Lenape, and "Tsalagi" as the Cherokees called themselves until within recent times;[9] fourth, in the comparison of the archaeologic remains and monuments found in the regions occupied by the Cherokees within historic times with those found in the Ohio Valley, the traditional seat of the Tallegwi.

Of the Tallegwi, only a tradition, it is true, has come down to our time, but a careful comparison of this with their archaeologic remains has given us an interesting and withal quite satisfactory account of this great race. The earliest explorers west of the Appalachian mountains beheld everywhere throughout the Ohio Valley mysterious elevations evidently the work of human hands, concerning the authors and purposes of which the natives seemed to be as ignorant as themselves.[10] They varied in size from a few feet across, requiring the labor of a dozen men for a single day, to those covering several acres and rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet. These uncritical explorers, judging that if the mounds were of Indian origin, the tribes in whose midst they were found, would have known something about them, leaped to the conclusion that they were the remains of an extinct, prehistoric people, racially distinct from the Indians, and possessing a much higher culture. It is not to be denied that the mounds of the Ohio Valley are not the works of the tribes found there by the white men, but it does not logically follow therefrom that In-

[8] Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting Indian Tribes*, part 5, p. 133.

[9] Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, vol. i, pp. 24, 25.
Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 46, 49.
Thomas in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 135.
Thomas's *Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*, p. 15.

[10] Force's *To What Race Did the Mound Builders Belong*, p. 58.
Bartram's *Travels*, p. 365.

dian tribes who had previously occupied that country did not build them.[11] The idea that the continent had once been inhabited by a civilized race who, by a mystery greater than the one sought to be explained, had been utterly destroyed and then succeeded by another race, appealed so strongly to the imagination that the belief to this effect soon became well nigh universal. Only recently has recognition begun to be given to the overwhelming evidence that the remains are the works of the legitimate ancestors of the Indians who existed here at the discovery of America.[12].

At the very moment these simple explorers were viewing with wonder the supposed monuments of an extinct people, they no doubt heard from the lips of their Indian acquaintances the remarkable story of an Indian tribe "more numerous than the trees of the forest," who, at a remoteness of time variously estimated at from 700 to 1,500 years before the discovery of America, entered the Mississippi Valley from out the shadows of the great northwest in the region of eastern Iowa.[13] Crossing a great river to their east (the Mississippi), their migration was rapid through northern Illinois, across Indiana, into southern Ohio, where they settled on the Miami, Scioto, Kanawha, Muskingum, and Ohio, and as far eastward as the mountains.[14] Their white auditors did not suspect that in this legend they were listening to the story of the builders of the works which had so greatly excited their wonder, but modern research and scholarship have fairly demonstrated such to be the case. Here the Tallegwi resided probably for several centuries and reared the most wonderful works found east of the Rocky Mountains and north of Mexico. They lived in fixed towns, were semi-agricultural, and multiplied until they became, according to the legend, "a very powerful nation who

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[11] Force's *To What Race Did the Mound Builders Belong*, p. 58.
Thomas in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 58.

[12] Powell's "Prehistoric Man in America," in the *Forum*, January, 1890.

[13] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 40-43.
Hale's *Introduction to Iroquois Book of Rites.*

[14] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 38-43.
Thomas in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 60.
Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting Indian Tribes*, part 5, p. 133. It is now generally agreed that this report of the legend is inaccurate in ascribing to them a northwestern origin. Their original hive seems to have been the St. Lawrence region. *19th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 17, 189.

had many large towns."[15] Finally, they came in conflict with two of their northern neighbors, called in the legend Nitilowan (allied north-people), and Talamantan (not-of-themselves), generally identified respectively with the Lenape, or Delawares, and the Huron-Iroquois. The legend concerning this war says that many hundred years ago the Lenape lived in the land of Shinaki (fir trees), evidently the great wooded region north of the Great Lakes; that they decided to emigrate; that after many years of journeying they fell upon a great river, which they called Namaesi-sipu (river of fish);[16] that *en route*, they fell in with the Talamantan, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country in search of a new home; that spies, whom the Lenape had sent forward, reported the presence beyond the Namaesi-sipu of a very powerful nation having many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land, who called themselves Tallegwi (of the Tallike); that they were remarkably tall and that there were giants among them;[17] that they had built fortifications and intrenchments; that the Lenape sent a message to them asking permission to settle in their neighborhood; that this request was refused, but leave was given them to pass through the country in search of a location further eastward; that the Lenape began crossing the river, but the Tallagwi, becoming alarmed at their numbers, fell upon and killed those who had crossed and threatened the destruction of the remainder should they persist in coming over to their side; that fired at this treachery, the Lenape contracted an alliance with the Talamantan upon condition that the latter should have a share of the country when conquered; that thereupon the allies declared a war of extermination against the Tallegwi, and that great battles were fought in which many warriors fell on both sides; that the Tallegwi erected great fortifications on elevated points and around their large towns, especially

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[15] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, p. 44.
Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting Indian Tribes*, part 5, p. 133.

[16] The opinion once was that this was the Mississippi, but as there is no evidence that at this period the Tallegwi lived nearer to that stream than the Great Miami, and for other reasons, it is the later opinion that the Detroit river is the one here referred to.—Horatio Hale in the *American Antiquarian*, vol. v, p. 117.

[17] In the "Great Smith Mound" of the Charleston, W. Va., group, believed to have been built by the Tallegwi, was found a human skeleton "measuring 7 feet 6 inches in length and 19 inches between the shoulder sockets."—*5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 52.

on the large rivers and lakes; that here they defended themselves with great bravery during the successive reigns of four chiefs of the allies, or for about an hundred years, but finally were overpowered and driven southward by way of the Great Kanawha Valley, whence they never returned.[18] Here the Lenape legend drops them.

It is of the utmost importance to remember that when this tradition was gathered and reported by the white man, the ancient works of the Ohio Valley were practically unknown. This forbids any suspicion that it has been either purposely or unconsciously colored to fit any preconceived theory concerning the origin of these antiquities.[19] Every archaeologic discovery, however, that has since been made in that region corroborates the tradition. The location and character of the mounds themselves demonstrate that the greatest were constructed for defense against a foe pressing from the north and that the struggle was desperate and long protracted and that their retreat was slow and along the Great Kanawha river.[20]

Archaeology and the history and traditions of the Cherokees take up the story where dropped by the abruptly broken Lenape legend. There was among the earliest Cherokees a distinct tradition that they once lived along the upper Ohio and were mound builders.[21]

As in the case of the Lenape legend, this Cherokee tradition has been strangely corroborated by archaeologic discoveries. The same great defensive works are found in the Kanawha Valley as in the Ohio Valley, and in both regions are found other works similar to each other but not of a military character. As we proceed southward along the Kanawha, those designed for purposes of defense become less and less frequent, and almost en-

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[18] Hale in the *American Antiquarian*, vol. v, p. 117.
Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 43-47; and also his *Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*, pp. 1-18.

[19] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, p. 45.

[20] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 38, 47, and also Thomas in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 59.

[21] Thomas's *Problem of Ohio Mounds*, pp. 45, 46; also his *Introduction to Study of Am. Archaeology*, p. 157; and *Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*, pp. 7-11.
Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 157.
Haywood's *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*.
Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, vol. i.

tirely disappear when we reach the historic seat of the Cherokees in East Tennessee and North Carolina. The pressure of their northern enemies obviously had ceased, precisely as one would infer from the legendary account.

The time of the overthrow of the Tallegwi is variously estimated, the most probable placing it about 500 to 600 years before the discovery of America.[22] It is quite certain that De Soto found them, bearing the name of Chelaques, in their new home in 1540, where they had evidently been living for a great period of time.[23] The Tallegwi during their residence upon the Ohio probably differed in no material wise from the Indians as we know them. They lived by fishing and hunting and tilling the soil, and were fond of war. They were cruel and crafty, if the legend as to their massacre of the Lenape is to be credited. They were not, as often supposed, a civilized people; neither were they savages or barbarians, having progressed beyond the savage state, but had not yet attained unto that of barbarism. They were, as was the whole Indian race at the discovery of America, in a stage of transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze age, possessing no written language or alphabet, and having no knowledge of the use of domestic animals.[24]

In the light of these facts, we feel justified in saying that the first people of whose presence in Marshall county there is any evidence are the Tallegwi and that they are the same people who constructed the greatest of the prehistoric works of the Ohio Valley. This people anciently and in modern times have demonstrated in many fields their title to the claim often made for them of being not only the oldest and most famous, but the most remarkable and interesting of all the Indian tribes of the United States. Their only rivals for this distinction are their kinsmen, but hereditary enemies, the Iroquoian tribes, known as the Five Nations.[25] May not the present inhabitants of Marshall county take a legitimate pride in this superiority of their predecessors upon this soil!

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[22] Hale's *Introduction to Iroquois Book of Rites.*

[23] Royce in the *5th Anual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 135.
Pickett's *History of Alabama,* vol. i, ch. 1.
See also the several narratives of this expedition.

[24] Powell's "Prehistoric Man in America," in the *Forum,* January, 1890.
Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* vol. i, chapter 6.
Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of American Aborigines.*

[25] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 134.

How long the actual residence here of the Tallegwi continued, whether to the time of DeSoto's expedition, is not known, as that bold adventurer did not touch this county, approaching no nearer probably than about where Gadsden now stands. It is, however, certain that at some time prior to 1650, they had for some reason abandoned, except for purposes of the chase, all their territories west of Cumberland and Sand mountains.[26]

III. THE SHAWNEES IN MARSHALL COUNTY.

After the withdrawal of the Tallegwi the first Indians to reoccupy this region were the Shawnees, this event according to the most reliable accounts occurring about 1660.[27] One of the author's most satisfying authorities relative to the Indian occupancy of Marshall county is the late General S. K. Rayburn, of Guntersville, Ala. A sketch of him will be found in Brant and Fuller's *Memorial Record of Alabama,* vol. ii, p. 497. In conversations, of which the writer made notes, he detailed much information derived by him from the Cherokees of his acquaintance. These Cherokees told him that more than a century and a half previously the Shawnees had intruded upon and settled in this region, which was a part of the Cherokee hunting grounds, and to which, they said, no other tribe had ever had any right; that the Cherokees went to war for the purpose of expelling the Shawnees and that this war continued "nearly five hundred moons" before they succeeded in driving them across the Ohio.

Speaking of an old French map published in the early part of the 18th century, Haywood says, "A nation of Indians called the Chevanoes is laid down as settled below the Cherokees in the country adjacent to where Ft. Deposit now stands, on the Tennessee, and southwardly of it, which is supposed to be the people now called the Shawnees, who may have settled there under the auspices of their old friends and allies the Cherokees, after the expulsion of the Shawnees from the Savannah river." That the Shawnees are the people here referred to there is no doubt.[28] They

[26] Powell in the *7th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 78, 79.

[27] Force's *Some Early Notices of Indians of Ohio,* pp. 17-20, 31, 37, 40.
Haywood's *Civil History of Tennessee* (1891), p. 40.
Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 144.

[28] Haywood's *Civil History of Tennessee* (1891), p. 40.
Force's *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio,* p. 12.

had several villages in Marshall county, the names and locations of which, however, are unknown, except that their principal town was near Tennessee river on Beard's bluff and near the present residence of Judge Thomas A. Street.[29]

The presence of the Shawnees in the Cumberland and Tennessee valleys is the first we know of them in actual history.[30] Thenceforward till after the Revolutionary war, they are the Ishmaelites of the Indian race; they seem to have roved in scattered bands all over the eastern part of the Mississippi valley, their hands against everybody and everybody's hands against them. The origin and history of this tribe is the greatest puzzle. The historian, Parkman, has said of them that "their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary and defy research." Contemporary notices often place them at the same time in two or more different localities hundreds of miles apart. This condition can be explained in only one way, and this is, that for some reason they had at an early date been split up into a number of distinct and widely scattered bands. But there is a general concensus of opinion that the principal band occupied the region of the lower Tennessee and Cumberland rivers from about 1660 to 1721. The old maps of this period locate the Cherokees on the headwaters of the Tennessee, and the Shawnees below them west of Cumberland range down to and including the great bend of the Tennessee. Below the Shawnees, the Chickasaws were put down, but it is extremely doubtful that at this period (1660-1721) they had any permanent settlements on this stream. Their villages were on the headwaters of the Tombigbee in the present State of Mississippi, though their hunting grounds extended to the mouth of the Ohio and for some distance into the present State of Tennessee.[31] Pickett, however, says that as late as 1771, they visited "this extreme northern ground with great caution and only in winter, when their northern enemies were close at home." As we shall see later they did establish villages, on the

[29] Conversation with Gen. Rayburn. The Cherokees told him that the purpose of the Shawnees in locating this town at that point was because of its proximity to "the shoals" in Tennessee river, at which place the stream was fordable during much of the year, thereby facilitating intercourse between their people on the opposite sides.

[30] Force's *Some Early Notices of Indians of Ohio*, pp. 40, 59.

[31] Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, vol. i, pp. 90-92. Pickett's *History of Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 147, 148.

Tennessee about 1750 in the neighborhood of Elk river and Muscle shoals, and about 1765 another at Hobbs island and just above the present village of Whitesburg. This latter settlement was soon broken up, but some of the others were maintained until the tribe migrated west in 1837 and 1838.

Several theories have been advanced as to whence the Shawnees came when they arrived in this region, but none can be said to have received general acceptance. That they settled here about 1660, either by permission of the Cherokees, as suggested by Haywood, or in defiance of their rights, as claimed by others, is a well established historical fact. They were soon at war with both the Cherokees and Chickasaws, and by 1690, it had become an annual custom for the Cherokees to send an expedition against them in the months of January and February. They were also subject to frequent attacks by the Iroquois, and were beginning to learn something of the causes that had kept this country, the most beautiful on earth, so long unoccupied. This war with the Cherokees continued for forty years or more. Says Ramsey in his *History of Tennessee,* the Shawnees "forted themselves and maintained a protracted war for the possession of their country." Finally, about 1721, they were expelled and forced north of the Ohio by the allied Cherokees and Chickasaws.[32] Their occupancy of the country now embraced in Marshall county was therefore brief, and they have left few discovered evidences of their presence.[33] With the exception of this brief period (and two small Creek villages settled here in the early part of this century

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[32] Force's *Some Early Notices of Indians of Ohio,* pp. 31, 32.
Powell in the *7th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 78.
Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 144.
The Chickasaw tradition of this migration is that the Shawnees first came up the Tennessee in canoes, and thence up Bear creek thirty miles; that there they left their canoes, and came to war with the Chickasaws, and killed several of their nation; that the Chickasaw chiefs and warriors embodied and drove them off; that from thence they went to the Creeks, and lived with them for a time; that they then returned and crossed the Tennessee at the "Chickasaw Old Field;" that from thence they went to Duck and Cumberland rivers and settled there; that the Chickasaws discovered their settlements, and the two principal Chickasaw chiefs, Opoia Matehah and Pinskey Matehah, raised their warriors and went against them, and defeated them and took all their horses; that the Cherokees had no share in the conquest, and that they drove out the Shawnees without any assistance from any red people.—Haywood's *Civil History of Tennessee (1891),* p. 426.

[33] None of the box-shaped stone graves supposed to be characteristic of the Shawnees have been found in the county.

by permission of the Cherokees), there is no evidence that this county, or any portion of it, was ever occupied by any other Indians than the Tallegwi and their descendants the Cherokees.[34]

IV. THE MODERN CHEROKEES IN MARSHALL COUNTY.

It was about the year 1690 that the Virginia and Carolina colonists first began to make the acquaintance of the Cherokees, and, therefore, historic times can not properly be said to begin with them till about that date.[35] They were then a powerful and warlike nation, more advanced toward civilization, perhaps, than any other Indian people north of Mexico. The men had fine physiques and the women were well formed and of attractive features. They were divided by the Unacoi, or Great Smoky Mountains into two groups, the Otari (Upper) Cherokees, and the Erati (Lower) Cherokees. The former lived upon Tellico, Holston, French Broad, Little and Main Tennessee rivers and upon the headwaters of the Hiwassee. The Lower Cherokees lived southeast of the Unacoi range, and had their villages on the headwaters of Oconee, Ockmulgee, and Savannah rivers. There was then no Cherokee settlement in Alabama, the Shawnees being at that time in possession of Marshall county.[36] The Cherokees were and had been for several years engaged in a predatory warfare with the Shawnees, a warfare which continued, as we have seen, until the expulsion of the latter about 1721. As might readily be supposed, the Cherokees and Chickasaws promptly quarreled over the division of the conquered territory. The former claimed both by hereditary right and by conquest an exclusive proprietorship over all the country on the south side of the Tennessee as far westward as Bear creek, and, north of the Tennessee, to Duck river and its headwaters. On the other hand, the Chickasaws

[34] The Creeks had no lands on the Tennessee, but at different times and places there were several temporary Creek settlements on this river. Haywood's *Civil History of Tennessee*, pp. 230, 245, 246, 254, 265, 326, 345, 375, 387.

The Iroquois, though never having possession, set up an indefinite claim to all the lands down to the Tennessee, and pretended to cede their title to the whites by the treaty of Fort Stanwix. It has been clearly shown that their claim was unfounded.

[35] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 138.

[36] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 140, 150.
Powell in the *7th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 78, 79.
Pickett's *History of Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 156-160.

claimed exclusive ownership eastward to Flint river in Madison county, Ala., and south of the Tennessee to a line drawn from about the mouth of Flint to the head of the Sipsey fork of the Warrior.[37] It is thus seen that while the Chickasaws claimed no part of Marshall county, their claim did extend quite up to its western border. They, however, affected to believe that all that part of the county south of the Tennessee was within the Creek country, and refused to recognize the Cherokee title to any land south of the Tennessee and west of the Coosa.[38] About 1765, the Chickasaws formed a settlement on the north bank of the Tennessee about three miles above Whitesburg, at the upper end of the island now known as Hobb's island, but formerly as Chickasaw island. This place became well known by the name of the "Chickasaw Old Fields."[39] No other Chickasaw village was nearer to this than about the mouth of Elk river, twenty-five or thirty miles lower down the Tennessee. This settlement gave great offense to the Cherokees, who at once went upon the war-path against the Chickasaws. In 1769 a great battle was fought at the new village, in which the Chickasaws, though victorious, purchased their success so dearly that they at once determined to return nearer the main body of their people.[40]

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[37] The Cherokees told Gen. Rayburn that the Chickasaws took little part in driving the Shawnees out of the Tennessee-Duck rivers region, but that their efforts were mostly confined to forcing them from the Cumberland across the Ohio.

[38] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 208. They even questioned the Cherokees' right to any land north of the Tennessee. Haywood's *Civil History of Tennessee* (1891), p. 426.

[39] The Chickasaw tradition concerning this settlement is "that they came from the west; that a part of their tribe remained in the west; that when about to start east they were provided with a large dog as a guard and a pole as a guide; that they would plant the pole in the ground every night, and in the morning they would go in the direction it leaned; that they continued their journey in this way until they crossed the Mississippi, and on the waters of the Alabama river arrived in the country about where Huntsville, Ala., now stands; that at that point the pole was unsettled for several days, but finally it settled and pointed in a southwest direction; that they then started on that course, planting the pole every night, until they arrived at what is called the Chickasaw Old Fields, where the pole stood perfectly erect, and that there they accordingly remained until they emigrated west in 1837 and 1838; that in traveling from the west they crossed no large water course except the Mississippi." Substitute the Tennessee river for the Mississippi and Alabama rivers, as it obviously should be, and we have here a tolerably consistent account of this affair.—Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting Indian Tribes*, pt. i, p. 309; Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, p. 220.

[40] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 208, note. Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creeks*, vol. i.

It was not till about 1770, when the Cherokees commenced to feel the pressure of the white settlers on the east, that they began to establish settlements in northwestern Georgia and northeastern Alabama. We are aware that Pickett in his *History of Alabama,* vol. i, p. 154, says that as early as 1623, the Cherokees coming from the neighborhood of Charleston, S. C., "founded towns upon the main Tennessee, extending as far as the Muscle shoals. They found all that region unoccupied, except the Cumberland, where resided a roving band of Shawnees. But the whole country bore evidence of having once sustained a large Indian population." In fixing the date of this event at 1623, Pickett merely repeats as a fact a tradition of very vague character given by Haywood, and is far in error. At this time, and indeed for nearly a century and a half later, there were no Cherokee settlements in the region mentioned.[41]

About 1777, Wills' Town was established by the Cherokees on Big Wills creek a short distance above the present village of Lebanon in DeKalb county, Ala., and about the same time Turkey Town was built by them on the Coosa river opposite the site of the present town of Centre, Cherokee county, Ala.[42] About 1777, a band of Cherokees, subsequently known as Chickamaugas, who were especially hostile to the whites, being dissatisfied with the treaties of May 20 and July 20, 1777,[43] moved themselves considerably lower down the Tennessee, and established their villages on Chickamauga creek, a few miles above the present city of Chattanooga. But in consequence of the destruction of their towns by Col. Arthur Campbell and Col. John Sevier, they broke up their settlements here in 1782, and founded still lower down what are known in history as the "Five Lower Towns on the Tennessee," named in their order Running Water, Nickajack, Lookout Mountain Town, Long Island Town, and Crow Town. The first two were just within the limits of the present State of Tennessee on the south side of the river a few miles below Chattanooga; the third was where Trenton, Ga., now stands; Long

[41] Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 136.
Powell in the *7th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 78, 79.

[42] Pickett's *History of Alabama,* vol. i, p. 163.
Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* map 8.

[43] For the terms and history of these treaties, *see 5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p. 150.

Island Town was on the island in Tennessee river at Bridgeport, Ala.; Crow Town, the largest, was in the present Jackson county, Ala., on Crow creek, and about one-half mile from its confluence with the Tennessee.[44] Long Island and Crow Town were the first Cherokee settlements established within historic times west of the height of Cumberland and Sand mountains, and this took place as we have seen about 1782. By the close of the Revolution and the consequent rapid spread of the whites, the movement of the Indian settlements toward the west was greatly accelerated. By 1790, the Cherokees had founded two villages in Marshall county, one where Guntersville now is, and the other called Creek Path four miles south in Brown's Valley,[45] at the place known as the "Old Missionary,"[46] on the old Russell farm. Creek Path village acquired its name from the fact that it was located on the trail followed by the Creeks in going to and from the hunting grounds of Middle Tennessee and Kentucky. It led from the Coosa across Raccoon, or Sand Mountain, to Brown's, or Thompson's Valley, thence by the Creek Path village to "the shoals" across Tennessee river near Beard's bluff. These shoals were fordable in the summer and fall and were known as the "Lower Creek crossing."[47]

Gunter's village, as well as the modern town of Guntersville, was named for John Gunter, a full-blooded Scotchman (some say a Welshman), who settled among the Cherokees, probably during the Revolution on account of his Tory sentiments,[48] and came with them to this country. He had married an Indian woman and

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[44] Pickett's *History of Alabama,* vol. i, p. 163.

Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology,* pp. 150, 151 and map 8.

[45] Named after a prominent Cherokee family who long lived in this valley. To it belonged Richard Brown who led the friendly Indians in the Creek War of 1813, and Catherine Brown, a noted Christian convert of the early days.

[46] So called from the fact that in subsequent years the Presbyterians established there and long maintained a mission church and school for the instruction of the Indians under the superintendence of the Rev. William Potter. In after years pupils of this school were prominent in the New Nation.

[47] In 1795, it was proposed by the Federal government to establish a fort on the north bank of Tennessee river at this place for the protection of the settlers in Middle Tennessee, but the general pacification of the Indians that soon followed caused the project to be abandoned.

[48] One account says he was captured in South Carolina by the Cherokees and brought up as a member of their tribe.

had been adopted into her tribe and was the head-man of the village which bore his name. He reared a large family of sons and daughters, and these sons and their descendants have ever since been prominent figures in the affairs of both the old and new Cherokee nations. His residence, a double log house with hallway and ell, stood "at the foot of the hill" in Guntersville about 200 yards from the creek. He was a man of ability and exemplary character. He died in 1835, and sleeps in an unknown grave on the western face of the hill that skirts the town. In this village about 1820, Andrew J. Crawford and Richard Neely, at the request of Richard Riley, an educated half-breed, crossed the Tennessee river from Jackson county and established a Methodist church and mission-school. This school stood near the location of the old residence of Allen Loveless, in what is now Wyeth City. On this work began the ministerial careers of two of the most distinguished men ever produced by the Methodist Church, John B. McFerrin and Alexander L. P. Green.[49] This charge embraced all the territory from Guntersville to Rome, Ga., and northward to Chattanooga (then Ross's landing), and in it there were only three regular preaching places, though services were often conducted at the homes of the Indians. Conspicuous fruits of mission work in this field were Catherine Brown,[50] Edward and Samuel Gunter, Turtle Fields, Young Wolf, Arch Campbell, John F. Boot, and John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokee nation.[51]

In earlier years, probably about 1790, a Cherokee town was built at the place now called Red Hill, the head-man of which was a half-breed, Richard Brown, who at the head of a company of friendly braves accompanied Gen. Jackson in the Creek war of 1813-1814, and rendered valuable services at the battles of Talladega and the Horseshoe.

A few miles further up Brown's valley was a mixed Creek and Cherokee settlement called Wasasa village. It stood near the present line of Blount and Marshall counties.

About the time of the Creek war of 1813, two bands of neutral

[49] For biographies of these two men, see Green's *Life and Papers of A. L. P. Green*, and Fitzgerald's *Life of John B. McFerrin*. They contain much of local interest relating to the history of North Alabama in the early days.

[50] See Anderson's *Memoir of Catherine Brown*.

[51] Fitzgerald's *Life of John B. McFerrin*.

Creeks were permitted by the Cherokees to settle in this county. One built their village on Brown's creek on the old Bill Griffin place, three miles south of Warrenton; the other at Meltonsville,[52] on the old Gad Winston place on Town creek.

The settlement of the Cherokees in this region and the frequent passage of the Creeks to and from the hunting grounds north of the Tennessee, soon brought the two tribes to blows. On one of these expeditions, the Creeks were returning laden with the spoils of the chase, had recrossed the Tennessee at "the shoals," and were ascending Beard's bluff,[53] along the same route, where the Guntersville and Deposit public road now runs, when they were suddenly startled by a war-whoop and immediately assailed by a strong party of Cherokees in ambush. The Creeks, though taken by surprise and inferior in numbers, valiantly fought their way up the bluff, about a hundred feet high at this point, and for some distance along its summit, but were finally overpowered. The remnant of the vanquished scattered to the woods and many escaped, but most of the Creek braves were killed or captured.[54]

The white settlers of North Alabama experienced little trouble from the Indians. The war-spirit of the red man had been broken before its settlement fairly began. With murmurings and complaints, he was awaiting the inevitable day when he must move out to make place for the advancing white man. There was jealousy enough between the two neighbors, but when sober the Indian was peaceable and quiet. They were, however, dangerous as individuals when drunk. In 1835, a drunken Indian called "the Rabbit" cut to death with a bowie knife a saloon-keeper at the Cave Spring east of Guntersville, as the latter was attempting to close his door in the face of the enraged savage.

As the white settlements spread and the hunting grounds of the Indians became more circumscribed, the Indians were forced to depend more upon agriculture for subsistence. The result was

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[52] Named after an old Indian of herculean frame, Charles Melton, who once lived there.

[53] So named after Maj. Arthur C. Beard who settled and long lived there, by Col. Middleton T. Johnson, then of Marshall county, but subsequently a distinguished citizen of Texas.

[54] Gen. Rayburn is my sole authority for this battle. He had heard the account often from the Cherokees who told him it occurred about 1785. When he first settled in this county about 1830, human bones were frequently picked up on the bluff.

that gradually the Cherokees abandoned the village system and scattered about on farms like the whites. The two Creek villages, however, maintained a precarious and squalid existence until their removal west of the Mississippi. Many of both tribes peddled wild fruits and berries, and baskets and trinkets of their own manufacture. The Indian population, comprising four or five hundred of all ages, lived altogether in the valleys, and visited the mountain plateaus only in search of game. Many of the Cherokees were extensive and successful farmers and slave owners, and had intelligent, refined families living in comfortable homes.

The Cherokee title to the soil of all that part of Marshall county lying north of the river was extinguished by the treaty at Washington on February 27, 1819. Immediately the great bend of the Tennessee was filled by an excellent class of white population who lived in comparative peace with their Indian neighbors. By the treaty of December 29, 1835, known as the Ridge treaty, the manner of the negotiation and enforcement of which was a disgrace both to the government and to the commissioners who negotiated it, the Cherokees were deprived of the last vestige of their ancient domain.[55] In 1837 and 1838 came the removal to the west. Though privileged upon certain conditions to become citizens under the white man's government, almost every individual having any Indian blood in his veins, chose to go with his red kinsmen.

By the beginning of 1839 the removal was complete and the Indian history of Marshall county was at an end.

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[55] For full particulars of these two treaties, *see* Royce in the *5th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 219-228, 253-298.

XIII. BISHOP RICHARD HOOKER WILMER.[1]

By the Reverend Walter C. Whitaker.[2]

Richard Hooker Wilmer, D. D., LL. D., second bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama, was born at Alexandria, Va., on March 15, 1816.

His father, the Rev. William H. Wilmer, D. D., who was born in Maryland and exercised his ministry first in that State and afterwards in Virginia, was one of three brothers, all of whom were clergymen. His brother, Dr. George T. Wilmer, also entered the ministry, and his cousin, Joseph P. B. Wilmer, became bishop of Louisiana. The prominence of Dr. William H. Wilmer in the Church is shown by the fact that he was president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention for four successive sessions.

Richard Hooker Wilmer graduated at Yale College in 1836, at the age of twenty. He immediately entered upon his theological course at the Theological Seminary in Virginia, and three years later was, on Easter Day, 1839, made deacon by Bishop Moore. On the next Easter Day the same bishop advanced him to the priesthood.

The first few years of his ministry were spent in Goochland and Fluvanna counties, Va. His success was from the first apparent to men and the combination of his own ability and the prestige of the name Wilmer, soon brought him invitations to the rectorship of prominent parishes. But once only was he bewitched by the glamour of "a wider field of usefulness." For a single year

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[1] I have deemed it best not to attempt to give title, page and line for every statement made in this article. Of course the *Journals* of the Diocesan Councils, Bishop Wilmer's *Reminiscences*, and my own *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alabama* have been largely drawn on; but letters, conversations, etc., are so largely sources of information that foot-notes referring to them would not render it any easier for the reader to verify the references—and as this is the only legitimate purpose of foot-notes, they seem superfluous.

[2] For sketch of Mr. Whitaker, *see Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 83, *note*. At the time the present sketch was prepared he was rector of Christ church, Tuscaloosa, and editor of *The Church Record*. He removed to Jackson, Miss., Jan. 1, 1902, and is now (1904) the rector of St. Andrew's church there.—Editor.

he was rector of St. James' Church, Wilmington, North Carolina, the largest parish in the diocese; and the experience of that single year sufficed for a lifetime. He deemed the climate "insalubrious." The high pressure and the thronging anxieties of a city parish, allowing little time for mental and spiritual refreshment, were incompatible with his nature and methods. He felt himself called to be a preacher of righteousness—of the righteousness of Jesus Christ, but also of righteousness in those who followed Christ. To do his work he felt the need for time to study and meditate, and to grasp and elucidate those root-principles of right living and right thinking without which all preaching, however earnest and attractive, is superficial in nature and ephemeral in effects. So, after this one year in Wilmington he went back to Virginia and entered upon his work among the country parishes, from which no urban or metropolitan calls afterwards seduced him. Five years he ministered in Clarke county, three years in Loudoun and Fauquier, and from 1853 to 1858 in Bedford. Nowhere did he remain longer than five years. His ministerial life exemplified the real itinerancy of the clergy of a church whose ideal is that under normal conditions only death shall dissolve the marriage of minister and parish.

Thus remaining in country parishes, removing every few years from one field to another, always ministering to a class of persons to minister to whom effectively demanded vigorous intellect and strong heart, and ever striving to perfect himself in his prophetic and pastoral functions, he became an ideal preacher. The many hours of solitary travel from one chapel to another, and from plantation to plantation, gave him opportunity for reflection and meditation, for the slow accretions of thought about the one central idea, whatever it might be, which gave unity to his every sermon; and the repetition of the sermon to various congregations enabled him to bring it to perfection. It was in this way that such sermons as "The Pharisee and the Publican" grew.

The effect of his preaching was marvelous. In the second year of his ministry he accepted an urgent invitation to go to Richmond on occasion of the "Great Revival," and while there he preached continuously for several weeks, causing multitudes to confess their faults and their Saviour. His method of preparing

a sermon, both then and afterwards, was, negatively, not to shoot his arrow at a venture by the bald statement of abstract principles, and positively to place himself *en rapport* with his hearers. Every sermon was made to cover the case of a person whom he had in mental, and, when possible, in physical view. His first step in preparing a sermon was to sit down and write a letter on that topic to the person that he desired to reach. The evolution of sermon from letter he deemed a subordinate matter. But when the letter was preached with all identifying circumstances removed, he seldom failed to catch not only the man aimed at, but others.

It was a time that needed just such bold, direct, searching sermons. The men of Virginia, with all the great unspiritual virility of Esau, were led captive by the spirit of French infidelity and deemed it the unmanliest thing a man could do to profess faith in Christ. When Mr. Wilmer was ordained the church was crowded, but not one young man received the Holy Communion. His first charge, which embraced about fifty miles of country along the James river, and which was settled by descendants of Church families did not contain a male communicant. Indeed, none could be found the whole river front from Lynchburg to Richmond. One day, in jest, it was proposed at a hunting dinner that all the gentlemen make up a purse to build a church for the "amusement" of their wives. In the church which originated in such a spirit every man of that drinking party, save one, kneeled not long after at the chancel rail and confirmed the vows of a long dishonored baptism. Such was the material Mr. Wilmer found, and such was the fruit of his toil.

In the summer of 1858 Mr. Wilmer was closing the fifth year of his ministry in Bedford county. For eighteen years he had been doing missionary work that necessarily kept him much from the home which he had made for himself when he married Margaret Brown, of Albemarle, in 1840, and he was beginning to feel that the natural duties of husband and father required his settlement in charge of a single congregation. At this time and almost simultaneously, several parishes invited him to their rectorship. While these invitations were under consideration he received from a friend with whom he had long been intimate—John Stewart, of Brook Hill—a proposition that appealed to him more strongly than any other, and ultimately proved irresistible.

Mr. Stewart lived a few miles from Richmond, and was surrounded by many extremely poor country people who were living in practical atheism. He felt that as God's steward it behooved him to expend his money for the benefit of God's children. He proposed, then, that Mr. Wilmer come to that neighborhood and attempt to instill Christ's teaching into the hearts of the poor; he himself would see to his support, and furnish all needful accessories. Mr. Wilmer consulted some of his friends, who unanimously condemned the project as chimerical, and advised him to reject it without more ado. Otherwise, they said in effect, he would be throwing away the best years of his life; it was well enough to make sacrifices for the gospel, but it was foolish to cast pearls before swine. Determined not to act hastily, Mr. Wilmer revolved the matter for a few months, and at last accepted Mr. Stewart's plan, at the same time pledging himself to give the project a three year's trial.

When he reached his new field he had to begin at the very foundations. At first services were held in a school room used as the common property of all religious denominations. Gradually, by pastoral fidelity the people were gained. Very soon a church was built, nominally by the congregation at large, every one of whom contributed his mite, but really by John Stewart and his brother Daniel. Next a rectory was completed. The congregations and communicants increased steadily until at the end of three years a crowded church and a full chancel rail attested the permanence of the work. The experiment at Emmanuel Church disproved the widespread charge that the Protestant Episcopal Church had no attraction for the poor and unlettered, and its success attracted general attention to him who, under God, had wrought the work. Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama, had died, and the bereaved diocese, knowing of Dr. Wilmer's work, and knowing also that the Bishop had deemed him a fit man to succeed him in every parish he had ever held, called him to the bishopric of Alabama. Dr. Wilmer had redeemed his pledge of three years' service; the work was secure and could safely be entrusted to another; and he accepted the call to be Bishop of Alabama.

Bishop Wilmer's election was accomplished on November 21, 1861. The various Southern States had all seceded and had es-

tablished a separate government. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the South accepted the fact that the "Confederate States" were now a distinct nation, and accordingly established a general ecclesiastical organization coterminous with that of the nation. The law of this Church in the United States had always been, and is now, that the election of any diocesan bishop must be ratified by a majority of all the bishops and dioceses in the country before it becomes valid. But for the intervention of secession Bishop Wilmer's election would have been thus submitted; as it was, only the bishops and dioceses of the Confederate States were invoked and the requisite consents were received in a short while. The consecration was to have been held in Mobile, but for various reasons the place was changed to Richmond, Va., where on March 6, 1862, he was consecrated by Bishops Meade, Elliott, and Johns.

Bishop Wilmer was the only Southern bishop elected and consecrated during the Civil War, and this fact together with his conduct in the days immediately following the fall of the Confederacy won him the title "Rebel Bishop."

The bishop came to Alabama immediately after his consecration, and within six weeks had visited nearly the whole of the southern portion of his diocese, confirming in Mobile alone ninety persons. He had scarcely set foot in Alabama when he was called upon to decide some questions which tested his calibre, and whose solution manifested the deep sagacity for which he was so famous. The Protestant Episcopal Church uses a liturgy in which is a prayer for the president, and the use of this prayer is mandatory, as for one in civil authority. In the Confederate States the prayer was for the president of the Confederate States; in the North it was for the president of the United States. Day by day it became more probable that some of the cities of Alabama would be occupied by Federal troops. These would not permit public prayer for the head of what they deemed a rebellion; on the other hand the clergy were under vow to read that prayer in public service. Violent scenes would be enacted in the very churches. "What then must we do?" asked the clergy.

The bishop's reply was clear: The mere occupation of the soil by an invading force could not absolve churchmen from allegiance to the government of their deliberate choice. Armed soldiery

might occasionally exercise "pressure" over them, but only the Confederate government exercised "authority." To allow military force to overawe them into praying for a government which they did not acknowledge but were actually opposing would be untruthfulness and dishonor. On the other hand to pray for the president of the Confederate States in the very teeth of Federal soldiery would invite scandalous scenes, even physical violence, in the sanctuary. He advised then: Inquire of the commanding officer whether he designs to interfere with public worship; and, in case he replies that he will compel either the prayer for the president of the United States to be used or all reference to civil authority to be omitted, close the church, throwing the odium and responsibility of suspending the public worship of God on those who seek to establish a State religion according to their own imaginings.

Nearly all the clergy followed this leading. One minister, however, insisted on keeping his church open, and with precisely the result that Bishop Wilmer had foreseen. Disturbance was raised by a Federal officer, who demanded the use of the prayer for the president of the United States or the immediate cessation of the service. The poor clergyman chose the former alternative—"but under protest," he hastened to explain to the bishop. Whereupon the bishop replied: "The status before God of a prayer made under protest I must leave for others to determine."

Despite the disturbances of war, the bishop went on with his work. He received testimony every day that God does not absent himself from battlefields, and that his church is not intended to do her work only in time of peace and quietude. Large numbers of young men were confirmed, both in the field and on furlough. Men's hearts were stirred, and, as in days of old by the gate of Jericho, Christ came in the press of the multitude.

As the war progressed and drew to its close a new sphere of beneficence opened to the church, and the bishop was quick to enter upon it. The principal immediate fruit of the battlefields was orphans, and many of these orphans were left entirely destitute. Owing to the social condition of the church's membership only a small portion of those needing help were dependent upon her, but to all such she became a veritable nursing mother. St. John's, Montgomery, operated the "Bishop Cobbs Orphans'

Home" throughout the conflict, and in 1864, the necessity increasing, the bishop undertook to establish similar institutions in Mobile and Tuscaloosa. The attempt at Mobile was unsuccessful, as the city was momentarily threatened by the enemy, but the attempt at Tuscaloosa was successful. Fifty thousand dollars (but in depreciating Confederate money) was soon subscribed by Tuscaloosa, Greensboro, Demopolis, Selma and Faunsdale, a building lot and garden were bought and a dwelling and school house erected. The immediate charge of the orphanage was committed to the deaconesses whom the bishop had set apart by prayer, but without imposition of hands, in Christ church, Tuscaloosa, on Dec. 20, 1864.

The bishop's conduct of this Church Home for Orphans for thirty-five years, bringing it from almost abject poverty to what may almost be termed, with its endowment of forty thousand dollars, a self-supporting basis, is an instance of his remarkable business sense no less than of his patience and persistence. Soon after the war the orphans were removed to Mobile, where they were settled in a two-room house on a lot given by St. John's parish. The sale of the Tuscaloosa property had netted only fifteen hundred dollars. The annual "Bazaar" and the annual excursion of trainmen to Biloxi, Miss., after a while began to yield a revenue of about three thousand dollars, but at first the struggle was desperate. The economy of the deaconesses made fifteen hundred dollars support sixty persons, and enabled the bishop to add one-half the annual income to the endowment. The surplus was invested, as it came to hand, in interest bearing securities. At first the money was lent on individual notes. Then when the amount grew larger, it was lent to private banking houses. Then when the solvency of these banks became doubtful the investment was changed to Mobile county bonds. When the endowment passed six thousand dollars, it was invested in Alabama bonds, in which it has since remained. Despite the vast increase of public debt by the carpet-bag legislature of Alabama and the consequent discount of all bonds, some men had confidence in the State's power of financial as well as political recuperation, in the stability of her credit, and in the inevitable appreciation of her bonds. Bishop Wilmer was among these, with the result that the face value of

the Church Home endowment is to-day far in excess of the amount originally invested by him.

When the Civil War closed Bishop Wilmer found himself face to face with what his earnestness and sincerity made a very serious condition of affairs. The constitutions of the various Southern States had been abrogated and the entire civil polity annihilated. Alabama was a military province, and it was intimated not obscurely that this might be her permanent status. Bishop Wilmer accepted the conditions and gave notice that the "Prayer for the president of the Confederate States and all in civil authority" should be discontinued. The immediate substitution of another form of prayer did not, he contended, follow of the same necessity. In a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of Alabama (June 20th, 1865) he set forth his views as follows: "The Church in this country has established a form of prayer for the president and all in civil authority. The language of that prayer was selected with careful reference to the subject of the prayer,—'*All in civil authority;*' and she desires for that authority prosperity and long continuance. No one can reasonably be expected to desire a long continuance of *military rule*. Therefore the prayer is altogether inappropriate and inapplicable to the present condition of things, when no civil authority exists in the discharge of its functions. Hence, as I remarked in the Circular [May 30th], 'We may yield a true allegiance to, and sincerely pray for grace, wisdom, and understanding in behalf of a government founded upon force, while at the same time we could not, in good conscience, ask for its continuance, prosperity,' etc., etc. When the civil authority shall be restored, it will be eminently proper for the church to resume the use of that form of prayer which has been established by the best ecclesiastical authorities and which has for so many years constituted a part of her liturgy * * * My conclusion is, therefore, and my direction which I hereby give, that when civil authority shall be restored in the State of Alabama, the clergy shall use the form entitled 'A Prayer for the President of the United States and all in Civil Authority,' as it stands in the Book of Common Prayer."

For several months the services of the Church were peaceably conducted according to the bishop's directions. But soon it be-

came manifest that the military government proposed to review the bishop's action. Intimations of this purpose having reached the bishop at Greensboro, he went immediately to Mobile in order to be near the storm center in the event of a clash between ecclesiastical authority and military. Scarcely had he arrived in the city when General Woods sent an officer of his staff to know when the bishop meant to use the prayer for the president of the United States. The bishop replied that such a question put in a tone of authority he refused to answer. After a considerable amount of strong talk on the military side the officer proposed to talk it over "as between man and man." The bishop acceding to this proposal, the officer asked, "When do you think you will use the prayer-book prayer for the president?" "When you all get away from here," was the reply of the bishop. He then asked the officer if with conditions reversed and the Confederate heel on the neck of the Union he could sincerely ask for life, health, and prosperity to the Confederate general? The officer excitedly exclaimed that he would be—something very dreadful—if he would. "Well," returned the bishop, "I am not disposed to use your phraseology; but if I do that thing that you come to order me to do,—address the Almighty with my lips, when my heart is not in my prayers,—I run great danger of meeting the doom that you have hypothetically invoked upon your own head."

The military authority was determined, however, to secure at least the outward semblance of loyalty, and on September 20, 1865, General Woods issued "General Orders, No. 38," a document, which for its boldness in attempting to overturn constitutional religious freedom, and to prescribe forms of public worship, and to usurp the functions of spiritual leadership, is without parallel in the history of modern times. After going over the bishop's argument this order proceeds: "The advice of the bishop to omit this prayer, and its omission by the clergy, is not only a violation of the canons of the Church, but shows a factious and disloyal spirit, and is a masked insult to every loyal citizen within the department. Such men are unsafe public teachers, and not to be trusted in places of power and influence over public opinion. It is therefore ordered, pursuant to the directions of Major General Thomas, commanding the military division of Tennessee that said Richard Wilmer, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church

of the Diocese of Alabama, and the Protestant Episcopal clergy of said diocese be, and they are hereby forbidden to preach or perform divine service, and that their places of worship be closed until such time as said bishop and clergy show a sincere return to their allegiance to the government of the United States, and give evidence of a loyal and patriotic spirit by offering to resume the use of the prayer for the president of the United States and all in civil authority, and by taking the amnesty oath prescribed by the president. This prohibition shall continue in each individual case until special application is made through the military channels to these headquarters for permission to preach and perform divine service, and until such application is approved at these or superior headquarters."

Immediately upon the publication of these orders Bishop Wilmer inquired of General Woods whether it was his purpose to use military force in case the clergy of the diocese should disregard their suspension by the secular arm. He did this to make it clear that he acknowledged no authority on the general's part, and that he would yield only to force; and he insisted in his note of inquiry that the declaration of intention to use military force would be considered by him equivalent to forcible ejectment from the precints of the sanctuary.

General Woods curtly replied that he would use military force in closing the churches, should his order be disobeyed. Accordingly, deeming it unseemly to make an issue of violence and disorder in the church, the bishop directed his clergy to hold no further services in the churches till the order should be revoked or the miltary forces be withdrawn. Meanwhile individual prayer could not be restricted. Where no soldiers were stationed the churches were opened and the usual services maintained. When soldiers came the churches were closed and services were held in private houses. The bishop continued to confirm, and to issue pastorals, entirely disregarding his suspension—much to the indignation of the general who had suspended him, who made direful threats of imprisonment and possible death, but who dared not place him under arrest for an offence of which no law of the country took cognizance.

Nevertheless the conditions were irksome and hurtful, and the bishop was striving to remedy them; but not through the pre-

scribed military channel. His first attempt was to secure from the General Convention of the Church in the United States, of which, on its own theory, the diocese of Alabama was a component part, a solemn protest against secular interference with ecclesiastical procedure. He hoped that the importance of the principle involved might unite in public expression those who differed as to the application of the principle. But political feeling was so high even among the bishops that no official action was taken save the sending of a single bishop to Washington to secure the president's interference. But this bishop's mission was fruitless.

Then the bishop appealed to the provisional governor of the State, Lewis E. Parsons. General Orders No. 38 had stated that there was a civil governor, and in October the bishop called on the governor to show the truth of General Woods' assertion that the military authority was subservient and subordinate to the civil authority. The governor did all he could, which was nothing. He laid the whole affair before the president and the president would not consider the matter. On Nov. 27 the bishop himself made direct appeal to the president, calling it to his attention that the constitution, the supreme law, prohibits Congress from interfering with religious worship and that so Congress cannot allow either of her arms, the civil or the military, to do what is prohibited to herself. He represented that he found himself, not having been accused as a lawbreaker, subjected to the operation of pains and penalties, and assailed with ignominious epithets. He affirmed that even if he were guilty of violating the law of his own church (though he was not, for he was not a member of the ecclesiastical organization mentioned in General Orders), the secular power was not competent to construe and enforce her rubrics and canons. Therefore he demanded in equity and constitutional law that the unauthoritative "General Orders No. 38" be rescinded.

This appeal, so forcibly put, was successful. The offensive order was, on Dec. 22, rescinded by General Thomas himself, but in words of violence and a spirit of impotent anger that reflected small credit upon him. In this order Bishop Wilmer was represented as "cunningly justifying" a "treasonable cause," and as having been deprived of the right to officiate as a minister of the gospel because "he could not be trusted to officiate and confine

his teachings to matters of religion alone;" but since he evidently had no following and the people of Alabama had accepted with a loyal and becoming spirit the magnanimous terms offered them by the president, "therefore, the restrictions heretofore imposed upon the Episcopal clergy of Alabama are removed and Bishop Wilmer is left to that remorse of conscience consequent to the exposure and failure of the diabolical schemes of designing and corrupt minds." This order was promulgated from Mobile on Jan. 10, 1866. On January 13, civil authority then having been restored, Bishop Wilmer, in a final pastoral on the subject, directed the clergy to resume the use of the prayer for the president of the United States. Secular interference had delayed the use in Alabama of the prayer in question just two months. It was of infinitely greater importance to resist secular dictation than to pray for the president. Some, whose loyalty to the Union blinded them to the presence of a matter of principle on which rests the earthly welfare of the church, criticized and still criticize Bishop Wilmer for his course. Of such critics we may very pertinently ask: What course would they themselves pursue under similar circumstances? The bishop himself has said: "They who mean nothing by their prayers can easily pray for anything or nothing. 'Why do you curse so?' said an acquaintance, 'you offend me by your profanity.' 'Oh, well!' was the reply, 'you pray a good deal, and I curse a good deal, but the Lord knows that neither of us means anything by it.'"

Mention has already been made of the fact that when Bishop Wilmer was elected and consecrated bishop of Alabama the Northern dioceses were entirely ignored on the ground that they were units of a different national church. The northern dioceses, of course, never acknowledged throughout the Civil War that the Confederacy was another nation or that the Southern Dioceses formed a separate ecclesiastical fabric. In 1859, in 1862, and in 1865 alike the roll call of Dioceses began always with Alabama and embraced the dioceses in every seceded State. On this assumption violations of the Canons of the National Church in the Southern dioceses were proper subjects for discussion and discipline. The action of Alabama in electing Bishop Wilmer, and that of the Southern bishops who consecrated him, and that of Bishop Wilmer in permitting himself to be consecrated in direct oppo-

sition to the laws of the church demanded, theoretically, sharp censure and notable discipline. But when a grown up child declines to be disciplined, discipline must simply be foregone. Conscious of the fact that he had no standing in the House of Bishops, Bishop Wilmer did not present himself at Philadelphia to take his seat; he would not risk rebuff, and his sense of dignity would not permit him to sit in the lobby till his case should be settled. He simply announced that he was a validly and regularly consecrated Bishop in an independent Church of Apostolic order and Catholic faith, and then calmly went on with his diocesan labors. It is unnecessary here to go into the details attending the bishop's admission to all the rights and privileges of a bishop in the national church. Suffice it to say that he was admitted to legislative authority on precisely the terms that would be required of any foreign bishop, namely, that he should furnish evidence of his consecration and make the canonical declaration of conformity.

As a sort of compromise with those members who thought that loyalty must, if true to itself, find expression in ecclesiastical procedure, the House of Bishops coupled with the action a few words of "fraternal regrets" an account of Bishop Wilmer's pastoral concerning the use of the prayer for the president of the United States. The bishop's remarks upon this action in his Council address for 1866 are so pungent, and so illustrative of both his analytical power and his tenacity of purpose that they deserve to be reproduced in full:

"It has been a matter of some doubt with me as to the light in which this unusual coupling of 'regrets' with the assent of the jurisdiction of a bishop should be regarded. Inasmuch as the pastoral, in regard to certain positions in which these regrets were expressed, was issued by me whilst I was a foreign bishop and not bound in fact, as by 'declaration,' to conform to the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the United States, I cannot consider myself as properly amenable to the judgment of said church; yet, notwithstanding these obvious considerations, there were some, both in and out of the General Convention, who regarded this expression of regret on the part of the House of Bishops in the light of a censure upon my official conduct. This construction cannot properly be given to their action, without the supposition of their having so far departed from ecclesiastical propriety as to

pass a vote of censure upon the official action of a bishop who was not a member of their body, and who was not, therefore, properly amenable to their judgment in the premises. If the other theory be taken, that he was properly amenable, then the supposition involves an equally serious departure from ecclesiastical usage in passing judgment upon one who did not enjoy the privilege of a full hearing before sentence was passed. It would then reflect very seriously upon the action of a body so venerable as the House of Bishops to suppose that the expression of 'fraternal regrets' is to be viewed in the light of an official censure.

"It remains, therefore, to suppose that the House of Bishops felt it incumbent upon them to express a general regret at certain positions taken by myself lest they should appear to sanction certain views of the prayer for those in authority, which I had seen fit to present. Regarding the matter in this light, it would seem that, in restoring old relations, the expression of regrets is in order; and it may not be amiss in me to state that, after a careful review of the various pastorals put forth in the last unhappy years, there are very few in which we, who look at all that has transpired from a different standpoint, have not found occasion for regrets to which we can give no adequate expression. For my part, I can only say, and I say it merely in self-vindication, that I can recall no word that I have written to you, as your bishop, which now, in this moment of comparative quiet, I would obliterate from the record."

That the churchmen of Alabama readily agreed with their bishop is manifest from the unanimous adoption by the Diocesan Council to which this address was delivered of a series of resolutions declaring "that the firm, dignified, and Christian manner in which the independence and dignity of the Church in this diocese had been maintained by the bishop, the Right Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, D. D., during the trying ordeal of the last year, has elicited our admiration, and deserves our cordial thanks," and "that the explanation and defence of his course, as set forth in the address to this Council, place his conduct on ground that must challenge the assent and approbation of all just and thoughtful men."

It does not fall within the scope of this article to cover all the ground of Bishop Wilmer's life from 1866 to his death in 1900; this would be a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in

Alabama. But a general survey is necessary in order to show his administrative ability under unique difficulties, his deep piety and profound theological attainments, and the general contour of his character.

Alabama had been the least troubled section of the South and many clergymen had sought within its borders some measure of peace and quiet from war's alarms. With the advent of peace the strangers went back home. Twelve clergymen dropped out in a single year; and there had been only thirty-two to begin with. Many laymen departed and their departure undermined the finances of many a parish, and simply obliterated the parish of the Holy Comforter, Montgomery. At Selma and Demopolis not only the ministers had accepted work elsewhere but the Federal soldiers had burned the churches.

The bishop went to work to gather up the fragments, but it was a heart-breaking labor. The South was bankrupt and thousands of men of liberal spirit literally knew not whence the morrow's bread should come. What could have been done without help from the North it is impossible to say. But the General Church was liberal. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society appropriated three thousand dollars for a single year's work in Alabama, and to this was added the gift of a thousand dollars from a layman of Louisville, Ky. Support of the clergy in the poorer fields was thus ensured, and even aggressive work could be undertaken. The bishop felt encouraged and the clergy and laity were aroused to better things by this manifestation of practical sympathy. Then came reconstruction days, carpet-bag rule, the night rides and discipline of turbulent negroes by Ku-Klux in the rural districts where the whites were but one-third of the population. The Northern men who held the purse strings could make no allowance for these conditions and would give little for missionary work in the South, and the Missionary Board's appropriation for Alabama was reduced by more than two-thirds, and then by three-fourths. Close on the heels of this second reduction came the panic of 1873, disorganizing all diocesan and parochial undertakings, crippling the larger congregations, and well-nigh extinguishing the missionary operations. Again help came in the gift of two thousand dollars by Miss Catherine Wolfe, of New York, who did much to relieve ecclesiastical and personal distress

all through the country. Men hoped for better things when the crest of the panic passed, but the upheaval was long-continued. The restlessness engendered by the Civil War had not passed when this new occasion brought on an even more extensive running-to-and-fro. Every one felt that things were a little better somewhere else, and thousands, despairing of self-recovery in Alabama, threw themselves into the stream of Western immigration which was flowing level with its banks. The whole State was suffering from depletion of population. Its mineral wealth was almost untouched. Its vast timber resources were undeveloped. Its manufactories were in the womb of time. Its strength lay in its cultivated fields, but its fields were wearing out under the negligent husbandry of white owner and black tenant. In not a few portions of the State the original forest was beginning to encroach upon the once cultivated fields and to resume its primeval sway—fit parable of the condition of the church. Bishop Wilmer had begun his episcopate with a diocese numbering seventeen hundred communicants; he had, in thirteen years, confirmed five thousand souls; yet scarcely more than three thousand communicants remained in the diocese. And it was at this time that the Board of Missions cut Alabama's apportionment still further, and to a sum so far below one thousand dollars that the bishop said it was not worth mentioning.

But Bishop Wilmer was no grumbler. He simply did what he could with what he had, and diocesan life flowed along uneventfully, with some growth and much unconscious increase in latent power for the next ten years. Then came boom times. From all Alabama men rushed into the mineral regions, with an unreasoning haste to get riches quickly. They threw up good positions, drew out their money from safe but low-rate investments, borrowed all they could borrow from less speculative friends and ventured all on one throw of the dice. Twenty new congregations were formed in these regions in five years and it required thirteen missionaries to minister in a territory that had previously been content with seven. So the next difficulty that the diocese met was congestion; the arteries were gorged and the extremities chilled. Many congregations situated in new born places were drained of from one-fourth to four-fifths of their members; many members that remained at home sent off their

money; those that went needed all they had for temporal uses; and the bishop attempted to raise enough money in the impoverished congregations to support in part the ministers to those congregations which had not yet become rich. Be it said to the honor of the diocese that Bishop Wilmer was successful, thirty-three congregations (and all but ten of these outside the boom district) giving thirty-five hundred dollars at the collapse of the boom, while at its beginning twenty-two congregations had given only eighteen hundred dollars.

Special stress has been laid on these difficulties because consideration of them is an essential factor in the making up of a judgment as to Bishop Wilmer's administrative faculty. Five years of war and its immediate attendants, four years of panic, and five years of boom and collapse take up fourteen years in which all that could be expected would be to hold fast what is already attained. In the same period of time Alabama's pockets were turned wrong side out; the church in Alabama starting as a rural church became an urban church; and with half of its communicants living on Mobile Bay in 1862, now had (1900) in the mineral region alone more communicants than then lived in the entire diocese. Of necessity church advance has been, as it were, by dashes, in the intervals of normal peace and quiet. But in Bishop Wilmer's episcopate (1862-1900) the communicants were more than quadrupled, increasing from 1,683 to 7,295; the contributions were quadrupled, rising from twenty-thousand dollars to more than eighty thousand; the number of congregations increased from forty-seven to ninety-five; and, on an average, one new church was built in every year of the entire period.

It is somewhat remarkable that in an age of great theological unrest and in a church which has such wide toleration for matters of opinion that men of all sorts of philosophies and standards get into her ministry, Bishop Wilmer never clashed with any of his clergy on doctrine, though bold and unwavering in his orthodoxy. He had to deal with many narrow, many crotchety men, but his catholicity embraced narrowness, and he saw agreement of purpose under much disputing about words. In non-essentials he allowed his clergy absolute freedom. He gave "Godly admonition" only when the faith or the church's ascertained doctrine was at stake; and he was so desirous to avoid the very appear-

ance of intermeddling that his invariable rule was *Ne in consilium nisi vocatur.* Even when invited he was chary of his advice. He had a strong sense of his personal dignity, but he never thrust it on any one. He had high views of what is called "the episcopal prerogative," but he discountenanced all attempts to confer additional powers on the bishops by canon, saying that if a bishop is a strong man he will have more power than he wants, while if he is a weak man he cannot have too little.

While the bishop was a scholar worthy to bear the name of the learned and judicious Hooker, and his scholarship was universally recognized, and was stamped with the degree of doctor of divinity by William and Mary College and the University of the South and with the degree of doctor of laws by the University of Mississippi, the University of Alabama, and Cambridge University, England, his language was so simple and his style so unornate that his hearers and readers could receive his thoughts without being conscious of their profundity. He was not diffuse, whether writing or speaking, but he always allowed himself ample time and space to say exactly what he thought. He had little respect for the cry for short sermons, and on one occasion just before a sermon which was nearly an hour long he said to the congregation, "If I invite friends to dine with me, I make sure that there shall be sufficient food for the heartiest digestion; otherwise I should feel disgraced. It is not different in my Father's house. Shall the hungry sheep look up and not be fed? I have much spiritual food for you to-day. If any dyspeptics are present they are not under compulsion to partake too freely. But neither should they desire to limit the pleasure and sustenance of others by their own infirmity."—On this occasion at least none could be found that cared to say that the sermon was too long.

The last ten years of the bishop's life physical infirmity prevented sustained visitations. These were transferred in large part to the bishop coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Henry Melville Jackson, D. D., who had been elected in 1890 and consecrated the following January. The bishop, however, retained in his own hands the administration of the diocese, and strove by an immense amount of letter writing and a generous distribution of his printed sermons to accomplish in some manner the good he had been doing from the pulpit. His industry in this respect may be illustrated by the

fact that for long periods he would average ten letters in a day, and by the additional fact that in the last few years of his life he distributed ten thousand copies of his tract on "The Efficacy of Prayer" and three thousand of his sermon on "The Pharisee and the Publican." Still wider circulation was given these writings and others by their republication in general and diocesan church periodicals throughout the country.

But so long as the bishop was able to deliver his message freely from the pulpit he seldom appeared in print. He wrote only one book, "The Recent Past from a Southern Standpoint," and from that book he reprinted under the title "Guide Marks for Young Churchmen" the portion which relates to denominational characteristics and differences. With this exception his formal literary work was confined to the writing of pastoral addresses which the canons of the church require the bishops to issue. These are all based on matters of contemporaneous importance, but since they enunciate fundamental principles they are of permanent interest and value. For example: In *False Swearing* (1864) he says, "All experience teaches that they who will swear falsely to save life will not pause long to save property and position by similar means." In *Church and State* (1866), "No ecclesiastical organization of associated dioceses which bases itself upon geographic and national boundaries can urge any higher claim than that either of agreement between the dioceses, or of considerations of high expediency." In *Ritual and Ritualism* (1867), "It would be most unphilosophical—not to say uncatholic—to attempt to rule down every mind and every age to one form and degree of ritualistic expression." In *The Reverent Celebration of Divine Worship* (1871), "Sometimes it happens that music is imported into the sanctuary from the concert hall and opera house. It may be very beautiful and afford delight and entertainment, but it is associated necessarily with the footlights, and with the surroundings of the out-door world. * * They may have their place, but it is not in the Father's House." In *Charity Rejoiceth in the Truth* (1876), "One is called a 'charitable' person, because he gives alms to the poor. Whereas charity is something so different that he might 'give all his goods to feed the poor,' and at the same time, for lack of charity, 'be nothing.'" Hundreds of similarly pregnant sayings might be given from these addresses and the pastorals *The*

Lord's Day (1878), *The Church and the Negro* (1884), *Revivals* (1886), *Shall the Church Change its Name?* (1887), *The Words of Christ* (1888), *Prayer Book Enrichment and Public Worship* (1893), *Ministerial Prerogative* (1895), and *The Office and Mission of the Holy Ghost* (1899).

The last few months of the bishop's life he was confined to his bed. His last public appearance was in Christ church, Mobile, on February 26, when he confirmed thirty-four persons. The next day he met representative ministers of all the Protestant denominations in Mobile in a conference called by him to consider the spiritual conditions of the city. His last official act was to give consent to the election of a bishop coadjutor by the diocesan council of 1900, assigning to the coadjutor the visitation of parishes and retaining for himself the administration of the diocese. He passed away at 4.40 o'clock on the morning of June 14, 1900. The body lay in state in Christ church the next day from noon to five o'clock, at which hour the burial services were conducted by Bishop Thompson of Mississippi and Bishop Nelson of Georgia.

More bishops than one have been called "the St. John of the American church." But to none is the title more peculiarly appropriate than to Bishop Wilmer. The "disciple whom Jesus loved" was not always soft and gentle. In his young manhood he was of such vigor and boldness that Christ himself called him a "Son of Thunder." When he saw his Master despised by a Samaritan village he would fain have invoked the lightning of Heaven to destroy the offenders. But as at the Last Supper he lay with his head on Jesus' bosom, so all through life his ear was close to his Lord's mouth, and year by year his soul was changed from glory to glory until at last, more than four score years old, so feeble that he must needs be carried to the church services in Ephesus, he preached one sermon continually, and that was, "Little children, love one another." And we remember him not as the Son of Thunder but as the Apostle of Love.

In like manner when Bishop Wilmer was in his prime his shafts of wit were not fully controlled; they struck like lightning and like lightning were feared. In the early days of war he was prevented from volunteering as a soldier only by his sacred calling; but he felt so strongly that he actively drilled a company

of men at Brook Hill; and publicly urged the men of the South to enlist, quoting as the Scriptural justification of his cause the old Hebrew law (Numbers x: 8 and 9) that the priests should blow the silver trumpet calling the tribes of Israel to arms when the land was invaded. But living ever in the Master's presence, consecrating all his gifts to God's service, ever maintaining at all hazards the right as he perceived it, Bishop Wilmer grew nobler, grander, and more spiritual year by year. His manliness became more massive and his natural gifts were bent more and more exclusively to the Lord's service in the Lord's spirit. At four score he, too, was found preaching but one idea, he had found what to him was the essence of man's duty, and whatever the text in any given instance his sermon was a variation of the thought, "One is your Father, even God. All ye are brethren. Love as brethren. Be pitiful. Be courteous."

It is not the Bishop's eloquence, his statesmanship, his common sense, and his ready wit, for which he will be remembered. It is his preaching of God as our Father, and of men as our brethren, and of the obligations and privileges of these relationships, that will live in men's hearts and influence this and succeeding generations. It is this iteration of his last days that declares the ripened fruit of a life hid with Christ in God.

"His speech to me was like the chiming of the bells in the tower of Heaven. The personal presence of the man put me in harmony with the everlasting cadences. I want only to sit alone with a memory that ought to sanctify my life. The regal glory of that majestic face, as I looked upon it for the last time in the coffin, can never fail from my remembrance. He looked, dead in his robes, a prince of God; and the dead look was but a faint transcript of the living presence."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BY THE EDITOR.

The following formal list is appended to the valuable study by Mr. Whitaker with a view to stimulating the preparation of a complete bibliography. The titles presented do not represent the tenth part of the literary activity of Bishop Wilmer. He was a prolific as well as a trenchant writer, and his pen was not idle during his whole ministry. Unfortunately no complete collection of his writings exists even in the hands of his family. This list is made up from items taken here and there, some from the library of Mr. Whitaker, some from the collections of the editor, and

others, particularly the early numbers, have been supplied by the assistant librarian, Mr. Charles Ball, of the General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York.

In Memoriam. | A Sermon | in | commemoration of the life and labors | of the | Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D. | (Late Bishop of Georgia) | Delivered in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga. | on Sunday, January 27, 1867. | By the | Rt. Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, D. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | Published by request of the vestry. | Mobile. | Printed by Farrow & Dennett, No. 3, No. Water St. | 1867. |

8 vo. pp. 29.

The House of God. | The House of all the Faithful, | by the Rt. Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | [Design] Second edition. | Savannah, Ga. | E. J. Purse, Printer. | 1868. |

8 vo. pp. 43.

Caption: A Pastoral Letter. | Being a part of the Annual Address of the Bishop of the Diocese of Alabama, to the Convention thereof—assembled in the Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, May 10, 1871,—now issued in the form of a Pastoral Letter, at the request of the clergy and laity in attendance. |

8 vo. pp. 12. No title page or cover.

The Increase of the Ministry. | Annual Sermon | preached before the | Society for the Increase of the Ministry, | in | Grace Church, Baltimore, Md., | Sunday evening, Oct. 8, 1871. | By the | Right Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, D. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | The Church Press | M. H. Mallory & Co., Hartford, Conn. | 1871. |

8 vo.

The Temptation of our Blessed Lord. | A Sermon | preached the first Sunday in Lent | in | Trinity Church, Mobile, | by | Rt. Rev. Rich'd H. Wilmer, D. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | Published by request of the Congregation. | Mobile: | Thompson & Powers, Printers, 32 North Water Street. | 1873. |

8 vo. pp. 15.

Revivals. | An extract from the | Bishop's Address | to the Council of the Diocese of Alabama. | May 19th, 1886. | Published by request of the Council. | [1886.]

8 vo. pp. 15.

The recent past | from a Southern standpoint. | Reminiscences of a grandfather. |[Quotation, 1 line.] | By | Richard H. Wilmer, | Bishop of Alabama. | New York: | Thomas Whittaker, | 2 and 3 Bible House. | 1887. |

8 vo. pp. 281. *Portraits* of author and Bishops Elliott, of Ga., and Cobbs, of Ala., John Stewart, of Va., and Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer.

Second edition, 1887, pp. 294.

Third edition.

Some thoughts | on the late | General Convention. | An extract from the Bishop of Alabama's | address to the Council of his Diocese, | May 11, 1887. |

8 vo. pp. 10.

The words of Christ, | a pastoral charge to the | Clergy and Laity | of the | Diocese of Alabama. | An extract from the Bishop of Alabama's | address to the Council of his Diocese. | May 23, 1888. |

8 vo. pp. 30.

Guide marks | for | young churchmen, | by | Richard Hooker Wilmer, D. D., LL. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | New York. | Thomas Whittaker | 2 and 3 Bible House | 1889. |

8 vo. pp. 106.

The Church Year Series, No. 1. | [Second Edition.] | The Church of | The Living God, | The Stay of the Truth, and the Home of | the Faithful, | by the Rt. Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D., | Bishop of Alabama, | To which is appended | "The Declaration of the House of Bishops" | on Christian Unity, | 1890 | The church year Pub. Co., Printers, | Jacksonville, Fla. |

8 vo. pp. 39 and 7.

The Church year Series, No. 2. | The Maintenance of Church Principles | not only consistent with, but demanded | by Christian charity, | by | The Rt. Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | 1889. | The Church year Pub. Co., Printers, | Jacksonville, Fla. |

8 vo. pp. 21.

Some Thoughts | on | Robert Elsmere, | In a Letter to a Friend, | by | Bishop Wilmer. | [1892.]

8 vo. pp. 10.

Walks about Zion. | A sermon preached | at the sixty-first annual council | of the Diocese of Alabama, | May 3d, 1892, | by the Rt. Rev. Richard H. Wilmer, D. D., LL. D., | Bishop of the Diocese. | Published by resolution of the Council. |

8 vo. pp. 12.

The Words of Our Lord. | Sermon | Delivered by the | Rt. Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D., LL. D., | Bishop of Alabama, | Before | The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal | Church, Baltimore, October 5, 1892. | Baltimore: | Deutsch Lithographing & Printing Co., | 1892. |

8 vo. pp. 21.

A Question of Ministerial Prerogative. | Debate and findings | of the | Standing Committee | of the | Diocese of Alabama, | in the case of | Rector, vs. Vestry of St. John's Church, Mobile, | Together with the Bishop's Decision in the case. | Published by resolution of the Council. | Mobile, Ala.: | Matzenger's Print, 104 North Royal Street. | 1895. |

8 vo. pp. 83.

Counsel to Men | A Sermon | Preached at Christ Church, Mobile, | to the united congregations of the city, | by | Bishop Wilmer. | On the eightieth anniversary | of his birthday, | March 15th, 1896. | Published

by Request. | Mobile, Ala. | Geo. Matzenger's Print, 104 N. Royal Street. | [1896.]

8 vo. pp. 19.

Caption: The Efficacy of prayer. A Reminiscence. I Write That Which I do Know, and testify that which I have Seen. Received my witness. [1896?]

8 vo. pp. 8.

"The Sin Which Doth So Easily Beset Us" | and the Remedy. | A Tractate | for the | Lenten Season, | by | Bishop Wilmer, | of Alabama. | Mobile, Ala.: | George Matzenger's Print. | 1898. |

8 vo. pp. 20.

Church Record Series, No. 1. | What Christ, the Lord, approves: | Confession of Sin | not profession of religion | as illustrated in the | parable | of the | pharisee and the publican. | By | the Rt. Rev. Richard Hooker Wilmer, D. D., LL. D. | Bishop of Alabama. | Tuskaloosa, Ala. | The Church Record. | 1898. |

8 vo. pp. 20.

A Pastoral Letter | addressed to the Council | of the | Diocese of Alabama, | by Bishop Wilmer | May, 1899. | Mobile, Ala.: | George Matzenger, Printer, No. 104 North Royal St. | 1899. |

8 vo. pp. 16.

XIV. NOTES ON ALABAMA MOUNDS AND ANTIQUITIES.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

The items here collected are notes and fragments merely, but they are of sufficient importance as suggestive hints for future special investigation to justify their preservation in permanent form. They represent desultory gleanings from old newspaper files, examined by the editor for other purposes.

BULLOCK COUNTY.

Mr. Barker dug into an Indian mound last Friday, on the plantation of Major J. H. Fielder about ten miles from town, and we understand made some very interesting discoveries. Among them were the skeletons of a warrior and horse. From the relative positions of these the Indian was evidently buried on the horse. The Indian was dressed in buckskin garments which were so well preserved that the material was readily known.—*Bullock County Guide,* reprinted in *The West Alabamian,* Carrollton, May 7, 1879.

GREENE COUNTY.

The West Greene correspondent of the Eutaw *Whig* writes as follows: "In an open field near Sardis church, in this county, some person, while plowing, unearthed a number of skeletons, some of them preserved to a great extent. They were buried in a circle—their heads pointing to a centre. The field had been cultivated over 50 years, and of course, the remains were deposited there long before the white men had possession of the country; and, besides, the form of burial is altogether different from ours. I suppose there must have been 25 or 30 in the burial place, and, from their position, all had been put there at the same time; and as many relics in the shape of their war implements, have been found about the place, it is probable that one of their great battles was fought there, and these skeletons were the slain upon one side."—*The West Alabamian,* Oct. 27, 1875.

LAUDERDALE COUNTY.

The discovery of a lot of human bones near the furnace in this city yesterday created a furor of excitement.

The bones were found in a mound four feet high by thirty in diameter and round in form. An examination of the skulls showed the strong characteristics of the high Indian cheek bones, broad forehead and large jaws. With the bones were found a pipe of curious shape and workmanship, and some arrow heads. The mound is thought to have been built by the mound builders many hundreds of years ago, but how even a trace of the bones could have remained at this late date is a wonder.—*The Montgomery Advertiser,* Aug. 16, 1891, p. 1.

MARENGO COUNTY.

A few days since, while Mr. A. B. Johnson, of Bermuda Hill, near Prairieville, was having a grave dug, he unearthed the remains of a man of a past age that had been buried in a large earthen jar, in a sitting or doubled up position. We learn that quite a number of these remains have been found upon the place both prior to and since the war. The spot was doubtless the location of a grand Indian burying ground.—*News Journal,* Demopolis, reprinted in *The West Alabamian,* July 16, 1879.

RELICS OF A PRE-HISTORIC RACE IN TUSCALOOSA COUNTY.

The Tuscaloosa *Blade* of the 22nd ult. says:

"About two weeks ago, a plow on Mr. H. Wynn's plantation, in this county, struck some hard substance under ground, and the freedman who followed said plow called Mr. W's attention to it. With great care the earth was removed, and a large earthen pot of brown color and of about an hundred gallons capacity, was discovered. This pot rested on a smaller one, about thirty gallons capacity, and in color perfectly black. This pot was much harder than the other, and was removed with less injury. It contained a quantity of human bones, so large that they evidently belong to a pre-historic race, or at least, to a people of far greater physical development than we have any knowledge of. There were three skulls, in a tolerable good state of preservation. The colossal jars were covered on the outside with hieroglyphics and figures, and the general finish was pretty much after the manner

of earthen-ware at this day. Mr. W. has promised to give us these specimens of antiquity, when we will surrender them to the scrutiny of some scientist."—*The West Alabamian,* May 5, 1875.

OLD FORTIFICATION IN TUSCALOOSA COUNTY.

In Tuscaloosa county, about five miles north of Coaling, and just above the confluence of Little creek with Big Hurricane, there exist remains of an old fortified camp now almost obliterated, except about twenty paces of one of the ditches about 2 feet deep and 14 feet wide. Mr. Luther Pumphrey, who owns the land, and whom I know to be a reliable man, states that when his father cleared the land, over fifty years ago, the two ditches were "deeper than a tall man's head," and "wide enough for a wagon to pass" with ease, and that "large gum trees were growing in them." They extended from creek to creek, outbending east and west, and within Mr. Pumphrey's own memory were both waist deep. Across the larger creek, to the north, about a quarter of a mile from the camp on the slope of a small ravine, there is a singular rock-built tomb (evidently), from which the dirt has been piled out on the lower side to the depth of several feet. It is about 4 feet wide and 8 feet long, constructed with remarkable neatness of loose, flat sandstones from the creek, and has a well built doorway at the southern end. Mr. P. stated that he found the place when he was a boy; and himself once tore out the rocks from the north end, which was orchid. I described the place to Dr. Wyman of the university, who said with emphasis that no party of Spanish explorers ever came so far north as to that point in Alabama, and that in his opinion the remains were evidently of Indian origin. My own opinion at first was that De-Soto or some other Spanish adventurer had built them, the shape of the grave being that of a recumbent arch, and the doorway suggesting the idea of a chapel as well as a tomb.—ROBERT S. OWEN, in the *Age Herald,* Birmingham, April 27, 1892.

RELICS OF THE RED MAN IN TALLADEGA COUNTY.

On the banks of the Tallasahatchie creek, bordering on the Sycamore and Childersburg road, near what is known as the Boze

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[1] Originally presented at the annual meeting, June 21, 1898.—*See Trans. Ala. Hist. Society,* 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 12.

ford is the old Funderburg plantation, now owned by the Smoot family. The writer has known for some years that there was an ancient Indian village or town on this place, and that a great many relics of various sorts had been found there.

Having heard that the late floods had exposed a good many of these mementoes, on last Wednesday, I concluded to make a visit to Mr. Mega Smoot and take a look at what had been discovered. I was fortunate in finding him at home, and he very kindly showed me what he had.

In the first place there was an old rusty rifle gun barrel, a copper kettle with the exception of the handle, in a good state of preservation. These with numberless glass and shell beads and a few human bones, constituted his collection.

Mega, as every one calls him, informed me that he had visitors that morning who had carried off the best part of what he had, but that we would go to his field, where no doubt I would find something to interest me.

On arriving there I found a large crowd of darkeys, who were searching, delving and digging in every direction. Mr. Smoot and myself spent several hours in looking over the grounds, but with the exception of innumerable pieces of broken pottery, old leaden bullets, beads, with now and then an arrow or spearhead and any quantity of bones and shells, we found nothing.

Just at this time a little boy informed us that a grave had been discovered. On going there I was so lucky as to succeed in borrowing the following ancient and interesting relics, which were found either in the grave or close by, and which I will now attempt to describe:

Of course every one who is at all familiar with Indian custom knows that when an Indian man dies all that he has is buried with him. In this grave there was only a portion of the skull, the bones of the legs and arms. There was the remains of an old musket, but there was nothing left but the trigger guard and the piece at the butt. These were of brass castings. There were no letters, but on the largest piece was cut a beautiful representation of a fowl that looked very much like a wild turkey, only the bill was more like a bird of prey.

The next thing was what I took to be an anklett, this was of pure silver one inch and five-eighths wide, and as it was circular, three

inches in diameter, which would make it if straightened nine inches long. On the inner side there were some rude scratches that I could not decipher, on the outside there were two indentations, parallel with the edge, there were numerous dots irregularly scattered about, near the middle was a circle with a half circle at the right and left, and in the circle was what might have been intended to represent a star. This piece was evidently of Indian manufacture.

The next article was also silver the exact shape of the moon in its first quarter, or like the old fashioned front to a boy's cap. Its dimensions were a little over five inches from point to point, and two inches wide at the widest part. It was very thin, and near each point was a small hole, either for a string or wire. On the upper side there were no letters, but on the under side was the letter B, Italian style, then a beautiful diminutive Lion, then what I took to be a crown, and then the two Roman letters L. K. upside down. What this article was for I leave the reader to imagine, but I think it was for adornment.

The next articles were two brass or bronze medals; one of them in a perfect state of preservation just one inch in diameter, and about the thickness of our quarter dollar. There was no date, but on one side was a man's bust with the following: Georgius, II. D. G. G. B. F. R. E. T. HIB. REX, which can easily be translated George the second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. It has only been during the reign of Queen Victoria that the sovereigns of Great Britain have dropped the title to France. On the opposite side was a beautiful figure of an Indian, with his bow, and the arrow just about to transfix a deer.

This medal had a projection from the edge, with a small hole in it for the purpose of suspension.

On the other medal, which was of the same size, this piece was broken off. On one side was the bust of the same King, but different, and the words, Georgius, II DEI Gratia, REX! On the opposite side was a woman's bust, with the words, Carolina, Regina, which latter as any school boy knows, means Queen Caroline.

How these Indians came in possession of these medals, or for what purpose they were given to them can only be a matter of conjecture.

George the second of England, died long before our Revolutionary war; but we all know that the Creek Indians were allies of the British in their wars with the United States, and these medals must have been presented to some distinguished Creek, either for services performed or expected, or as an act of friendship.

These conclude what I saw in the Omega Smoot field. There were other things, but nothing of any great interest.

Perhaps I ought to mention one more circumstance not connected with Indians, but showing the effect of the overflow. Mr. Smoot showed me an old brick kiln, with a considerable quantity of perfect brick remaining, that before the rise were completely covered. No one knew there was such a thing on the place, and Mr. Smoot also said that last year he had a goober patch right on top of the kiln, without having the least idea of such a thing. Who made them is an unknown quantity.

THE HOME has been very diligent in securing a correct statement of the facts above given, and the public can rely on the accuracy.

The relics exhumed on Mr. Smoot's place are all in keeping with the nature "of the children of the forest," tomahawk, arrow heads and guns for warfare, and the chase; pipes;—one of them very large,—for the council fire; and gewgaws, beads and glittering trinkets (for which an Indian would have sold his birthright) to amuse vanity.

Everything connected with the life of these red huntsmen of America, the modern Esaus is mysterious and therefore possesses a wonderful fascination for civilized men.

His manners, habits and character indicate a being apart and distinct from his own race—the Shemitic—and from the entire human family besides.

He is a savage, yet a profound philosopher, unlettered, yet surpassing in eloquence, ravenous in eating and drinking, selling fortunes for a meal or bauble, yet gifted with a stoicism above all other men; energetic, yet scorning to work; treacherous and vindictive, yet brave even to the open defiance of overwhelming odds, and unswerving in the performance of a promise. Whenever he builds up, as did the Aztec and the Peruvian, another power casts him down. He verily seems to have gone forth from

the fields of Edom under the ban of Esau.—From *Our Mountain Home,* Talladega, Ala., April 14, 1886, reprinted in the *Fayette Journal,* April 30, 1886.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

In the *Catalogue of Prehistoric Works* (Washington, 1891), by Cyrus Thomas, is a list of those found in Alabama, with an *archeologic* map of the State. The principal sources consulted in Thomas's compilation are the *Annual Reports* of the Smithsonian Institution, the *American Journal of Science and Arts,* Pickett's *History of Alabama,* and vol. ix of *Contributions* to North American Ethnology, which contains reports of the Mound Exploring Division of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology. Other sources are also noted. This list has many omissions. The *Report* of the Alabama History Commission, 1901 (Miscellaneous Collections of the Alabama Historical Society), contains an enlargement, by the present editor, of Mr. Thomas's *Catalogue,* giving all additional references known to him at the date of the *Report.*

Pickett's *Alabama* (1851), vol. i, ch. 3, pp. 164-179, Owen's ed., pp. 148-159, contains a chapter on "Ancient Mounds and Fortifications in Alabama," with an illustration of fortifications at Little River falls, Cherokee county. In Brewer's *Alabama* (1872), in the sketches of the several counties, are descriptions of many ancient works, etc., as well as natural curiosities. The local histories, where much is expected, contain little. Smith's *History of Pickens County* (1856), p. 187, states that the author knows of "no mounds, graves or monuments of the aborigines in her borders;" but since then one or two have been located. Ball's *Clarke County* (1882) describes two mounds, p. 672, with general observations on Southern mounds, pp. 102-4. In Snedicor's *Directory of Greene County* (1856), pp. 71-73, there is a tolerably full account of its antiquities, consisting of Indian works, mounds and an old fortification on the Tombigbee river. Powell's *History of Blount County* (in *Trans. Ala. Hist. Soc.,* 1855), pp. 58-59, describes Indian mounds, found in thirteen places in that county, also Indian works, stone heaps, and an old fortification near the junction of the Little Warrior and Locust Fork. In Maxwell's *Tuskaloosa* (Ala. Hist. Soc., 1876), are numerous references *passim* to mounds, Indian remains, the "Alabama Stone," and relics, with one *illustration.* Little's *History of Butler County* (1885), pp. 143-145, contains a chapter on "Ancient Mounds" in that county. Blue's *History of Montgomery* (1878), p. 4, contains a brief description of two mounds, long since removed, situated on the bluff just below the present city. In the *Reports* of the Geological Survey of Alabama, there are references. La Tourrette's *Map of Alabama* (1838, 1844, 1856) notes the localities of several mounds. In the newspapers of the State are doubtless to be found many descriptive articles of great value, but other references than above are not now available.

PART II.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND HISTORICAL PAPERS.

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, JUNE 3, 1901.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 3, 1901.

11 A. M. ANNUAL ORATION.

The opening session of the annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society for 1901 was held at 11 o'clock a. m., June 3, in Clark hall, University of Alabama. The audience was large, and included a number of the members of the Society. In the absence of Hon. Joseph Forney Johnston, president, one of the vice-presidents, Col. Sam'l Will John, presided. After the meeting was called to order, prayer was offered by the Rev. Walter C. Whitaker, rector of Christ church, Tuscaloosa.

The annual orator, Hon. Joel C. DuBose, was next introduced, and delivered an oration on "The Ideal University." He was given the most careful attention, and his address was received with applause.

(*See p. 269 for copy of the address.*)

Col. John thanked the speaker for his address, and the Secretary announced the afternoon session, after which benediction was pronounced by Rev. Charles E. Crenshaw.

During the exercises the Tuscaloosa orchestra rendered appropriate music.

2:30 P. M. BUSINESS SESSION.

The afternoon session of the Society was held in the county court house, in the city of Tuscaloosa. This being the birthday of Jefferson Davis, it had been agreed between the Society and the R. E. Rodes chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, that the first part of the exercises should be devoted to the presentation of crosses of honor to Confederate veterans. The court room had been beautifully decorated with bunting and flowers, and a large and enthusiastic audience was in attendance. The meeting was called to order about 2:30 p. m. by Col. Sam'l Will John. Rev. John G. Praigg offered prayer.

PRESENTATION OF CROSSES OF HONOR TO CONFEDERATE VETERANS.

Col. John then resigned the chair to W. G. Cochrane, Esq., of Tuscaloosa, who presided during the presentation exercises. Mr. Cochrane read the rules under which the crosses of honor were conferred; and Miss Yanita Cribbs then recited a poem of welcome. The recitation was followed by a spirited rendition of the "Bonnie Blue Flag," by a large chorus under the direction of Mrs. J. C. Perkins.

Tennent Lomax, of Montgomery, was introduced and delivered the presentation address.

(*See p. 265, for copy of the address.*)

At its conclusion the choir sang "Tenting To-night on the Old Camp Ground," and the presentation of crosses followed. As the names of the veterans were called they came forward and received the badges from the hands of the members of the chapter. Showers of applause swept over the house as the ladies pinned the badges on the battle-scarred old soldiers.

The following received crosses: Wm. G. Childress, A. F. Browning, J. A. Reese, George Hamner, C. J. Hausman, R. Hunter, H. P. Jones, W. R. Medlin, J. W. Norris, J. H. Ryland, John T. Thrower, J. D. Blocker, John B. Chatfield, D. D. Davis, John Garner, R. M. Gaddy, John P. Hamner, Alex. O'Quin, A. W. Robertson, J. A. Ogburn, W. W. Watson, and John M. Smith.

The response or speech of acceptance was made by Col. Martin L. Stansel, of Carrollton, who was colonel of the 41st Alabama regiment, C. S. A. He is also a member of the Alabama Historical Society.

This portion of the exercises was then concluded by the singing of "Dixie" amid rousing cheers.

SOCIETY EXERCISES RESUMED.

After a short recess Col. John resumed the chair.

The call of the roll and the reading of the minutes of the last meeting were dispensed with by unanimous consent.

The Secretary read by title the following papers, some of which are printed in full hereinafter:

"What will be the final estimate of Yancey?" by Dr. George Petrie.

"Recollections of the Alabama Democratic State Convention of 1860," by Sutton S. Scott.

"The Bi-centennial of Mobile,"[1] by Peter J. Hamilton.

"The French Grant in Alabama, a History of the Founding of Demopolis," by Gaius Whitfield, Jr.

"Benjamin Fitzpatrick and the Vice-Presidency," by Shepherd H. Roberts.

"The History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama prior to 1826," by the Rev. James H. B. Hall.

"Sketch of Company B, First Alabama Volunteers, C. S. A.,"[2] by Wm. T. Sheehan.

"Early Settlement of Perry County, Alabama,"[3] by W. L. Fagan.

Miss Toccoa Cozart, of Auburn, read a paper showing great research and original investigation, on "Henry W. Hilliard." It was received with enthusiasm, and a discussion followed participated in by Dr. W. S. Wyman, Col. John, Frank S. Moody, and Mr. Owen.

Dr. Wyman expressed his very high appreciation of Miss Cozart's paper, stating that her interpretation of Hilliard's character and career was judicial and fair in an eminent degree. He felt that his career in Alabama had not been properly recognized, and thought Miss Cozart's study would place him in the position and rank to which he was entitled.

Rev. Charles E. Crenshaw, who had prepared "A Sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw," was excused from reading it owing to the lateness of the hour. It was then read by title, and ordered published in the *Transactions*.

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[1] Although this paper was substantially prepared, the author deemed it proper to withhold it, owing to the number of things which have been written and printed on the subject. Mr. Hamilton supplied the accounts of the Bi-centennial which appeared in the *American Review of Reviews*, March, 1902, p. 304, and in the *Publications* of the Southern History Association, March, 1902, p. 158-163. Mr. Hamilton is the president of the Iberville Historical Society, Mobile, under whose auspices the celebration was held.

[2] Not received by the Secretary.

[3] This sketch has been withheld and will appear in an Alabama local history collection, being arranged for publication by the Department of Archives and History of Alabama.

The Secretary presented an account of the second celebration, in Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1900, of the anniversary of the admission of Alabama into the Union. The celebration was happily conducted under the direction of Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby, one of the vice-presidents and most enthusiastic members of the Society.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Owen submitted his reports as Secretary and Treasurer. They were adopted, and referred to the Executive Committee for such attention as might be deemed necessary, in addition to any action which might be taken at this session.

The following resolutions were read by Mr. Owen, and after a full explanation of their purpose, they were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Alabama Historical Society is in hearty accord with the objects and purposes of the act of the recent general assembly establishing for the State of Alabama a Department of Archives and History, which is to continue as one of the permanent State departments under a salaried director as a State officer, with a regular headquarters and all necessary rooms and equipment; and

WHEREAS, Its operations will cover in a systematic way much of the work hitherto carried on in a desultory way by this Society, thereby rendering effort by the latter unnecessary; therefore, be it

Resolved, 1. That all collections heretofore made by the Society, or which may in future come into its possession by donation, exchange or otherwise, shall be turned over to the Department of Archives and History for safe preservation; and that in future no effort shall be directed to the collection of books or other historical objects;

2. That in view of the special work to be accomplished by the said Department the operations of this Society in the future shall be limited and directed to the publication of work and the affiliation of a body of historical students and others interested in the cause of history, through its membership; and

3. That the headquarters of the Society are hereby removed permanently to the city of Montgomery.

Mr. Purifoy called attention to the recommendation of the Secretary in regard to increasing the amount of annual dues, and offered the following resolution, which was adopted without dissent:

Resolved, That from and after this date the annual dues of the Society shall be the sum of three dollars, and that in the admission of new members no initiation or admittance fee be charged.

Dr. R. H. Duggar introduced the following resolution, which had heretofore been in force, and it was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary is hereby empowered to nominate, enroll and issue certificates to persons as members, resident, corresponding or honorary, who have the prescribed qualifications, and who comply with the rules of the organization.

Dr. Duggar also introduced the usual resolution, governing the publication of the proceedings which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary shall cause the proceedings and papers of this meeting, with such other papers, documents, historical material, and illustrations and maps pertaining thereto, as to him may seem advisable, to be carefully edited and published.

Votes of thanks were extended Prof. Joel C. DuBose for his anniversary address, and to Miss Toccoa Cozart for her valuable paper on Hilliard.

The Executive Committee was given the power in its discretion to frame a new constitution and rules for the Society.

Hon. Frank S. Moody, chairman of a committee appointed at the last annual meeting to memorialize the board of trustees of the University of Alabama "to establish a chair or a department in said university for the purpose of collecting, perpetuating and publishing facts and materials connected with the history of Alabama," reported that he had appeared before the board and presented as strongly as he could the importance of the subject. He further reported that no action had been taken thereon, and he requested to be discharged from further duty. His report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Mr. Owen here made a brief and informal exposition of the plans and operations of the newly created Department of Archives and History of Alabama, instead of presenting a paper on the subject. He confidently expressed the opinion that in a few years Alabama would have the most extensive historical collection to be found in the South. He outlined the comprehensive character of the work undertaken, and explained how the Department was designed to meet all of the obligations due by the State to its history. Already inquiries were pouring into his office, and students were resorting there for special study. He appealed for co-operation, and called on all patriotic and public spirited Alabamians to rally to the aid of the State, now that it had risen to an appreciation of its duty.

Officers for the ensuing year were then elected.

(*For list see page* 9.)

The meeting then adjourned at 7.30 o'clock p. m.

THOMAS M. OWEN, Secretary.

APPENDIX TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

(1) SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1900-1901.

A brief report of the doings and conduct of the office of the Secretary for the Society year, June 18, 1900, to June 3, 1901, is herewith submitted.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The year's work cannot be reported as equaling that of either of the two preceding years. However, the general results of the year, when the important features of advance in historical work and research are considered, are all that could be wished. The growth of the Society in membership has been small, but the number of those whose interest in the promotion of historical research has been enlisted cannot be now estimated. The cause for which the Society has stood all of the fifty years of its existence can be said to have abundantly triumphed, and at last a feeling of satisfaction can come to us all that the future is safe.

REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS TO BIRMINGHAM.

In accordance with the resolutions of the last annual meeting, the Secretary on July 4, 1900, opened headquarters, or rooms, in the Commercial Club building in Birmingham. In charge of these an assistant was placed who kept them open until Jan. 1, 1901. Here the collections were kept, the correspondence conducted, and the local friends of the Society met to plan for the enlargement and advance of the work. Owing to the fact that the energies and attention of the Secretary was wholly given, after Jan. 1, 1901, to the work of compiling the *Report* of the Alabama History Commission, of which he was chairman, he gave up the rooms, and since his selection as Director of the newly created Department of Archives and History, the entire collections as a matter of convenience have been stored to await the action of this meeting as to the future headquarters. In this connection it may not be improper to say that as the location of the headquarters in Birmingham was made prior to the State's action in behalf of historical effort and activity, and without reference to such possible action, since such aid has been given, it might be well, indeed, it would seem almost the only thing to do, to finally remove and establish the headquarters in connection with the Department of Archives and History, at Montgomery.

The assistant referred to above is Miss Dolly W. Owen. She gave her entire time to the work of the Society from July 1 to Dec. 31, 1900, inclusive, a period of six months, and at all times evidenced a painstaking interest in her duties. After conferring with members of the Executive Committee her compensation was fixed at the small sum of thirty dollars per month.

MEMBERSHIP.

The new members added to the roll this year are only eighteen in number. The losses by death are six. It is proper to say in explanation that no effort of a special character has been made to increase the membership during the year.

CORRESPONDENCE.

As usual the correspondence has been voluminous, but it has been promptly attended to, and all of the files carefully kept.

PUBLICATIONS.

It is to be regretted that no further volumes of the *Transactions* have been published, but it has been impossible. The following circulars have been issued, viz:

Administrative Circular No. 8.—General Information Respecting the Society.

Administrative Circular No. 9.—Importance of the Establishment of a Department of Archives and History.

Administrative Circular No. 10.—Message of Governor William J. Samford, urging the importance of the establishment of a Department of Archives and History.

EXCHANGES.

The exchange list has been greatly enlarged, and we are now receiving almost all desirable publications of kindred Societies. The Societies of New Jersey, Nebraska, Montana, Kansas and New York have been liberal in supplying early issues.

DONATIONS.

There have been a number of interesting and valuable donations. Among these are:

(1) The American Antiquarian, 25 vols., presented by Prof. H. S. Halbert, of Crawford, Miss.

(2) *The Tuscaloosa Monitor,* and *The Blade,* 10 vols., folio, presented by Ryland Randolph, Esq., of Birmingham.

(3) A number of miscellaneous U. S. government publications, presented by the Young Men's Christian Association, of Birmingham.

(4) Large group photograph of the Staff Officers of the 14th Alabama regiment, presented by Thomas G. Garrett, of Washington, D. C.

(5) Crayon likeness (half life) of Gen. Stephen D. Lee, presented by himself.

(6) Photograph of Brig. Gen. Zach. C. Deas, presented by his widow, Mrs. Helen L. Deas, of New York.

(7) Photograph of Preston Brooks, member of congress from S. C., presented by his grandnephew, James B. Marshall, of Birmingham.

(8) Piece of wood from the long boat which accompanied the "Alabama," donated by ex-secretary of the navy, Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, of Washington, D. C.

(9) Photographs of a number of individuals prominent in Alabama history.

(10) Number of historical and miscellaneous books.

NEWSPAPERS.

The newspaper files have maintained a steady increase. On the establishment of the Department of Archives and History, the Secretary turned the list over to the Director as they could not longer be cared for by him as Secretary. The Department is now receiving and caring for them. In the number are about fifty published out of the State, including the *Nation, Literary Digest, Alkahest, Nautical World,* the Atlanta *Constitution,* the *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* etc., etc.

OLD ST. STEPHENS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Old St. Stephens Historical Society in May this year held its annual meeting, and celebrated the centennial of Spanish evacuation, by a picnic.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY BY THE STATE.

The establishment by act approved Feb. 27, 1901, of the Department of Archives and History, marked the happy culmination of the labors of those who had long striven for State aid in behalf of historical work. Since reorganization in 1874 the agitation had been kept up. It is to have the care of all the historical activities of the State; publication, official archive preservation, the collection of an historical library and the creation of a museum and an art gallery. It may be said without undue claim that the immediate moving agency back of the creation of the Department was the Alabama History Commission whose *Report* to the general assembly presented convincing reasons for State aid. Too much praise cannot be accorded Gov. Wm. J. Samford, who transmitted a special message to the general assembly urging its establishment. In the senate Hon. Wm. D. Jelks, Hon. D. J. Meador, and Hon. Hugh Morrow, and in the house of representatives, Messrs. R. H. Clarke, Wm. W. Brandon, Henry B. Foster, and Wm. B. Bankhead were conspicuous in advocacy. Let us hope that the operation of the Department will more than justify its establishment.

The creation of the Department, it would seem, has rendered unnecessary the further work of the collection of books and historical material by the Society. It is useless to duplicate collections. Divided energies can not be productive of the best results. With the prestige of the State back of the effort, with suitable quarters for the storage and care of donations, and salaried officials to carry on the work, it can be clearly seen that the Department is the only proper agency for the task.

FUTURE WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

But what of the future of the Society? It should continue, but for only a part of its original objects. Its true mission now should be two-fold: The affiliation of a body of historical students through its membership, and the publication of work. By proper effort it is confidently believed that a large membership can be secured. The larger the membership the more valuable the Society would become, inasmuch as the number of the publications which could be issued would be largely augmented. With the headquarters in Montgomery a regular series of monthly meetings could at the appropriate time be inaugurated, and thus interest greatly strengthened. The increase of the annual dues seems also necessary to further increase opportunity for publication and to meet expenses.

NECROLOGY.

During the year the Society has lost the following members by death, viz:

James M. Fitzpatrick, of Wetumpka, on Aug. 9, 1900.
John D. Yerby, Mobile, Aug. 10, 1900.
Martin V. Moore, Auburn, Sept. 1, 1900.
William H. Verner, Tuscaloosa, Sept. 10, 1900.
Francis L. Pettus, Selma, March 6, 1901.
William C. Jemison, Tuscaloosa, March 28, 1901.

Appropriate sketches will be prepared for publication.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In conclusion I recommend the following:

(1) The preparation of a new constitution by the incoming Executive Committee.

(2) The removal of the headquarters of the Society to Montgomery.
(3) The deposit of all the collections of the Society with the Department of Archives and History of Alabama.
(4) The increase of the annual dues to $3.00.

With these changes and the enthusiasm in the membership bound to follow the work of the Department of Archives and History, the Society must move forward to a condition of ever increasing usefulness and importance.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Secretary.

(2) TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE 18, 1900, TO JUNE 3, 1901.

The Treasurer respectfully submits herewith his annual report, viz:

Receipts.

1900. June 18.	To amount of balance on hand June 18, 1900, ...	$16 29
1901. June 3.	To annual dues and sales of volumes of the *Publications*, ...	284 00
		$300 29

Expenditures.

1900. June 22.	By Washington Hotel, Tuscaloosa, hotel expenses of W. C. Ward, annual orator, two days, ...	$4 00
July 12.	J. R. Stiff, erecting shelving in Society room, Commercial Club Building, ...	10 00
July 14.	T. L. McGowan Paint Co., varnish, ...	35
July 23.	Express on shipment from W. & Lee University, Lexington, Va., ...	65
July 27.	Express on shipment from the Mayor, Mobile, ...	30
July 27.	Express on shipment from R. I. Historical Society, Providence, ...	1 00
Aug. 4.	Miller & Martin, blue print tracing of Romans' Map,	60
Aug. 21.	Express on shipment from C. E. Crenshaw, Coosada, Ala., ...	35
Aug. 25.	L. & N. R. R. Co., freight on shipment from Louisville, Ky., ...	1 26
Aug. 28.	Express on shipment from the Bostonian Society, Boston, Mass., ...	85
Aug. 28.	Express on shipment from Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., ...	65
Aug. 28.	Loyd Bozeman, drayage package from New Jersey Historical Society, ...	25
Sept. 10.	Express on shipment from Geological Survey of Ky., Lexington, ...	1 25
Sept. 10.	Express on shipment from N. Y. Public Library, N. Y., ...	90
Sept. 12.	A. G. S. R. R. Co., freight on shipment from Blocton, Ala., ...	58
Sept. 12.	J. B. Gibson, agent, rent of room for July and August, 1900, ...	15 00
Sept. 21.	Express on shipment from C. H. Hart, Philadelphia, Pa., ...	1 00
Sept. 21.	Express on shipment from Prof. H. S. Halbert, Crawford, Miss., ...	1 10
Sept. 21.	Express on shipment from Iowa Historical Department, Des Moines, ...	45
Sept. 21.	Express on shipment from State of Maryland, Annapolis, ...	75
Sept. 25.	Express on shipment from W. G. Wallbridge, Litchfield, Conn., ...	70

Sept.	30.	Post Office box rent, Birmingham, July-September, 1900,	2 50
Oct.	1.	A. J. Harrison, drayage books (Y. M. C. A. donation),	2 50
Oct.	1.	W. P. Weir, removing partition and shelving in the Society room, Commercial Club Building,	3 25
Oct.	4.	Post Office box rent, Birmingham, October-December, 1900,	2 50
Oct.	26.	J. B. Gibson, agent, rent of room for Sept., 1900,	7 50
Nov.	1.	Roberts & Son, stationery,	1 15
Nov.	1.	Express on shipment from W. H. Dingley, Montgomery,	30
Nov.	1.	Express on shipment from State Historian, New York, N. Y., forwarded from Reform, Ala.,	40
Nov.	1.	Express on shipment to Dr. F. L. Riley, Oxford, Miss.,	30
Nov.	8.	W. P. Weir, erecting shelving in Society room,	10 90
Dec.	1.	Roberts & Son, stationery,	1 00
Dec.	29.	Southern Railway Co., freight on shipment of second class mail, from Carrollton, Ala., via Columbus, Miss.,	60
Dec.	31.	Postage for Society, July-December, 1900,	39 35
1901.			
Jan.	3.	Express on shipment Yancey papers from Athens, Ga.,	1 70
Jan.	21.	Post Office box rent, January-March, 1901,	2 50
Jan.	21.	J. R. Adams, Agent, rent of room, Oct., 1900,	15 00
March	22.	J. R. Adams, Agent, rent of room in full balance, Nov. 1, 1900, to March 15, 1901,	30 00
March	31.	Express on shipment of second class mail from Carrollton, Ala.,	85
April	4.	L. & N. R. R. Co., freight on two boxes *Transactions*, vol. iii,	13 19
April	4.	Drayage of the Society's books and papers to depot for shipment to Montgomery,	5 00
April	4.	L. & N. R. R. Co., freight on Society's books and papers to Montgomery,	15 00
April	4.	Haygood Transfer Co., drayage of same,	5 00
May	10.	Robert H. Greene, copying for the Society,	9 35
June	3.	Miscellaneous expenditures,	2 45
June	3.	Postage for the Society, January-May, 1901,	5 00
June	3.	Paid Miss Dolly W. Owen in full for services as stenographer and assistant in the rooms of the Society, July 1 to Dec. 31, 1900, at $30.00 per month,	180 00
			$399 28
June	3.	Balance due Treasurer, advanced the Society,	$98 99

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Treasurer.

Montgomery Ala., June 3, 1901.

II. NECROLOGY.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

zpatrick,[1] James Madison, born in Montgomery, Ala., 14, 1860, was the son of Dr. Phillips and Mary (*Bethea*) atrick, grandson of Gov. Benjamin and Sarah Terry (*El-*) Fitzpatrick, and of Hon. Tristram Burgess and Eugenia *hea*) Bethea, and great-grandson of William and Anne *llips*) Fitzpatrick, and of Gen. John Archer and Nancy *rtin*) Elmore. The Fitzpatricks were from Greene county, the Elmores from Laurens district, the Betheas from Marion ict, and the Martins from Edgefield district, S. C., all being ilies of character and note. Gen. John Archer Elmore was a ier in the Revolution. Mr. Fitzpatrick was educated in pri- schools with a year at the Agricultural and Mechanical Col- e, Auburn. Employed as a clerk in the office of the register in ncery of Montgomery county, he read law, and July 13, 1882, s admitted to the bar. After a short stay in Montgomery, he rmanently located in Wetumpka where he continuously practiced ntil his death, Aug. 9, 1900. He was county solicitor at that te. He was a Democrat and an active party worker. He was Mason; and had been at different times a member of the Mont- omery independent rifles, and of the Elmore volunteers. Al- nough not a member of any denomination, he inclined to the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Fitzpatrick was progressive and as- piring, and a useful citizen. He was married Feb. 23, 1893, to Mary A., daughter of Lamar and Mary Graham (*Campbell*) Cantalou, of Wetumpka, Ala., and his wife and infant son survive him. On July 1, 1899, he was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society.

Jemison,[2] William Carlos, born in Tuscaloosa, Ala., Dec. 2, 1850, was the son of William H. and Elizabeth Armentine (*Pat-*

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[1] Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 109, 240, 453, 478, and *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 934-5. *See also* sketch of "Benjamin Fitzpatrick and the Vice-Presidency," p. 357.

rick) Jemison, and grandson of William and Sarah (*Mims*) Jemison. The Jemisons were early settlers in Tuscaloosa county from Lincoln and Twiggs counties, Ga.; and the Patricks were from Pennsylvania. Although but a lad Mr. Jemison was a 2nd sergeant in the Confederate States Army. After the close of the war, having by hard application prepared himself to teach, he became master of St. John's parochial school, Huntingdon, near Baltimore, Md., where he remained, 1868-69. Returning South he prepared himself for the bar, graduating at the State University law school in 1874, with the degree of LL. B. He practiced until 1887, when he entered altogether upon business pursuits. He was mayor of Tuscaloosa, 1880-90, 1894-1900. During his incumbency as chief executive of the city he brought about many marked municipal improvements. In public enterprises he took an advanced position, and was aggressive and progressive. He was an earnest party worker in the Democratic ranks. As an alumnus of the University he was devoted to its enlargements and growth. His health had been failing for some time, and he went west to recuperate, but died at Galveston, Texas, March 28, 1901. He was interred at Tuscaloosa. Mr. Jemison was twice married: (1) Feb. 24, 1879, at Ocean Springs, Miss., to Eliska, daughter of J. G. W. Leftwich; and (2) July 10, 1889, at Talladega, Ala., to Clara Roberts, daughter of Louis Jones and wife Eliza Jane Barr. His last wife, and two children by each marriage survive him. He was elected to membership in the Alabama Historical Society, June 16, 1884.

MOORE, MARTIN VANBUREN, was born at Shown's Cross Roads, Johnson county, Tenn., April 12, 1837, died at Auburn, Ala., Sept. 1, 1900, and is buried at Lenoir, N. C. His father, Greene Moore, was born in 1798 in a house that stood on the old Guilford Court House battleground. When quite a young man he removed to Tennessee, where he married Sarah Shown,

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[2] *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, pp. 532, 540; Palmer's *Register of the University of Alabama*, p. 229; Wm. R. Smith's *Reminiscences*, p. 298; Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 563; *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 298; the Tuscaloosa *Times*, May 12, 1899, and March 28, 1901; and the *Crimson-White*, University of Alabama, April 5, 1901.

a daughter of one of the sturdy German pioneers in the mountain valleys of that State. The Showns were originally from Pennsylvania. Greene Moore was a useful citizen, a successful merchant and farmer, and of literary inclinations, which he transmitted to his son, Martin V. Moore. The latter received a substantial primary education, and was trained for mercantile pursuits. He taught two years, and for some time pursued a course of legal instruction. The latter he abandoned before attaining his majority. At the outbreak of the war in 1861 he was travelling salesman for Kent, Paine and Company, a manufacturing establishment of Richmond, Va. In Jan., 1861, he embarked in mercantile pursuits on his own account in Wautauga county, N. C. After the fall of Fort Sumter he assisted in raising a command, which subsequently became Co. E, 37th N. C. infantry, but it was not immediately received into the service, and he enlisted in Aug., 1861, in Co. D, 1st N. C. cavalry, then in camp of instruction near Raleigh. After serving with this gallant command for more than a year, he was promoted captain and assistant quartermaster, and assigned to duty with the 7th N. C. cavalry battalion in command of Lt. Col. G. N. Folk. It later became the 6th N. C. regiment of cavalry. He served continuously with this regiment until the end of the struggle. He was in many severe engagements and battles, endured many hardships, and had many narrow escapes from death. In September, 1865, he removed to Lenoir, N. C., where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. In June, 1885, he was appointed a post office inspector, and assigned to duty on the Pacific coast, with headquarters at San Francisco. On September, 1889, he left the service owing to a change of administration. Captain Moore's later years were spent at Auburn. He was at various times interested in manufacturing enterprises, agricultural pursuits, and cotton mill industries. He took great interest in scientific agriculture, and had exhibits and received premiums at the World's Fair in Vienna, 1876, and several of the State fairs of N. C., and the Exposition at Atlanta, 1895. Capt. Moore during his whole life manifested the liveliest interest in literature, and he contributed to numbers of magazines and periodicals. He has published *The Rhyme of the Southern rivers* (1897) and has left a number of unpublished works. He was a Methodist, a Mason, and a Democrat. He was

married (1) Aug. 10, 1864, at Camden, S. C., to Sallie Elizabeth Lenoir, by whom he had several children; and (2) March 15, 1892, at Talladega, Ala., to Mrs. Idora (*McClellan*) Plowman, daughter of Gen. Wm. B. McClellan and widow of Albert W. Plowman. The second Mrs. Moore has achieved a national reputation under the pen name of "Betsy Hamilton." Capt. Moore joined the Alabama Historical Society Oct. 26, 1898.

PETTUS,[3] FRANCIS LEIGH, was born in Kemper county, Miss., Oct. 7, 1858, and was the son of Gen. Edmund Winston and Mary Lucinda (*Chapman*) Pettus, grandson of John and Alice Taylor (*Winston*) Pettus, and of Judge Samuel and Mary L. (*Newell*) Chapman, and great-grandson of Capt. Anthony Winston, a Revolutionary soldier. Judge Samuel Chapman, one of the prominent early public men of Alabama was the son of Col. Reuben Chapman, "a colonial official" (son of Reuben Chapman a Scotch emigrant), and wife Anne Reynolds, whose mother was Sophia, daughter of Col. Richard Miller, a Revolutionary official, of Caroline county, Va. Edmund W. Pettus was a brigadier-general from Alabama in the War between the States, and is now (1903) serving his second term as U. S. senator from Alabama. He is a distinguished lawyer, and one of the most useful men who ever resided in the State.

His son, Hon. Francis L. Pettus, was reared principally in Selma, and received his primary education in the public schools of that city and in the private schools of Miss Lucy Nelson and Prof. D. M. Calloway. He attended the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington for one year. Returning home on account of failing health, he spent some time upon a farm. Having recovered his health, he entered Davidson College, N. C., where he took a two years classical course. He left college in 1877 and removed to Texas, where for a year he was in the employ of the commission house of John D. Rogers & Co., of Galveston. Having determined to become a lawyer, he returned to Selma, read law in

[3] *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 667; *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 900, 904; Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, p. 382; Hardy's *History of Selma*, p. 175; Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 227, 334, 530; *Alabama Official and Statistical Register*, 1903, pp. 24-5; and R. A. Brock's *Vestry Book* of St. John's Parish, Richmond, Va. For full account of Winston and related families *see* Mrs. Mell's paper on "Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Alabama," *infra*.

the office of his father, and on April 9, 1879, he was admitted to practice. Opening an office in Selma, that city became his home and the scene of his professional labors during the rest of his life. At one time he was a member of the law firm of Pettus & Dawson, and at the time of his death was practicing in partnership with his father, Gen. E. W. Pettus. In 1880 he entered upon his political career, having been chosen a delegate to the Democratic State convention of Alabama. He was a member of each subsequent State convention until his death. In 1882 he became secretary to the chief justice, a position he held for two years. Elected to the house of representatives of Alabama in 1886 he was re-elected in 1888, 1890, 1892, 1900, serving as speaker in 1892 and 1900. In 1894 he was elected to the State senate, and at the session of that year was elected its president. It is said of him that "From the first Mr. Pettus took an active part in shaping legislation and soon gained a reputation amongst his constituents for faithfulness and ability, thus securing their confidence and esteem." During his long legislative career he was a central figure, served on the most important committees, and was pre-eminently a leader of men. During the administration of Gov. Thomas Seay he served on his military staff with the rank of colonel. He was a prominent Mason, having filled the exalted post of grand master of the Grand Lodge of Alabama. He was a member of the Knights of Pythias, and of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks. He was a Presbyterian in religious belief. On Oct. 28, 1880, at Selma, he married Mary Eleanor, daughter of Maj. Wm. S. Knox of that place. For years Mr. Pettus had been a sufferer from rheumatism, and his health was so much impaired during the last part of the session of the house of representatives of 1900-1901, that he was unable to perform his duties as speaker and Hon. A. M. Tunstall was elected speaker *pro tem.* On March 6, 1901, the crisis in his condition came, and at 6.10 a. m. he passed away at the home of Hon. J. Craig Smith in the city of Montgomery on the day following the adjournment of the general assembly. Every demonstration of sympathy and respect was accorded his memory. He was interred at Selma, Ala. Gov. Wm. J. Samford at once issued a proclamation in which he said:

"In full possession of all his faculties, at the zenith of a splendid manhood, loved and respected by his associates, honored without

stint by his people, who knew him so well, in charity with all mankind, and with the mantle of duty upon him, just as the rays of light of this morning were clothing the hill tops with the gorgeous splendors of a new day, this brave man fell to sleep at the post assigned him by a trusting people, as his manly form went down beneath the attack of a remorseless and persistent disease."

Mr. Pettus united with the Alabama Historical Society Dec. 3, 1898.

VERNER,[4] WILLIAM HENRY, son of Ebenezer Pettigrew and Emily (*Foster*) Verner, was born at Retreat, Oconee county, S. C., Aug. 31, 1846. On the paternal side he is of Scotch-Irish stock. William Verner, after the battle of the Boyne, in which he was a Protestant soldier, settled in county Tyrone, Ireland. His son, John Verner, married Mary Pettigrew in Ireland, migrated to Pennsylvania, and thence to South Carolina. Of his sons, John Verner, Jr., married Rebecca Dickey, and was the father of Ebenezer Pettigrew Verner. Both John Verner, Sr., and John Verner, Jr., were soldiers in the Revolution, and the latter was for fifty years a magistrate in Pendleton district, S. C. Emily (*Foster*) Verner was the daughter of Robert and Susan (*Young*) Foster, and granddaughter of John Foster, a captain in the Revolution. Capt. John Foster resided in Greenville county, S. C., and his is the first will of record there. Wm. H. Verner received his early education at various private schools. He was graduated, with distinction, from Davidson College, N. C., in 1869, receiving the degree of A. B., and three years later the degree of A. M. He had the honorary degree of A. M. conferred upon him also by the University of Alabama in 1890. He enlisted in the military service of the Confederacy in 1864 and though but a youth held the office of lieutenant, often acting as captain of a company of cavalry in the 19th South Carolina regiment. His career as teacher began at Eutaw, Ala., and afterwards he taught at Pleasant Ridge, where he was principal of the noted Archibald institute. He came to Tuscaloosa in 1877 and conducted a high school for boys, and in 1886 established the University High School, a preparatory school for the University of Alabama, with military dis-

[4] *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 527.

cipline. Here he demonstrated marked ability as an instructor and disciplinarian, and the institution was noted as being a model school for training young men and boys either for higher scholastic attainments, or the active pursuits of business. His personal magnetism and rare charm of manner, together with his own pure and exalted life, impressed his lessons of the true principles of manhood upon the minds of his pupils in a way that they never forgot. He was for some time president of the Druid City Literary Club at Tuscaloosa, and was also a member of the Alabama Historical Society to which he was elected June 19, 1894. Occasionally he contributed articles of an ephemeral character to the periodicals.

Although his attention was given principally to educational matters, he was interested in every thing pertaining to the good of the community. For many years prior to his death he was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and was also a member of the Democratic party. His interest in temperance legislation was well known. Professor Verner married Julia Louise, daughter of Isaac and Julia (*Murphy*) Oliver, of Eutaw, Ala. Five children were born to this union. He died at his home in Tuscaloosa, Sept. 10, 1900, leaving an honored name and an example worthy of imitation. His remains lie buried in the city of his adoption.

YERBY,[5] JOHN D., late superintendent of the Mobile public schools, was born in Greensboro, Ala., May 9, 1860. He was a son of Miles Hassell and Susan (*Gibson*) Yerby. His father, Prof. Yerby, was a native of Tuscaloosa county, Ala., and a graduate of the State University. He spent his life in the work of educating the young, being engaged in this profession for about half a century prior to his death, which occurred in Greensboro, Ala., on Nov. 10, 1900, at the age of 74 years. The mother of Yerby was born at Camden, Ala., in October, 1833, and still resides at Greensboro, Ala. Prof. Yerby received his primary education in the school taught by his father, and completed his course at the Southern University, Greensboro, Ala., with the degree of A. B., at the age of eighteen years. In 1896 the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him by the University of Alabama. At the age of nineteen, Prof. Yerby went to Mobile and entered the service of

[5] *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 573.

the school board as a teacher in the boys' senior grammar school of Barton Academy, of which school he subsequently became principal, which latter position he filled till he was elected superintendent of the Mobile public schools in 1895. The duties of this position he discharged faithfully and conscientiously until his death on August 10, 1900. In 1885 Prof. Yerby was married to Gabriella Bullock, of Mobile, who, together with one daughter, survives him. At the time of his death, Prof. Yerby was treasurer of the Southern Educational Association. Teaching was his life work, and he was thoroughly in love with his profession; and as to his success in his chosen field the following resolutions adopted by the board of school commissioners of Mobile county at a meeting held in September, 1900, in some measure testify:

"*Resolved,* That in the death of Professor John D. Yerby, this board has lost a faithful and conscientious officer, the public schools an earnest worker in their behalf, the members of this board a wise counsellor.

"*Resolved,* That during his connection with the public school system, both as teacher and superintendent, he has faithfully discharged every trust reposed in him, and that the results of his labors are a monument that will make him long remembered by those associated with him as well as by those who received the benefit of his instruction."

Prof. Yerby became a member of the Alabama Historical Society Jan. 4, 1899.

III. ADDRESS ON THE PRESENTATION OF CROSSES OF HONOR TO CONFEDERATE VETERANS BY THE R. E. RODES CHAPTER, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

By Tennent Lomax.[1]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is an honor to any man to be chosen to represent a chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy upon any occasion because that organization, in very truth, represents all that there is of goodness and beauty and purity in this Southern land. There is added honor in such a choice when the occasion is one prepared and designed for the conferring of honor upon the Confederate veteran, for no man is so exalted that it will not lend him dignity to do homage to the men "who wore the gray." There is multiplied honor in such selection when the chapter he is to represent bears the historic name of Robert E. Rodes, who upon unnumbered fields of blood and carnage illustrated the fame and made glorious the name of the Alabama soldier and finally sealed in his heart's blood, upon the fiery crest of battle, his devotion to the glorious cause of the "storm-cradled nation that fell." I, therefore, feel it a proud privilege under such auspices, and for such purposes, to be called upon to perform a part in these ceremonies, and that the obligation rests upon me,—an obligation I fear I shall but feebly repay by the manner in which I perform the part assigned me upon this occasion.

This is an historic day upon which we are met. It is the birthday of him who was commander-in-chief of the glorious armies of the Confederate States;—of him upon whose shoulders rested the awful weight of the gigantic struggle of the South;—of him upon whose feeble frame was laid the heavy hand of punishment for her people's alleged sin, and whose stainless hands were manacled to humiliate and degrade her proud sons;—of him into

[1] Mr. Lomax died Nov. 22, 1902, at Montgomery, Ala., and is there buried. *See* sketch *infra*.

whose spotless soul for twenty years were sunk the poisoned shafts of the concentrated hate of a whole people, but, who, under all circumstances and in all conditions, in the flush and pride of victory, amid the sorrow and gloom of disaster and defeat, in the humiliation and trial of unjust and cruel punishment, and under the taunts and gibes of vindictive malice, was true to his principles, maintained his manhood unsullied, preserved his honor untarnished, and with unbroken spirit, unstained virtue, undiminished pride and unfaltering courage, vindicated for all coming time, his right to be called the noblest type of American manhood. Need I name him?—Jefferson Davis! He has passed from earth and taken his place at the head of the shadowy hosts of those immortal armies that mustered at his call. Borne to his grave by the rulers of the proud commonwealths whose leader he had been and followed by the sorrow and tears of a whole people, his memory is the sacred heritage of his countrymen, and his fame is as eternal as the heavens.

Upon such a day are we assembled here to confer crosses of honor upon veterans of the grand armies that he commanded and to confer these decorations in the name of the women of the South. Do we need the authority of precedent for our conduct here? If so, we have it in the fact that the sovereigns of all nations, ancient or modern, confer crosses of honor upon their soldiers. Have we sovereigns here in this democratic land? I answer that we have, and have always had, in this Southland an unbroken line of sovereigns, and they have been as they are today, the women of the South. There has never been a challenge of their sovereignty, and there never will be until the spirit of Southern manhood is broken and destroyed. By right of natural sovereignty then, these crosses are bestowed by the women of the South,—those women and their descendants, who in the days that are gone, made a record of devotion and sacrifice to the cause they loved and the country they adored unequalled in the world's history, because there cannot be found an instance in all the vastness of by-gone ages that will bear comparison with the unfading hope, the unexampled heroism, the unshaken fortitude, the untiring ardor and the unspeakable toil and sacrifice displayed and endured by Southern women during the four years' ordeal of fire through which they passed, and which won for them, from

the lips of an enemy that splendid tribute, "the men of the South may be overcome, but the spirit of her women is invincible." And when all was over, and nothing was left us but our devastated fields and ruined homes, her undaunted courage gleamed forth, to use the language of another, "like the diamond crushed and ground to powder by the mills of the gods, with its particles all scattered, yet glistening in beauty even in the dust of misfortune," and her matchless fidelity shown in the surrounding gloom with the brilliancy of the stars in the ebon vault of night. Such are the donors of these bronze "badges of courage" and cherished tokens of love. What of him who is the guest of honor upon this occasion and who is to be the proud recipient of this priceless cross of honor? He was a Confederate soldier is answer enough to this inquiry, because the story of the valor and devotion of the Confederate soldier will be wafted in the melodious music of a grand anthem of praise "athwart the world and adown the ages" "to the last syllable of recorded time." The fame of the Confederate soldier is too vivid and widespread, his proud record is too sacredly cherished in the land for which he fought, his devotion is too deeply implanted in every Southern heart, and his glory is too bright and inextinguishable to need word of praise or eulogy from any speaker, though he "spoke with the tongues of angels" or was gifted with speech like that of Him who "spake as never man spake." Nor have we need of the "crumbling marble" or the "cankering brass" to tell to the descendants of the Confederate soldier, or to future ages, the victories that he won against overwhelming odds, the brilliant charges that he made, the sufferings that he endured in the cold bivouac and the frozen trench, and the fortitude and devotion with which he clung, till his country's hopes were shattered, to that star-crossed banner, "which no longer reflects the light of the morning sunbeam, nor kisses, with its silken folds, the genial breezes of our Southern clime."

"No works of art are here,
No monuments appear
Commemorative of a lordly race;
Yet we can proudly stand
On our beloved land,
And look the garnered ages in the face."

Take history's glittering page and read me the story of some

heroic deed done by a valiant soul who seemed to feel that his country's life lay in the strength of his single arm, and saved a nation as he lost his life, and, in the chronicle of the four years' struggle for Southern independence, I can point out an act, done by some unknown son of fortune and of fame, which, in its grand sublimity, o'ertops it, as does the giant oak of the forest the dwarfed sapling that struggles at its root. Read again the blood stained record of some gallant charge, where the life of an army depended upon the success of a chosen band, or the fate of nations was changed by the bloody repulse of a terrible onslaught, and the victory at Wagram is obscured by the glories of Chickamauga, and Ney and the Old Guard at Waterloo are eclipsed by the charge of Pickett at Gettysburg. Tell me further of the bloody defense of Saragossa, and the terrible sufferings of the besiegers in the snow-clad trenches around Sebastopol, wrapped in her icy cloak, then hear me as I recite the glories of the siege of Vicksburg, and the misery and starvation of the barefoot warriors in the trenches at Petersburg, and say, if you can, that within the sacred tomes of historic lore, there can be found a fitting parallel to the gallant deeds and heroic struggles of that noble band of patriots that fought for Southern rights and Southern independence in the great war between the States.

But why dwell on these glorious recollections? No word that I can utter can add another leaf to the beautiful chaplet of renown that bedecks the brow of the Confederate soldier. In the beautiful language of an orator who has "passed over the river," "his fame, like a vestal lamp, is lighted up, and it shall burn with the world as its temple, and the fair assemblies of the earth shall trim it with their praises." Every home and heart "from the broad and calm Potomac to the Rio Grande's wave" contribute to

> "Shed a beauty round his name—
> A light that like a star shall beam
> Lustrous and large—a golden glory
> Adown the Future's gliding stream
> To gild his country's morning story."

IV. THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY.

By Joel Campbell DuBose,[1] Birmingham.

At the close of this the seventieth year since the opening of this University it would be profitable to recount the history of those whose names are registered as professors and matriculates. Even in the earliest history of her life this University was most fortunate in the congregation of mighty spirits about her. Dr. Henry Tutwiler in the chair of ancient languages and literature; the superb Henry W. Hilliard, lifting young manhood into the delights of English literature; John F. Wallis, in chemistry, mineralogy and geology; Gurdon Saltonstall and Wm. W. Hudson in the departments of mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy; and Rev. Alva Woods, the learned president, in the chair of metaphysics; these were the first masters who gave the original impulses to the university life of the State of Alabama. While the president was a little late in arriving, he was ably represented by Dr. Henry Tutwiler as the first acting president, whose gentle spirit and scholarly attainments fixed the impression of merited esteem and affectionate regard in the minds of the young men of the University. This list of great names might be much extended. Frederick A. P. Barnard, Rev. Basil Manly, Landon C. Garland, Richard T. Brumby, Horace S. Pratt,

[1] Joel Campbell DuBose, of Birmingham, was born December 17, 1855. near Gaston, Sumter county, Ala., and is the son of Benj. Eusebius DuBose, a native of South Carolina, who removed to Sumter county, and wife Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac and Martha Horn, who lived in the same county. Mr. DuBose was educated at Mt. Sterling high school, Choctaw county, kept by S. S. Mellen, whence he matriculated at the University of Alabama, where he was graduated in the class of 1878 with the degree of A. B.; and in 1880 he received the honorary degree of M. A. He was principal of a private academy at Birmingham for many years. At the general election of 1902, he was elected a representative from Jefferson county in the Alabama legislature as a Democrat. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. On August 8, 1883, he married Alice Vivian, daughter of William T. and Eliza J. Horn, of Pushmataha, Ala. Mr. DuBose has published *Sketches of Alabama History*, (1900); "Aeschylus and The Seven against Thebes;" in the *Methodist Review*, September-October, 1899; and a sketch of Alabama, in *Pearson's Magazine*, June, 1902. He was one of the founders of the Gulf States Historical Magazine, and is at present (1904) its editor and proprietor.—Editor.

Michael Tuomey, John W. Mallet, Samuel M. Stafford, John W. Pratt, and others, are names suggestive of all that is most desirable and far reaching in educational and moral attainments. Some who began teaching beyond the fifties still linger in the beloved halls inviting the young to highest ideals.

And what brilliant lights illumine the scroll of the young matriculates. It is not strange, but wonderfully instructive, that so many members of the early classes became distinguished in civil, professional, mercantile and martial life. It would be invidious almost to cull the lists. Alexander B. Meek, the poet, orator and journalist; Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Confederate fame; Dr. John B. Read, inventor of the Parrott gun; Oran M. Roberts, who rose to the governorship of Texas and left his impress in the statutes and literature of that great commonwealth. These and hundreds of other sons of this University have risen to proud success through the inspiration of environment, the consciousness that education is the implement of integrity and the guide of gentlemen.

It would be a fitting tribute to Tuskaloosa to weave into the history of the University the influence of her people upon the student body. As the capital of the State, as the city on the hill at the head of navigation of a river leading from mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, as the center of social refinement and intellectual activities, Tuskaloosa was thronged with men and women who represented the best element of the old South. That her life should be an object lesson, giving the young sons of Alabama encouragement in studies and the polish of social intercourse, is but the developed outgrowth of that wisdom which determined the location of this University upon the present site.

But a wider scope than this University is to involve my subject. I shall speak to-day briefly upon "The Ideal University." No effort will be directed to discussion of the rise and magnitude of universities of the countries of Europe, wherein learning has for ages given prestige and veneration to established systems. Any one of the great universities of England, of Germany, of France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, or other country, would furnish history fraught with profound interest. It would call forth the history of education, and portray the national growth of the people in whose midst it nestles and whose institutions it has

brought into being and shaped for the happiness and political destiny of the nation. I use the term "political" in its nobler, broader sense regarding the public weal, making it applicable to whatever affects citizenship, rather than restricting it to the selfish exclusiveness of suffrage and of office. Thoroughness and original research have heretofore been the distinction claimed for courses in European universities, but American institutions have imbibed the tense spirit of the older universities; and of American universities I shall speak.

The small colleges, a theme well discussed by Dr. Wm. R. Harper, of Chicago University, have done a great work in education. They have many things which give peculiar fitness for good results. Their smaller number of professors and students guarantees the benefits of closer, friendlier intimacy than can be expected in the greater universities; but in the universities the restrictions of college give place to perfect freedom and the independence resulting conduces largely to the confirmation of lofty manhood.

There has been great munificence in the endowments of American universities. Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Chicago, Leland Stanford Jr., Johns Hopkins, and others, have felt the flow of large sympathies through rich endowments. The crude academic curriculum of Harvard in 1636 contrasted with the two hundred courses now offered at her shrine, indicates the mighty difference between her past and her present. It was Ezra Cornell who defined a university as a place where any man could go and learn about any subject that interested him. Clark University at Worcester, Massachusetts, is the only one in America where only postgraduate investigation is conducted. The undergraduate courses of the six or seven greatest American universities lead one to reflect as did one of years gone by, that students should not wish to visit Europe except for the gratification of traveling. There can be no question as to opportunities offered, and there can be no doubt that the intellect finds a delightful freedom and glorious assurances in entering the portals of the American universities. The cravings for knowledge to make society better, for intellectual and moral growth, for the power to interpret nature, to appreciate art, to relieve human wretchedness, to promote virtue, to enlarge wisdom, to foster integrity, to master the laws of

health, to obliterate ignorance and bigotry, and make secure the pursuit of happiness and the possession of life and property; these longings find their best initial life and continuous support in the great universities.

The characteristics of a university have been as changeable as the temperament of the people. Different environments, different impulses springing out of discoveries and developed resources, make demand for changing curricula; and yet that education is always safest whose foundations have been slowly laid in broad and liberal culture. Dr. Daniel C. Gilman has well said that "the object of the university is to develop character, to make men. It misses its aim when it produces learned pedants, or simple artisans, or cunning sophists, or pretentious practitioners. The purport is to whet the appetitie, to exhibit methods, develop powers, strengthen judgment, and invigorate the intellectual and moral forces."

Let us look at the conditions out of which the great American universities have been evolved. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania have enlarged gradually from foundations in former centuries. The later universities, Cornell, Vanderbilt, Johns Hopkins, Tulane, Chicago, Leland Stanford Jr., the Universities of Texas and of California, have become giants of the first magnitude within a single generation. Cornell was established thirty-three years ago, Vanderbilt a little later, Chicago in 1889, and Johns Hopkins in 1876,—just twenty-five years ago. Cornell became rich in landed endowments, the gift of Ezra Cornell; Vanderbilt by the munificence of Cornelius Vanderbilt; Chicago by the friendly millions of John D. Rockerfeller; Leland Stanford, Jr., by the melancholy drowning of the son from whom it derives its name, stands as a memorial to that son from Senator and Mrs. Stanford. It is estimated that its foundation and endowment fund exceeds twenty millions of dollars; and Johns Hopkins with $3,500,000 to its university departments and $3,500,000 to a hospital, marks the ascent of its founder through fortune "to the higher and more arduous temple of Charity."

The rapid development and immense patronage of these later universities tell the power of money in securing professors and supplying the material equipment essential to studies and research.

They stand eminent in all the prestige of great responsibilities ably fulfilled.

Another prominent cause of success is the wisdom of their governing bodies in selecting presidents and professors. Cornell has had only two presidents within thirty-three years of its life, Andrew D. White and Charles G. Schurman; California has had two, Daniel C. Gilman and Benjamin Ide Wheeler; Vanderbilt has had two, Landon C. Garland and James H. Kirkland; Chicago has had one, Wm. R. Harper; and Johns Hopkins one, Daniel C. Gilman who was called to it from the presidency of the University of California twenty-five years ago. The long continued service of the presidents gave stability and confidence, invited patronage and endowments, and enabled the trustees to catch the spirit of the president, and thereby act in harmony for the common good. It brought the recognition of the superior qualification of university men to decide questions of international dispute, for representatives of Johns Hopkins, Cornell, the Universities of California and Indiana have been made members of the commissions sent by the United States to Venezuela and the Philippines, when Great Britain and Venezuela were contesting boundaries, and when the victories of United States forces in the Philippines called for investigation into the condition of those far away islands. It has been seriously suggested that the proper tribunal to which to submit all international questions will be the law faculty of a great international university.

It would be difficult to define the full power and utility of universities. They have found expression in lifting the ideals of families, in adjusting commerce, in respect for law and the purifying of religious belief, and in the advancement of knowledge; in conservatism, protecting science and religion from the error of fanaticism, in refining the senses; in distributing knowledge; in making truth the object of search and proclaiming it to the world regardless of plaudits or reproaches; these are among the highest blessings of the university. To accomplish fully its work with man, the faculty should be selected with special reference to the ability to inspire. Better that a young man should never enter a university than that he should come under the sterilizing influence of a time-serving professor. This being true, no professor should be allowed to remain in a university unless his pupils be-

come saturated with the love of his subject, unless a reasonable number become specialists and advance beyond the known limits of the subject. It is not so much the quantity as it is the quality of the instruction that forms the character of the matriculates. It is not altogether the impartation of knowledge that makes the university education desirable. The preservation of the knowledge of the past and present, and saving it for uses, is another university essential. By this means the quickening of genius, the development of latent talent, and the formative elements of all progress are kept in force. Exceptional genius will rise above all difficulties, and through discovery and invention give a larger scope to human vision, and produce the means for conserving human energy so that the engines drive machinery and the occult laws of nature do his bidding; and yet were it not that universities register what has been acquired of knowledge, and project ideas to invite the world to continuous progress, there would be fewer successes to untutored genius. The very fact that so many things have been discovered after the philosophers have dreamed them, give evidence of the life that goes from universities to the lowliest classes.

Literature and devotion to religion must be ever guarded. By religion is not meant adherence to creed, but a profound love for the high spirituality in man, and the consciousness of truth beyond the expressed formulae of creeds. A university should gather about it the greatest and most active spirits of the age. Its impulses must give tone to manhood and womanhood, and it is criminal to retain in it unfit exemplars of intellectual, moral and spiritual forces. That is "The Ideal University" where all the influences conspire to quicken intellect, to protect health, to preserve and enlarge the treasures of the ages, to develop the high qualities of all the senses, to make man capable of discharging wisely all the duties that may come to him, and by contact with nature and by study of science and man, to use all for promoting the happiness of mankind.

Would that this University of Alabama were this "ideal university." She has had a glorious history. She has felt the embarrassments of her State-squandered endowments and the depression of poverty. It may be said that her presidents were ideal leaders of youth. Her professors have ranked among the best.

With a beautiful campus in a spot as beautiful as can be found, with a nearby river and woodland backgrounds, with well-equipped laboratories, with a foundation worthy the regards of a great people, she should forge far ahead of her past and present. She has not met fully the public expectations. The claim that politics dominates her, whether true or false, has made her a by-word and reproach with many. To-day her faculty compare favorably with the masters in like positions in other institutions. But what you trustees are now called upon to do—select a president—is a duty which comes to you too often. Pardon me, but you have within the last twenty-five years had seven presidents here. A like history does not obtain in the universities that have outstripped this one in winning public approbation. Dr. Gilman has been president of Johns Hopkins for twenty-five years. Dr. Harper has been president of the University of Chicago since it was opened. The selection of a president with like fitness as these will make this university powerful in drawing endowments to her treasury, and inviting the assurance that the fortunes amassed in our midst will be left as legacies for her enlargement and for the enrichment of her courses of study. Men who spend their energies in amassing wealth recognize the power of money, and when retirement gives freedom from the cares of active business, their minds turn to the proper disposition after death of their fortunes. To place a fund in a strong institution, where young spirits will be trained for citizenship, is a temptation appealing alike to judgment and pride. If convinced that wise counsels will prevail in the management of the institution, and that the power of money will be used to the perpetual good of young manhood and young womanhood, rich men through their wills in probate will reveal bequests to aid the progress of educational enterprises. For this and other weighty reasons, you, gentlemen, ought to select a scholarly educator as the president of this university, He should be big-hearted, big brained, sympathetic, far seeing, masterful in thought and appearance, whose visit to any portion of the country, and whose presence in any body of distinguished men, would give the impression that he was the peer of the princeliest in all the elements of greatness. Such a man will lift the ambition of students, and will govern with the strength and dignity of a master. The rule of right will natur-

ally assume direction of affairs, public confidence will become an inspiration, and this University will be more lovingly enshrined in the affections and sympathies of her sons and daughters, her friends and benefactors.

You have heretofore taken the wrong method to secure a president. You have announced that you would give a certain salary for him and your honorable board has been greeted by many applicants. You should find the man who measures to the stature of the president of a great university, and then offer him as a salary $2,500 per annum and the use of the president's mansion as a home. If this sum does not secure him, make the offer of $3,500, and if this does not engage him, make the salary $5,000 or even $10,000, and then cut off some of your departments of study, if you have not the money to give that much salary and keep up the departments. If you do not observe these suggestions, you will but repeat the history of the last twenty-five years; you will have to be continually on the lookout for presidents, and as a consequence no endowments will come, unstable conditions will prevail, and many sons and daughters of Alabama will go to other States for university training. Find the right man, secure him regardless of a few thousand dollars, and the University of Alabama will flourish as never before in her history.

V. HENRY W. HILLIARD.

By Miss Toccoa Cozart,[1] Montgomery.

During the last few years there has been a decided revival of interest in Southern history. Calhoun, Yancey, and their followers are beginning to receive proper attention; but is it not strange that the statesmen who advocated the opposite policy—that of moderation—have received scarcely any notice from Southern writers? Many of these were men of high character and recognized ability, and without a knowledge of their views it is impossible to do justice to the causes that led up to the events of 1861-65.

[1] Miss Toccoa Cozart was born in Atlanta, Ga., but just before the outbreak of the War between the States removed with her widowed mother to Montgomery, Ala., and her earliest impressions, therefore, are Alabamian. She has lively recollections of her school days during reconstruction times in Montgomery—and in Atlanta also, for it was in the Cozart family of Atlanta that the Chipley family found comforters during the political persecution of Capt. W. D. Chipley by the United States authorities. Her interest in his case was keen and vivid, and she gave breathless attention to its details. Perhaps here was struck the little root that was later to grow into an all absorbing love of history—and its makers. For years Miss Cozart's life was the ordinary one of a Southern woman with refined surroundings. Her home was, in the old days, one of the loveliest spots in Montgomery. Situated on the crest of South Perry street, the view was charming, the wide old white house gleaming through its magnificent screen of stately cedars and sweeping elms. Here she spent her quiet days reading and gathering from the rich materials of her associations—the sweet influences of a cultured circle of friends—the strength which she was later to put into her work as a teacher. But time wrought its sad changes; the family circle was broken; the old home passed away in ashes; and stately homes of strangers now cover the once wide lawns and orchards. In 1890 Miss Cozart accepted a position as teacher in a country high school. Her experiences were so rich, her enthusiasm grew so great, that she determined to fit herself properly for this most sacred calling, therefore the following year found her in the State Normal College at Florence, Ala. Here she felt she had found her life work, but the climate was too severe for her mother's health, and she returned to Montgomery, where for three years she taught in Capitol Hill school. Her health demanding rest, she concluded to try the adage "Don't stop, but change your work!" In the fall of 1897 she entered the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, for special work in English and history. Here her energies found full opportunities in the original research work encouraged by Dr. George Petrie, Professor of History. For the past five years she has studied and written under the encouragement and criticism of this clear minded scholar. If heredity means anything, then her interest in the makers of history is but natural, for Miss Cozart is descended from the Turners and Carrolls of Maryland, the Williamsons, Mangums and Persons of North Carolina and the Crosslands of South Carolina. She is the daughter of Wiley and Hannah Page (*MacIntyre*) Cozart.—Editor.

Henry W. Hilliard not only belonged to this moderate element, but was one of its most conspicuous leaders; and for that reason his life and opinions ought to have, at least for Alabamians, an especial interest.

He was born in Fayetteville, N. C., Aug. 4, 1808.[2] His father moved to Columbia, S. C., where the young son was graduated from South Carolina College at the age of sixteen. He then studied law in the office of Wm. C. Preston, for whom he entertained a most loving friendship through life. He was as precocious at the law as in college, for he was admitted to the bar at the age of nineteen. Very shortly after this he went to Athens, Ga., to live.

Mr. Hilliard at an early period in his career had joined the itinerancy of the Methodist Church—a connection which was never entirely severed even amidst the subsequent cares of public life.

In 1831 the University of Alabama chose its first faculty; and papers[3] of that day relate that "the Reverend Mr. Hilliard has been chosen Professor of Literature." The name of Hilliard is thus identified with the beginnings of our State's great institution. He did not enter upon the duties of his new position until the University had been in operation several months. He was but twenty-three when called to so high an honor.[4]

A year later, while Tuscaloosa was the capital of Alabama, Mr. Hilliard delivered before the general assembly of the State a eulogy on Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

After serving three years in the University, he resigned and settled in Montgomery, Ala., to practice law. In 1835 he decided to enter politics, and became a candidate for the legislature; he was elected. Garrett,[5] in his *Reminiscences of Public Men* says, "Hilliard came into the House with a reputation for ability, and qualities as a gentleman, which he fully sustained." Under the influence of Wm. C. Preston, he had naturally imbibed the political doctrines of the Whig party. Garrett thus defines his

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[2] Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, p. 93, also "Hilliard" in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography;* also same in the Century *Dictionary of Names.*

[3] Tuscaloosa *Chronicle*, Sept. 31, 1831, now in possession of Dr. Petrie, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

[4] W. G. Clark's *History of Education in Alabama*, p. 39.

[5] Garrett, p. 96.

position: "A Whig of the States' rights School,[6] ardently devoted to the interests of the South, yet, in his patriotism, embracing the whole country."

A careful investigation of Hilliard's political career in the light of his speeches, printed newspaper articles, and adverse criticisms of political opponents goes to prove that he held tenaciously to the creed of the Whigs. It is found, like a shining silken thread, leading through the mysteries of Know-Nothingism and then in and again out of the Democratic ranks, as he goes on seeking his ideal national party until the crash of the Civil War stops his quest.

While in the legislature—where he served for two terms—he was very active in opposition to the sub-treasury resolution,[7] pronouncing the scheme "a system that looked to the establishment of a colossal despotism." He also opposed the application of the "general ticket" plan to the election of Alabama's congressmen, advocating the right of the citizens of each district to elect their representative.[8]

The Whig party had grown strong in Alabama, and it very naturally turned to this vigorous young leader. So in 1839 he was sent as a delegate to the Whig convention that nominated Harrison for president. His description[9] of his experience is well worth the study of the young politicians of our day. Henry Clay was the ideal leader to this young and enthusiastic delegate, and he championed Clay's cause to the end of the fight; yet he accepted the final decision in Harrison's favor loyally. While Tyler's friends have since admitted[10] that his nomination was a bargain, Hilliard gives no intimation that he knew anything of it. He gave Harrison and Tyler his loyal support, because his party had chosen them "as the best available material."

In describing the campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," it is rather singular that Mr. Hilliard should enter into so minute a description of the active part that women took in the canvass. He tells of a great "log cabin" erected in Richmond, Va., where the

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[6] *Also see Life of Tyler*, vol. i, p. 606.
[7] Hilliard's *Speeches and Addresses* (1855), p. 1.
[8] Wm. Garrott Brown's *History of Alabama*, p. 182.
[9] Hilliard's *Politics and Pen Pictures* (1892), p. 1.
[10] *See Letters of the Tylers*, vol. iii, of the series—*Life of Tyler*.

fair women of that city assembled and received Daniel Webster. Mr. Hilliard very naively states that the gallant Webster "addressed them"—collectively.[11]

Very friendly relations had been established between Hilliard and Tyler; so, when Tyler became president, he intimated that Hilliard might be appointed minister to some foreign country. While still vice-president, he had suggested the mission to Belgium. Wm. C. Preston wrote to Hilliard that the mission to Portugal was his if he wanted it, but Hilliard declined with thanks the offer of Lisbon, saying he preferred to wait for a possible vacancy at Brussels. In May, 1842, his old instructor and friend was made the medium through which Hilliard received the pleasant intelligence of his appointment to Belgium.[12]

Here was a great opportunity opening to a young and ardent scholar—a man loving all the refinements of life, eager to see the old World from which the new had drawn rich stores so long; a man who was naturally a diplomat, loving finesse as a born chess player loves chess. So, into a school of diplomacy, to which "the European governments sent their ablest diplomatists," as Hilliard tells us in his reminiscences,[13] Alabama's adopted son was sent as his country's representative.

His keen appreciation of these advantages are set forth clearly in his charming pages. He surely would have been a dullard not to be impressed and powerfully influenced by association with the greatest men of the great nations. Think of being privileged to discuss the theory of government with Louis Philippe of France,[14] science with Von Humbolt,[15] and to listen to and observe Guizot[16] on his "native heath;" think of love of country being fostered in a young, ardent and imaginative Republican by the words of a king:[17] "Your country, Mr. Hilliard, is too great to be affected by considerations that might weigh with some of the States of Europe, whose boundaries are carved out

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[11] *Politics*, etc., p. 21.
[12] *Ibid*, p. 26.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 42.
[14] *Ibid*, p. 68.
[15] *Ibid*, p. 72.
[16] *Ibid*, pp. 70, 103.
[17] *See* Hilliard's interview with King Leopold of Belgium, in *Politics and Pen Pictures*, p. 74.

with the sword; your resources are inexhaustible. And you will maintain your credit at any pecuniary cost rather than impair the influence which you exert upon other nations. You are yet a young nation, and your example is already exerting a powerful influence in the world."

How broadening was all this to a man naturally inclined to liberality!

Could such a man be expected to return to America and view the issues involved in the further development of the "young nation" with other than a liberal mind? And might we not also expect that he would be inclined to emphasize in his political views the national standpoint as opposed to the sectional? Yet Hilliard was thoroughly Southern, and whenever he could advance the South's interests without endangering harmony with the general government, he did not hesitate.

Perhaps history has failed to do full justice to the influence upon succeeding events of an incident occurring during his ministry to Brussels.[18] At this particular time Texas was seeking recognition as an independent republic, at the hands of the different European governments. The United States, England, and France had made known their views. At the same time there was much "quiet talk" of Texas being admitted to the United States. Texas instructed her representative at the court of France to go to Brussels; he appealed to the United States minister for aid in obtaining recognition from the Belgian government. When the Belgian prime minister requested Mr. Hilliard's views regarding the position of the United States, Hilliard replied that he had as yet received no definite instructions, but his private opinion was that annexation was inevitable.[19]

The diplomatic corps in Brussels observing the abrupt departure of the Texan representative, laughingly remarked that notwithstanding some doubt as to what America would do with Texas, the American minister had certainly devoured the representative of the little republic! Within a year after this, Texas had become a State in the Union.

In 1844 Hilliard was obliged to resign his ministry, as death

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[18] *Politics*, etc., pp. 82, 83, 84, 91, 92, 93.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 83.

and sorrow in his family[20] laid claims upon his heart that drew him back across the ocean.

That he had lost nothing of his Americanism is proven by the zest with which he threw himself into the campaign just opening. He says, "It was so American that I entered into it with all my heart."[21] So, in 1845, Hilliard entered the arena of national politics. He made a vigorous canvass for a seat in congress. His election was a triumph of the Whigs over the Democrats.[22]

On entering upon his duties in congress, very soon he struck the key-note sounded by King Leopold, and referred to above. Hilliard says that while abroad he "had observed the importance of maintaining the rights of nations firmly and resolutely, in negotiations affecting them."[23] Upon this subject Hilliard made his maiden speech. He dwelt upon England's well-known sagacity, and tenacity, concerning land-grabbing; he said America could not afford to count the cost and trouble of holding her valuable territory; that before America could estimate the value of Oregon she "must look across the Pacific, and estimate that trade with China and the Eastern Archipelago, which is soon to open upon us in all its riches, grandeur and magnificence."[24] He proposed that Oregon be sent a governor, "sagacious, prudent and experienced;" that this governor be sustained in a definite policy to the full extent and power of the government; that the prospect of war should not frighten America into yielding her just claims to her territory. John Quincy Adams[25] said that Hilliard's speech "settled the Oregon question."

The next great event was the Mexican war. Mr. Hilliard held the view that, as Texas had succeeded in establishing her independence, which had been acknowledged by two great European powers, she had a right to enter the federation of States if she chose—and she had chosen to do so; and that after annexation, the grievances of Texas became our own. Mexico was threaten-

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[20] *Politics*, etc., p. 113.
[21] *Ibid*, p. 117.
[22] *See* Lalor, article on the "Whig Party."
[23] *Politics*, etc., p. 135.
[24] *Speeches and Addresses*, p. 51.
[25] *Politics*, etc., p. 143.

ing to invade Texas. It was a threat against the United States; and the general government must prepare to protect the new State and its own dignity as a nation.[26]

As to the acquisition of Texas and all the territory that came with it, Mr. Hilliard looked upon it as a land of promise, affording an outlet for the agricultural activities of the South by adding much land that, with its favorable climate, would foster slave-labor.[27] Mr. Hilliard's party became divided on the question of the war, some opposing the extension of slavery, others opposing the introduction into national politics of this question of slavery extension.

Hilliard is silent as to the manner of the admission of Texas into the Union. We can but suppose this is due to his loyalty to Tyler.

However, there is no note of concession in his ringing speech concerning the Wilmot proviso. He said "The Wilmot proviso, which seeks to exclude the citizens of the slave-holding States * * (from the common territory) has not a principle to recommend it. It rests neither on generosity, nor justice, nor constitutional law; and it asserts a doctrine which would not be tolerated for a single moment if applied to the ordinary transactions of life, in any part of the civilized world."[28]

He seemed to feel premonitions of danger, for he further said that the Wilmot proviso "was like a sea-bird driven far inland; it may be a messenger which gives notice of the coming tempest."[29]

Concerning the theory of State rights, Hilliard's views were along broad lines. He held that under the constitution each State had the inalienable right to look after its domestic affairs; that if a question should arise as to the jurisdiction of State or Federal government, patriotism and good common sense—not selfishness—should settle the matter, even to the point of some concession on the part of the State, for the general good.[30] But in regard to the enjoyment of all common property—territory especially—all States must share alike; be equally protected

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[26] *Speeches and Addresses,* p. 200.

[27] *See Politics,* etc., subject "Texas;" also *Speeches and Addresses,* p. 281.

[28] *Speeches and Addresses,* p. 230.

[29] *Ibid,* p. 86.

[30] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy,* chap. ix.

by the government in this sharing; and that no laws discriminating in any way against a State or States should be tolerated.[31]

Hilliard belonged to that class of Whigs who had hoped that the compromise line—"36° 30′"—would lay to rest the vexing question of slavery extension. In congress he advocated the extension of this line to the Pacific[32], but it refused to be settled as a pacific question!

When the debates in congress grew heated over the admission of California, his voice was raised in warning and protest. While he felt sure that when California was admitted to the Union, she would voluntarily exclude slavery, he said, "Do not suffer men whose vocation it is to agitate dangerous questions to drive you upon fatal measures. There is patriotism enough, and there is firmness enough to arrest the evils which threaten."[33]

As to the wisdom of compromising, Hilliard thought it would be braver to face the issues and settle the question fairly, and within the Union, once and forever. He said:[34]

"We (of the South) shall never be stronger than we are to-day. So far as we can read the future, we must expect the disproportion to grow. To-day, then, it is our duty to ascertain and fix the future policy of this government. * * I repeat, we must settle to-day the interests of the great future which is opening before us. We are strong enough now to repel the aggressions which threaten us, and to secure ample protection for our future safety, if we have the spirit to press our demands. * * I am for offering battle at once. I am for staking everything upon a single field. We shall never be in better condition for contesting it than we are now."[35]

Speaking of the growing anti-slavery sentiment, he thus bravely faces his beloved South:

"There is a domestic institution[36] in the South which in some sort insulates us from all mankind. The civilized world is against us. I know it; I comprehend it; I feel it. A sentiment which took its rise in England; which has spread over the continent of Europe; which now covers a large proportion of our own country—that sentiment, gathering strength with every advancing year, threatens to overwhelm us. The tide has

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[31] *Speeches and Addresses*, p. 213, 219.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid*, p. 234.
[34] *Ibid*, p. 240-41.
[35] *Ibid*, p. 242.
[36] *Ibid*, p. 214.

been rising higher and higher until we begin to feel the spray breaking over the embankments which surround us. Our moral condition at the South resembles the physical condition of Holland, where, dikes thrown up by the ingenuity of man hardly protect his habitations against the incursions of the sea. * * * But, because of the South's weakness, I shall stand by her to the last."

These were brave words with which to face a slave-holding constituency,[37] and a vigilant and unsparing political opposition! Yet, Mr. Hilliard having placed himself thus "on record," went to Alabama and met the issues squarely. Southern rights associations were teaching the right of secession; but the Union element was strong, and it quickly realized that some organized effort must be made to counteract the influence of such men as Wm. L. Yancey and his followers. Clubs were immediately formed; this movement in Mongomery was led by B. S. Bibb, Thomas H. Watts, Thomas Judge, James Abercrombie and Henry W. Hilliard.[38]

In January, 1851, a State union convention was held, and such illustrious names as Belser, Bibb, Clanton, Patton, Parsons, Watts and Hilliard were enrolled.[39] They accepted the compromise, and earnestly opposed secession, declaring that grievances must and could be settled within the Union, and under the constitution, and that this could be effected by a co-operation of States.[40]

Believing[41] that once more oil had been poured upon the troubled political waters; that the compromise of 1850 had been accepted as an adjustment of sectional differences; that he might now turn his attention to his long neglected law practice, Mr. Hilliard declined to be re-elected to congress.

Finding, however, that the Whig nominee[42] for his vacated seat in congress needed assistance, he once more agreed to address the constituency. This aroused the Democrats and they

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[37] *Politics*, etc., p. 210.

[38] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 286.

[39] *Ibid*, p. 294.

[40] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 294-5; also *Politics*, p. 253, paragraphs 4 and 5; also p. 252.

[41] *Politics*, etc., p. 249, 250.

[42] James Abercrombie.

sent Yancey to meet Hilliard.[43] This was the beginning of the most memorable campaign in the history of Alabama politics.

These two giants had first measured lances in the halls of congress, and had seemed actually to array themselves on opposite sides of the great questions of the day. So, when these men of notable ability prepared to plead the merits of their respective causes before the tribunal of the people, even the candidates whose canvass it was stood aside—completely effacing themselves —while the "battle of the giants" raged.[44]

The following criticism is taken from the Montgomery *Weekly Advertiser,* July 24, 1855:

"He (Hilliard) is a very persuasive speaker, charming you by the elegance of his diction, the easy, uninterrupted flow of well constructed sentences, and the aptness and beauty of his metaphors. * * Mild and conciliatory in his tone, he rarely offends the prejudices of his hearers; and, though possessing great powers of sarcasm—as polished and poisonous as the sting of a bee, he seldom uses it. With more fancy, he has less imagination than Mr. Yancey; more rhetorical, he is not so logical. * * * Yancey has more passion, Hilliard more art. Yancey is ardent, impulsive, rash; Hilliard cold, self-possessed, cautious. Both are men of power."[45]

Again Mr. Hilliard bore the Whig party to victory. Abercrombie was elected by a very large majority. Thus Alabama signified her acquiescence in the compromise of 1850.

The country had subsided into comparative quiet, when Douglas, in true Scotch fashion, once more sounded the slogan, by introducing the Kansas-Nebraska bill into congress. Mr. Hilliard considered the repeal of the Missouri compromise "to the last degree impolitic.[46] * * * It was the breaking down of a great barrier against which sectional feeling and party passion had

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[43] *See* DuBose's *Life of Yancey,* for the Hilliard-Yancey debates.

[44] Mrs. Maxwell Allen, Hilliard's sister-in-law, thus writes in 1901, reminiscently of Hilliard, "In one of the great political campaigns, it was published that Hilliard and Yancey were to speak in one of the lower counties, Pike I think—Hilliard on the Whig side and Yancey on the Democratic. When the time came, men from every part of the State came to see Hilliard and Yancey 'lock horns,' as it was expressed in those days. It is remembered as the *'battle of the giants.'* "

[45] *See* bound volume of *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser,* 1855, in office of the Advertiser Co.

[46] *Politics,* etc., p. 266.

so long beat in vain."[47] He regarded it as a means by which all elements in the North could be consolidated into effective opposition to the South and her institutions; and he believed that the triumph of the South—being now able to carry her institutions anywhere within the limits of the territories—was meagre beside the re-awakened prejudice; and that the triumph would last only until the "squatter sovereigns," by their votes should drive her forth.[48]

Yet, true to his State rights faith concerning common territory, Hilliard addressed Buford's expedition to Kansas. On the wharf at Montgomery, on the morning of their departure, he set forth the rights of Southerners, relying on the constitution, to enter Kansas Territory with their "institutions and property," and to claim protection therefor from the Federal government. Hilliard's rostrum for this occasion was a cotton bale. He counselled a spirit of peace and conciliation; and urged them to act on the defensive, to go armed with the truth and the constitution rather than with Sharpe's rifles.[49]

The national Whig party having lost its hold upon the hearts of the people, and having split on sectional questions, the old Whig leaders, Bibb, Watts, Chilton, Judge, Clanton and Hilliard abandoned the sinking ship and sought refuge (which proved to be only temporary) in the Know-Nothing party. They could not consistently go to the Democratic party, for they charged that party—through Douglas and the repeal of the compromise line—with having "elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power and brought our institutions into peril."[50]

Hilliard viewed with alarm the influx of a questionable element of foreign population. He was willing for America ever to be the refuge of the worthy and distressed, but America had been founded by Protestants—Protestant she must remain; and no in-

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[47] *Politics*, etc., p. 267.

[48] Hilliard merely sketches this idea in *Politics*, p. 267; but in the report of his speeches, as given in the newspapers—the Montgomery *Advertiser* (Weekly), *The Journal*, *The Mail*, and *The Daily Confederation*, of this period—1855-1857, these views are distinctly stated.

[49] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 353.

[50] *Ibid*, p. 355.

fluence anti-Protestant must be permitted to subvert the Protestant freedom of the government.[51]

Hilliard was soon convinced that the American party, as a party, could not be rendered practically beneficial to the nation; it was too narrow. While loyally supporting the nominee of the American party in 1856, he did it "recognizing him as a Whig, trusted and honored."[52] He threw himself into the canvass with energy. He made speeches throughout North Alabama; his opponent was Hon. L. P. Walker. With his political and diplomatic training, it did not take long for Mr. Hilliard to realize that his was a lost cause,[53] and that Buchanan would be president. Mr. Hilliard speaks in glowing terms of the wonderful valley of the Tennessee, and especially of Huntsville. Upon his arrival there he was "captivated" and held "prisoner-guest" of the hospitable city. He speaks of the enthusiasm aroused in him by the magnificent audience that greeted him; "distinguished statesmen, gentlemen of both political parties, eminent men, fair ladies, wealth, culture and elegance—a typical Southern assemblage greeted my sight. * * In taking leave of that beautiful country, I bore with me a picture of rare beauty which will never be effaced from my memory."[54]

Hilliard's reasons for "deserting" the American party and casting his fortunes with the Democrats were: He liked not the Free-Soil and Abolitionist combination at the North; he must either stand aloof altogether from public affairs, "a position so ungrateful to men of spirit and patriotic feeling in the day of public peril, or unite with their old adversaries, the National Democrats, in the cause of the constitution and the Union."[55]

Writing some years later,[56] he explained, as follows, what his position at this time had been:

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[51] See Hodgson, p. 355-56. But for the spiciest view of this question, *see* the discussion in the newspapers of 1855, Sept. to Dec; bound volume in the office of Advertiser Co.; and *see* Oct. 13, 1855, *Weekly Advertitser.*

[52] *Politics,* etc., p. 270-71.

[53] *Politics,* etc., p. 275.

[54] *Ibid,* p. 273.

[55] Lunt's *Origin of the Late War,* p. 233.

[56] Hilliard's Letter to Fillmore, as published in *The Weekly Post,* Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 11, 1860. This letter bears date, "New York, Aug. 30, 1860."

"When Mr. Buchanan came into power I felt it to be my duty to support his administration, and I said so publicly. I declined to contest with his friends the places which they held; stating it as my opinion that the conservative force of the country ought not to be impaired, but that it was our duty to forget past political strifes and antagonisms, and do what we might to strengthen the hands of the party in power in view of the great impending conflict to be fought in 1860. * * Unhappily the great party which achieved the signal triumph four years since, is now torn by fierce dissensions, and stands utterly powerless to contend against that formidable organization which ranges its battalions along the whole line that divides the North and the South."

He was also in sympathy with much of Buchanan's inaugural address, as well as approving Buchanan's political character.[57]

What a howl of protest went up from Whigs and Americans! The newspapers of that day refer to others as having "withdrawn" from the American party, but to Hilliard as having "deserted."[58]

Even Hilliard's polish of manner and universal toleration were turned against him. The following anecdote was published at his expense by the Montgomery *Mail,* 1857, after his defection:

"Two gentlemen met on the streets of Montgomery—one a Democrat and the other an American party man. Said the Democrat, 'Why, sir, your Mr. H. admits that Mr. Buchanan would make a safe president; he admits that the Democratic party is evidently a patriotic party! He is not much opposed to Mr. Buchanan.' The American party man: 'That is all very true, but you must remember that Mr. Hilliard is a very polite man, always tolerant and respectful toward the opposition. You say he does not abuse the Democracy? Why, sir, he never abuses anybody! I have heard him preach, and I never yet heard him abuse the Devil, sir! * * and I would guarantee that should he meet the Devil in a public place he would lift his hat!'[59] It is stated by a Columbus, Ga., paper that Mr. Hilliard in his speech concerning his joining the Democratic ranks, referred to the above anecdote, and said the author was truly kind and ap-

[57] *Politics,* p. 270; also see newspapers of 1857; *The Montgomery Mail* of April 1, 1857, says: "Mr. Hilliard while in Congress was a Whig—except on the tariff question—and Mr. Buchanan has, it seems, endorsed all those Whig speeches and votes in his Inaugural."

[58] See Montgomery weekly newspapers—the *Advertiser,* the *Journal,* the *Mail* and the *Confederation* of April, 1857, in office of Montgomery *Advertiser* and in the Alabama Supreme Court Library.

[59] In the Montgomery *Mail,* 1857, the entire anecdote is related.

preciative, that it was possible that he (H.) had met the author somewhere and had bowed politely to him, whereupon the author had drawn the inference that he (H.) would even take off his hat "to the Devil himself!"

His critics, when not bitter, assumed a sad and somewhat skeptical air:

"The recent declension of H. W. H.," said the Montgomery *Journal* of April 11, 1857, "is but another striking instance of the mutability of human greatness. Long the boast and pride of his party friends, who ever delighted to do him honor, he might this day occupy the proud position as the leader in Alabama of the opposition to the arrogant and hypocritical Democracy. * * His falling away was not sudden, but by degrees. * * I have no disposition to do Mr. H. injustice; he may be actuated by the purest and most disinterested patriotism. It may be that he is desirous of serving his country, and to do so more effectually, joins the party that has been its greatest bane."

It must have been with strange feelings that Hilliard now found himself fighting in the ranks of his old opponents, the Democrats, and under the same banner with a man who differed from him in political ideals as widely as Yancey. Although in the same party, it was inevitable that they should continue to cross swords. Yancey twitted[60] Hilliard with being a "Democratic yearling." Hilliard replied that it was not a question as to which was the older soldier, but which should prove the truest and the best.

When the Commercial convention met at Montgomery[61] in May, 1858, Mr. Hilliard's voice was raised in earnest protest against anything that might lead to a re-opening of the African slave trade. While he would not yield up one right of the South to the demands of Christendom, he still had great respect for the opinion of the Christian world. He would not outrage it, but would rather seek to obtain its support and approval. From recent indications in England and France, he believed a change was being wrought in the opinion of the civilized world in relation to this question of slavery. Even in this country a great change was

[60] Major W. W. Screws of the Montgomery *Advertiser* heard Yancey's speech and Hilliard's reply; his reminiscences of those days are most interesting.

[61] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 371.

going on—look at the repeal of the Missouri restriction; the late decision[62] of the U. S. supreme court; the election of the present chief magistrate—all by the power of the South.[63]

During the session of the convention, Mr. Aiken, of South Carolina, took umbrage at Hilliard's statement that "the South had always gotten all she contended for." He asked if he could take his slaves and go to Saratoga Springs with safety. Mr. Hilliard replied, No; but as South Carolina had undoubted right to make all proper police regulation as to the admission of persons of color within her limits, so the State of New York had a similar right to pass laws which (while good for New York) we of the Southern States might think objectionable.[64]

Holding views regarding secession similar to those of Roger A. Pryor of Virginia, Hilliard was forced to stand the fire of such criticism as the following at the hands of the Secessionists:

"What[65] do these men (like Hilliard) propose for the South? They seem wholly bent upon the one grand design to 'support the existing administration and to inaugurate a new one like it (for 1860)—'conservatism' is their creed—'Union,' their watchword!

"They have an 'oath-book' (a hit at the Know Nothings) out of which they pray curses upon the 'Ultras' of the South and the Abolitionists of the North. They don't know which of these are most treasonable, which they hate most—these 'Ultras' who furiously propose to 'organize the South,' and put her in a state of readiness to meet the threatened aggressors of Black Republican ascendency in 1860, or the Abolitionists who come armed with Federal power to exterminate the South."

(Signed) ZENO.

That Hilliard felt keenly the embarrassment of his political position—with the Democrats, but not of them; and deeply regretted the mistake of going into the Democratic ranks, of not standing independently to Whig principles, whether the Whigs

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[62] The Dred Scott Decision.

[63] The report of the proceedings of the Commercial Convention, and comments thereon in the *Montgomery Mail*, May 12, 1858 (bound volumes); also the recital of these very points in Nicolay and Hay's *Life of Lincoln.*

[64] See bound volumes of Montgomery newspapers of 1858, May, in *Advertiser* office; they contain "the incident" in full.

[65] The exact reference to this has been lost—it was copied from a bound volume of the *Weekly Advertiser* for either 1858 or '59, in the office of the Montgomery *Advertiser.*

had an organization or not, is asserted in a letter from one of his most faithful, surviving Whig friends.

This friend writes,

"In March, 1857, directly after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Hilliard came to Troy to attend circuit court. When I met him, he asked me if I had read Mr. Buchanan's inaugural address; I told him I had. Then Mr. H. went on to speak of the conservative address, and declared his purpose to support the administration of Mr. Buchanan on the strength of that address. I replied that I thought he could do so without any change of political principles. So while in Troy he wrote an address to the people announcing his purpose to support the administration as an ally of the Democratic party. He never admitted he was a Democrat, though, and he afterwards wrote me a letter in which he declared his support of the administration was the greatest mistake of his life."[66]

In the exciting scenes attending the presidential campaign of 1860, Mr. Hilliard was scarcely more than a spectator. Yancey was the leader; this was his opportunity for which he had labored long and faithfully. Hilliard disapproved of the very basis of Yancey's doctrine—secession; so he was merely a distressed looker-on at the Charleston convention in 1860; where doubtless his sentiments were well expressed by Preston of Virginia, who declared that the report submitted to the convention asserted "that the great wants of the South were labor, slaves, territory, federal power and—supremacy! While he (Preston) considered the great wants of the South were union, harmony in council and concert in action."[67]

When the Constitutional Union convention at Baltimore nominated Bell and Everett, Hilliard forthwith ignored all connection with Democracy and gladly once again arrayed himself under the banner of "trusty and trustworthy" Whiggism. He speaks forth the sentiments of his heart: "Here were men to be trusted!"

Benjamin H. Hill[68] of Georgia joins in Hilliard's enthusiasm over their leader:

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[66] Extracts from a letter to the author from Mr. Benjamin Gardner, of Palestine, Texas, written April 7, 1901.

[67] See Weekly *Mail*, June, 1860, in which are reports and comments on the Charleston Convention.

[68] Montgomery *Weekly Post*, Sept. 19, 1860.

"John Bell is the only man (of the four Presidential candidates) who never stood on a sectional platform; who never pandered to sectional prejudices, and whose record is so noble, national, and patriotic, as to be enough for a platform, enough for a patriot, enough for the peace of his country! John Bell is the only candidate who has always voted directly against both the Wilmot proviso and squatter sovereignty."

During the summer of 1860 Mr. Hilliard studied political conditions in the North and was called on to address a conservative meeting in New York city. Bravely he stands in the citadel of the North and flings defiance to the party which seeks "to reverse the whole policy of the government and proclaim hostility to slavery everywhere. * * We must defeat this fierce sectional league and save the government from their grasp."[69]

As a fair sample of how bitter the political strife was, and how recklessly one side would quote the utterances of the other, perhaps it is well to insert an extract from the report of Hilliard's speech delivered in Cooper Institute,[70] New York city, Sept. 17, 1860, sent to the Charleston *Courier* by its New York correspondent:

"The great speeches last evening were made by Mayor Wood, who really surpassed himself, the Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, of Montgomery, Ala., and ex-Gov. Morehead of Kentucky.

"Mr. Hilliard was particularly down on Senator Seward of the North and the disunionists of the South.

"When he remarked with much warmth of expression 'Leave us of the South to deal with the Secessionists, and you of the North take care of the Abolitionists,[71] the whole immense assembly rose, cheered, waved their hats and handkerchiefs, presenting a scene that was startlingly grand and exciting."

Mr. Hilliard has previously expressed his opinion of Mr. Seward and his party.[72] The Montgomery *Weekly Post* of Sept. 7, 1860, thus reports him:

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[69] *Politics,* etc., p. 297, 298.

[70] Hilliard's speech is fully reported in the Montgomery *Weekly Post* (bound volumes), Oct 2, and 3, 1860; also in *Politics and Pen Pictures,* p. 294; also the New York *Herald,* Sept. 18, 1860.

[71] This is not to be found in any report of Mr. H's speech, save the Charleston *Courier's;* it is quoted from that paper by the Montgomery *Weekly Post,* Oct. 3, 1860.

[72] At Newark, N. J., Sept. 7, 1860.

"Mr. Seward was guilty of a singular inconsistency; he claimed the Missouri compromise as the beginning of all our trouble, when the fact was that our trouble commenced after the repeal of that measure. * * Should this Republican party succeed? He could not believe it, and almost imagined the ashes of Washington would be reanimated, and his immortal voice speak out in sorrow at its success. In such a case, our bright flag should be shrouded in crape and we should mourn in sack-cloth and ashes. In such a case—he would make no threats—there would occur something that would never be forgotten, and the recital of which would make their children's children turn pale. He did not wish them to suppose for a moment that he was a disunionist. Come weal, come woe, he was bound to die in the Union. He never calculated the value of the Union. It could not be calculated; but the success of the Black Republicans might be the beginning of that cold feeling which would encourage dangerous public sentiment, and lead to a final dissolution which no power on earth could avert."

The conservative element in Boston invited Mr. Hilliard to express the views of the Southern conservatives to Boston hearers in Faneuil Hall. The burden of his plea was still "Stand by the constitution and the Union."

Regarding Mr. Hilliard's opinion of the strength of the candidates, and the general political situation, his letter to Fillmore, written from New York, Aug. 30, 1860,[73] gives the clearest view:

"Mr. Breckinridge is the exponent of my views; he stands upon a platform which I approve. * * I must say, too, with equal candor that I believe the accusations brought against Mr. Douglas are greatly overstrained. * * Still it is clear that the antagonistical attitude of those two gentlemen and the fierce conflict that is waged between their friends must put it out of the power of either of them to defeat Mr. Lincoln. * * * The only hope of defeating Mr. Lincoln is to conquer one's prejudices, to disregard party shackles, and to rally everywhere in support of those two eminent and conservative statesmen, whose claims upon our confidence does not rest on their possession of a creed, but upon the surer and better basis of well defined character, of matured wisdom and great public services—John Bell and Edward Everett."

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[73] Montgomery *Weekly Post* (bound volume), Sept. 11, 1860.

When the result of the struggle became known, and the issues involved in Lincoln's election had to be faced, Hilliard was "still national"[74] and desired that Alabama should await some further action on the part of the general government before following the example already set by South Carolina, and seceding. He desired especially to await the full co-operation of the other slave-holding States before taking any final step.[75] When he expressed these views to a large audience in Estelle hall, Montgomery, he says, "they heard me respectfully, but did not give me their sympathy."[76]

The following is a part of Mr. Hilliard's speech on that occasion copied from the Montgomery *Weekly Confederation*[77] of Dec. 21, 1860; the speech was delivered Dec. 10:

"It is now my deliberate judgment that we ought to resist the further progress of the anti-slavery sentiment, and to meet its advance by the most rigorous and decided resistance. So far as the action of the Federal government is concerned we do not make that the ground of complaint. * * But what we do complain of is the action of the co-ordinate States; the refusal on their part to afford us sufficient remedial justice for the recovery of fugitive slaves; in some instances the passage of laws actually nullifying the acts of congress; * * of the growing hostility on the part of many of the people of the North to our institutions, and now of the triumphant election by an overwhelming majority of votes in the non-slave-holding States of two men—chosen from that section because of their well-known hostility to slavery, and their denial of our constitutional rights—to the highest seats of power in the republic.

"The government is about to take a new departure; it is about to pass into the hands of our enemies, and we must now demand new guarantees for our rights, and reconstruction of the organic powers of a political system which has become so formidable to us. * * After this exposition of my views, I shall now state my opinions in regard to the duty of our own State. I am wholly opposed to the separate secession of Alabama from the Union."

Mr. Hilliard took no part in the measures which resulted in the secession of Alabama, nor in the subsequent proceedings of the Confederate government.

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[74] *Politics*, etc., p. 309.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

[77] Bound volumes of *The Weekly Confederation*, 1860-61 in the office of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, and in the Supreme Court Library.

While in full sympathy with the South, it was understood that he was opposed to the steps that had been taken.

But when Lincoln issued the call for 75,000 troops with which "to coerce the seceding States into obedience to the Federal government," this was too much for the Unionism of Mr. Hilliard; his State rights doctrine flamed up and he remembered only that he was a Southerner.

He says, "I regarded this act as a flagrant violation of the constitution. This usurpation of authority was in conflict with the principles of free government, and the spirit of our institutions."[78]

When the Confederate government demanded his services as agent to negotiate with Tennessee[79] he promptly accepted the mission, and prosecuted with energy the purpose of persuading her to secede and join the Southern confederacy. This seemed strange work for Hilliard! Yet he returned to Montgomery bearing triumphantly the news of Tennessee's secession.

It was but a step further to raise a "legion"[80] and on battlefield prove at the sword's point his faith in the old doctrine of State rights.

That Hilliard's legion had its share of glory in the fortunes of war is brought home vividly to us by reading an old faded letter—a family treasure—written by the judge advocate of the legion.

This officer had been granted sick leave by Colonel Hilliard, and so was absent when the legion marched with Kirby Smith's division of Bragg's army into Kentucky. This officer[81] hastened to rejoin his command but arrived too late to share in the glory of the great battle, but not too late to become the historian for one of the most decisive victories for the Southern arms in which the legion had a part. This writer says:[82]

"It was in one of those white oak orchards, around a large brick church, and on both sides of the magnificent turnpike from Big Hill to Richmond (Ky.), and also in the open wheat fields and amid the thick green corn close by, that Kirby Smith with

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[78] *Politics*, etc., p. 324.

[79] *Politics*, etc., p. 325, and 350.

[80] *See* Brewer's *Alabma*, p. 671-73, for sketch of this command.

[81] Capt. Edward L. MacIntyre, Judge Advocate of Hilliard's Legion.

[82] Capt. MacIntyre wrote to his mother, Mrs. Anne MacIntyre; the letter is now in the possession of his sister, Mrs. H. P. Cozart, Montgomery, Ala.

only about 6,000 men attacked and defeated fifteen splendidly equipped, new, and full Yankee regiments, achieving one of the most signal victories. It was the first fresh battlefield I had seen and my emotions on beholding such a scene, even weeks after the thunder of cannon and the rattle of the terrible rifle had ceased, were peculiar. The enemy did not long withstand the impetuous assaults of our troops, but stood sufficiently long to leave 150 of their number dead and 400 wounded on the field. The trees and fences show that though the conflict was short it was sharp. Our loss in this engagement was 50 killed and 150 wounded. The church is just six miles southeast of Richmond. Three miles farther on, the enemy concluded to rally and try it again, but with still more disastrous results; so on they went until they reached Richmond; here they plucked up courage and made a third stand, protected by fences, houses and tombstones, for the most of the fight was in a large graveyard.

"Our men soon routed them at the bayonet's point with great slaughter and the tombstones, obelisks and statues bear the black impress of the iron and leaden hail. Here was the severest conflict of the three attacks. Our forces suffered most here, but the rout of the enemy was complete.

"Smith captured 3,000 prisoners on the field. He had taken the precaution to send Scott's brigade of cavalry around Richmond to the rear, and when the enemy came along panting and blowing the cavalry fired into them. About 20 men were killed; the balance threw down their arms and cried 'quarter.' Our victory was complete. * * While the killed and wounded numbered about 1,500; the prisoners about 8,000; we captured immense quantities of clothing, provisions and other stores, and 15,000 stand of the finest guns in use. We were now in possession of the gap; this itself is worth the trip into Kentucky. While we have lost about 6,000 men, Bragg got 80 fine cannon, 30,000 stand of arms, 10,000 new recruits (think of that!) 10,000 beeves, 8,000 horses, 6,000 wagons, 300 wagon loads of jeans, linseys, and other army supplies in equal profusion.

"Bragg brought all these supplies off safely, besides winning two splendid victories. Was ever so much done in two months? And now we are safely back with our army doubly inured to toil, hardy, victorious and ready for more work. I think it one of the most remarkably successful campaigns on record. What a march! Eight hundred miles! Beset by three times his own force—and yet what magnificent results. Could you see Bragg's army train, at least 60 miles long, you might realize what we have done. I wish you could see this victorious army—of ragged, half-frozen, half-starved, gaunt-looking, barefoot men—as it marched on its return through Tazewell (Tenn.) this week; such miserable looking objects as these soldiers are! Yet when the

bands struck up 'Dixie,' they greeted it with cheer on cheer—the vast waves of sound rolling away into the distance, both front and rear, for miles!

"Since beginning this letter I have discovered the whereabouts of my command—Colonel Hilliard and the legion have been in the thickest of the melee; I found both the lieutenants of my company at Richmond wounded; the command is now at the gap, and it is thought we shall be stationed there all winter. I will join my command to-morrow, so good-bye."

From this we can but conclude that if Hilliard was not "first in war," he made a very able "second."

In summing up the career of Hilliard from the time he became an Alabamian by adoption to the stirring events of the Civil War —for we purpose going no further, as the rest of the story is charmingly set forth by Hilliard himself in "Politics and Pen Pictures"—we must not ignore his social influence. This side of life appealed very strongly to him, and we have every right to believe that he was eager to give as well as to receive. His sister-in-law[83] thus interestingly writes on this point:

"On Mr. Hilliard's return from the mission to Belgium, the family went to housekeeping in their own home on Jefferson street[84]—next door to Col. Jesse P. Taylor's. They furnished their home very handsomely for those times with furniture and paintings[85] brought with them from abroad. Here they entertained very delightfully in the Belgian style.

"The arrangement of the table for dinings was something very new to Montgomerians; the desserts were arranged on the table with cut flowers in quite an artistic manner. The different courses were then served from the butler's pantry—quite an innovation upon the old way of placing the 'grand meat' upon the table, and then changing table cloths for dessert, and changing again for fruits, nuts, wines, etc. Mr. Hilliard was not wealthy, but his law practice together with his wife's handsome property, enabled them to live more than comfortably.

"Mr. Hilliard owned for many years four acres of ground at the head of Washington street.[86] Here, during the 'fifties,' be built

[83] Mrs. Maxwell Allen's letter to T. Cozart, Feb., 1901.

[84] The house still known in Montgomery as "the William Joe Bibb place;" it was occupied for years by Mr. McD. Cain, whose wife was a relative of the Bibbs.

[85] Much of it still in possession of Mrs. Hilliard's relatives.

[86] The place has been known for years as "The Old Ware Place," though a street near the property now bears the name of "Hilliard street." The house which Hilliard built here is now owned, I believe, by John Nicrosi. Jackson street runs along its west front.

the large brick house now standing there.[87] He hoped that the State would purchase it for the governor's mansion. Here he entertained freely; and all distinguished visitors to Alabama's capital invariably became Mr. Hilliard's guests."

Thus Mr. Hilliard assisted in establishing that name for hospitality which became typical of the South. Thus he endeavored to repay the many social attentions extended to him throughout the North and South, as well as Europe. He speaks (in *Politics and Pen Pictures*) most appreciatively of the privilege of meeting so many of our great men; and he numbered among his friends and associates not only those politically great, but the great in other ways. In this list will be found the names of the Appletons, Longfellow and Prescott the historian.[88]

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[87] This house is built in the Continental style, and shows a marked difference from the general Southern style of architecture. The grounds were terraced and arranged in the most effective style of landscape gardening. Here every beautiful hardy shrub of the South as well as of Europe grew luxuriantly; while amid the green leaves gleamed here and there, a piece of marble, vase or statue.

[88] *See Politics,* etc., pp. 190, 200.

VI. A SKETCH OF JUDGE ANDERSON CRENSHAW.

By Rev. Charles Edward Crenshaw,[1] Verbena.

On account of partisan predilections it is hard for the average historian to give an impartial account of political matters or to withhold his prejudice against those who differ with him politically, which is sometimes done by ignoring their names when they should be honorably mentioned in history.

This is seen in Pickett's *History of Alabama*. He was such a strong Andrew Jackson Democrat that he appears to have ignored the names of Henry Clay Whigs. Nicholas Davis, of Limestone, is the only one in that party that he mentioned with much favor. He could not ignore his name without leaving an ugly gap in the first decade of Alabama history, for Davis served in the Alabama legislature as president of the senate during this entire decade, being elected to that office ten times. Pickett's partisan partiality is seen in his notice of Alabama's first judges, among whom were Saffold and Crenshaw, the former a Democrat and the latter a Whig. He gives a full account of Saffold's life without even mentioning the name of Anderson Crenshaw.

As an account of the life of the latter as well as of his contemporaries should be found in the histories of Alabama, I will now give a short sketch of him. He was a native of Newberry district, South Carolina, and was born 1786.

His parents were Charles[2] (born in Va.) and Eunice (*White*) Crenshaw, and his grandparents were William (of Va.) and Susanna (*Parr*) Crenshaw, and John and Elizabeth (*Lee*) White. The children of Charles Crenshaw were: (1) Arch Crenshaw,

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[1] Charles Edward Crenshaw, son of Judge Anderson Crenshaw, was born Aug. 8, 1821, at Cahaba, Ala. He received a good primary education, and graduated at the University of Alabama in the class of 1843, with the degree of bachelor of arts. Embracing the faith of the Methodist Protestant Church, he entered the ministry of that denomination, and for many years labored faithfully. He is now located, and although at an advanced age, gives much attention to his business interests. He was married (1) April 8, 1847, at Hickory Grove, Montgomery county, Ala., to Mary Louisa Coleman, by whom he has several children, and (2) in Aug., 1877, to Lydia Grout Shaw.

[2] Chapman's edition of O'Neall's *Annals of Newberry* (1892), p. 53-54.

who married ———; (2) Dr. Abner, who married Charlotta, daughter of Gen. John A. Elmore, a Revolutionary soldier (Bolling Hall, Jr., of Coosada, married a daughter of Abner Crenshaw); (3) Anderson, my father, of whom I will speak at length; (4) Walter, who died unmarried; (5) Willis, who married Amanda, daughter of Walter Chiles; and (6) Phoebe, an only daughter who died young unmarried.

Charles Crenshaw was one of the early settlers of Newberry district and served as tax collector from a very early day until 1812. He was one of the founders and patrons of Mount Bethel academy, where his son Anderson Crenshaw received his preparatory education for the South Carolina College at Columbia, where he graduated in 1806. He was the first graduate of that institution, being the only member of the class of 1806.

He studied law with Judge Abraham Nott, of Columbia and was admitted to the bar in 1809. He settled at Newberry for the practice. James Belton O'Neall in his *Annals of Newberry* says: "He came to the bar with a most accurate knowledge of his profession. To him, more than any one else, may be ascribed the character of the Newberry bar for legal knowledge and industry. He presented the example which has had good effect for forty years."

In 1812 he was elected to the legislature of South Carolina.

In 1815 he married Mary Chiles, daughter of Thomas Chiles, of Abbeville, S. C. His two sons, Walter and Thomas Crenshaw, were born in Newberry.

In 1819 he removed to Alabama and settled at Cahaba, the capital of the State, and here about the end of this year a daughter was born who died in infancy. In 1821 at the same place his third son (the writer) was born on the 8th of August. This was the year he was elected judge. After he came to Cahaba he was troubled by the high waters of the Alabama river. The town was on the bank of that river at the junction of the Cahaba. At one time during a great freshet the waters of the rivers came up to the doorsteps and my mother had to use a little boat to get to the kitchen, smoke house and outhouses.

In the fall of 1822 he removed to Butler county, one of the lower counties of his circuit. He rented a two room log cabin from Mansel Womack (the father of Lewis and John W. Wo-

mack) in which he lived with his family until he built a more comfortable house. In 1824 his fourth son, Frederick W., was born. This residence in Butler was two miles from the present village of Manningham.

Judge C. purchased some very rich land on Cedar creek on which he started a plantation but derived little income from this source, as he could not give it sufficient attention on account of his official duties. As his circuit lay in quite a new and rough country with very bad roads he was compelled to travel on horseback to all his courts, which impaired his constitution and probably shortened his life. When we came to Butler county in 1822 we settled among very good neighbors, some of whom were friends and kinsmen from North and South Carolina, among whom were Dr. John Coleman, Wm. H. Wade, and Thomas Bragg, of North Carolina; Richard Ringgold, of Maryland; Maj. Patton and Mansel Womack, of Georgia. Most of these were among the first settlers of Butler county. There was a very common school house in the neighborhood at which my brothers Walter and Thomas first went to school. About the year 1828 a large brick house was erected at which we boys all went to school as we got old enough. From this school brothers Walter and Thomas went to college at Tuscaloosa in 1831. Thomas remained there only one year, but Walter stayed there three years and graduated in 1834. About the year 1833, when brother Thomas was going to school at the brick house, one day about 5 p. m., a very severe storm passed over our house going towards the school house, blowing down a great many trees on the way. My father got very uneasy about the safety of brother Thomas. As soon as the storm was over he started to look for him. He got to the school house without meeting him and found that the pupils had gone home. As there were two ways to the school house he came back the other way and found brother T. at home. He did not start to come until the storm was over.

During the year 1834 Thomas A. Walker, of Benton county, read law with my father, and in consideration of his board at our house he taught brother Fred. and myself in our primary studies. He graduated at the Alabama University in 1833. He became a successful lawyer, and was elected judge of the circuit court.

In the year 1844 Judge Crenshaw was a strong Henry Clay

man but this did not affect his re-election by a Democratic legislature at its next session as I will notice below.

My father did not belong to any church, but he was a firm Christian, and read the Bible a great deal and endeavored to live according to its precepts. He contributed to the support of the Methodist Protestant Church at Mt. Zion. Old Mr. Samuel Oliver, a minister of that church who lived in Greenville, was a great friend to him and became more so after he received a favor in a business transaction with him. One fall Mr. Oliver bought my father's entire cotton crop in the seed after it was gathered at a certain price which he agreed to pay after he sold it. So when he sold the cotton he came to our house to settle for it and showed the account of sales, which proved that he had lost a considerable amount in the trade. My father took from the debt all that Oliver had lost. I recall how all the people in the neighborhood were expressing their admiration of this kindness to Mr. Oliver, thinking it was obeying the Savior who commanded us to help the poor and needy. Judge Crenshaw showed his faith in the Christian religion while transacting the duties of his office, especially in passing sentence on prisoners condemned to death. He would urge on them with all his power the necessity of repentance and a preparation to meet their Maker in the great day of judgment.

He served on the supreme court with the other circuit judges until 1832, and then only as circuit judge until 1839, when he was elected chancellor of the newly created and organized court of chancery, defeating J. B. Clark, of Greene, Robert McAlpine, of Mobile, and Edmund S. Dargan, of Montgomery. He was elected the second time to this office in 1844. In this election, the first time in all his official life, much effort was made to defeat him on account of his political opinions. He had just voted for Henry Clay for president. The strong partisan Democrats tried to defeat him with Gen. George Crabb who had deserted the Whigs in the recent presidential election and voted for James K. Polk. He was elected by only twenty votes over Crabb, all the Whigs and many of the Democrats voting for him. He lived but a few years longer and died in the summer of 1847. Garrett says in *Public Men of Alabama* that "His virtues as a man and his abilities and integrity as a judge gained the public confidence from the beginning of his long administration of justice,

which he retained to the last," and after the impeachment and trial with his associates Saffold and White before the legislature of 1829. He adds, "The judges passed through the ordeal triumphantly and each received from the legislature new token of confidence."

In physical make-up Judge Crenshaw was rather slender, being five feet and eleven inches high, and weighing about 135 pounds.

VII. WHAT WILL BE THE FINAL ESTIMATE OF YANCEY?

By George Petrie,[1] Ph. D., Auburn.

The time is rapidly coming when men can think and speak of our Civil War without passion and without prejudice. Indeed considerable progress has already been made in this direction. Southern writers have shown a ready appreciation of the many admirable qualities of Lincoln, who was once known to us chiefly as the leader of what we termed the "Black Republican Party." On the other hand Calhoun, the most influential of Southern statesmen, a man whose views have long been an incomprehensible riddle to our Northern friends, has received no fairer treatment or more graceful recognition than in the recent life of Webster written by Mr. Lodge, a senator from Massachusetts. These two cases are typical of a growing tendency toward fairness and even generosity on both sides in dealing with men and events connected with that period.

Now is it not strange that in the dawn of this "era of good feeling," we should hear so little about a man who played so conspicuous a role as Yancey? His name was never mentioned for

[1] Dr. George Petrie, professor of History and Latin, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, since 1891, was born at Montgomery, Ala., April 10, 1866, and is the son of Rev. Dr. George Laurens and Mary (*Cooper*) Petrie, and grandson of Rev. Dr. G. H. W. and Mary J. (*Prince*) Petrie. His father was a distinguished teacher and Presbyterian preacher, and was chaplain of the 22nd Alabama regiment, C. S. A. Dr. Petrie graduated at the University of Virginia in 1887 with the A. M. degree, and in that year became adjunct professor of modern languages and history in the Agricultural and Mechanical College (A. P. I.), Auburn, where he remained until 1889. In that year he entered Johns Hopkins University, where he completed his course for the Ph. D. degree in 1891. Since that date he has been at the A. P. I. as above noted. Dr. Petrie is the author of *Church and State in Early Maryland* (J. H. Univ. Studies, 10th series, No. 4, 1892); "Can the Teaching of American History be made Interesting?" in the *Sewanee Review*, May, 1896; "Montgomery Alabama," in *Historic Towns of the Southern States* (1900), besides a number of articles in magazines and other journals. Dr. Petrie is a most enthusiastic student and teacher of history. Several of the best papers in this volume were prepared under his direction, notably those by Walter L. Fleming, Miss Toccoa Cozart, Shepherd H. Roberts, Gaius Whitfield, Jr., Miss Emma B. Culver, and J. E. D. Yonge.—Editor.

the Hall of Fame. No speech of his is to be found in any collection of American oratory. No statue has been raised to his memory.[2]

Is there any significance in this omission? Is it an oversight due to a general lack of information and a consequent failure to appreciate his importance? Or is this omission partly intentional? Is it due to a feeling on the part of some that Yancey was the embodiment of an unwise and disastrous policy, that he was the apostle of disunion and advocated the reopening of the African slave trade, and that even his eloquence depended on sectional passions and animosity? If thoughts of this kind be at all common, will not Yancey's fame grow less and less as our national feeling of union grows stronger and stronger; and will he not in time pass into that oblivion which awaits all who are merely unsuccessful agitators?

The first question, therefore, which confronts the student who tries to determine the final estimate of Yancey is whether posterity will know him at all. Now I believe that his name will not be forgotten and that his reputation will last; and the reasons that I assign for this view do not depend on any personal opinion as to the wisdom or the unwisdom of the course he pursued, or of the policy he advocated.

Whatever one may think of these matters of policy, he must, if he has studied ante-bellum history, admit Yancey's ability and influence. For weal or for woe he played an important part. His name is inseparably linked with the series of events that terminated in the Confederacy; and the more fully their history is written, the more attention will have to be paid to him.

His association with the movement was in many ways an intimate one. He was the last great popular expounder of the doctrine of State rights, upon which more and more Southerners of all schools came to base their theories of political rights, however much they might differ as to their practical policies.

But, after all, few persons understand or care about constitutional theories and logical arguments. Even so great a jurist as Marshall is scarcely known outside the circle of lawyers. And I

[2] Since this was written a full life size oil painting of Yancey has been executed and placed in the portrait gallery of the Alabama Department of Archives and History at the State capitol.

am inclined to think that this is scarcely the phase of Yancey's connection with the Southern movement which will appeal most to the imagination of posterity. To them he will be chiefly known as its impassioned leader, who by his boldness, his earnestness and his eloquence did more perhaps than any one else to make these State rights doctrines a powerful force in practical politics.

But this suggests another reason why his name will not be forgotten; and it is, too, independent of our personal views of the wisdom of his policy. I refer to the permanent value of his speeches. Without discussing just yet their excellence as specimens of the art of oratory, I think the point can be clearly made that they have qualities which must give them a permanent value. They combine, like Yancey himself, logic and emotion in an unusual degree. While they present in a brief and pointed form the dominant political creed of the South, they do it not in the cool, detached manner of Calhoun, but with an earnestness and a fire that make us feel the passion of the times with a reality that is really wonderful. Now this double quality is just what will always make them invaluable to the student, who in the quiet of his study finds a keen fascination in analyzing the problems connected with slavery and State sovereignty, and yet cannot quite understand why either side should fight about them.

If then Yancey's name will live and men will continue to read and think about him, we may fairly ask: What will their opinion be? We cannot tell what it will be in all of its details. On minor matters they probably will disagree, as men now do about Jefferson and even Cromwell or Julius Caesar. But there are some things, and they are important, about which we can safely venture a prediction.

First of all, the final estimate will correct some errors which have arisen from an exaggeration or a distortion of his real views. For example, he has been considered a champion of the African slave trade and has suffered accordingly. This was an unfair inference from some words spoken with perhaps impolitic frankness at Montgomery in 1858. What he really said was that the congressional prohibition ought to be removed, first, because it went too far in terming the slave trade piracy and, second, because, according to the State rights theory the whole question

properly should be left to the several States.[3] As to whether its actual revival would be desirable he clearly admitted that he had as yet reached no definite conclusion. Perhaps he meant to hold in reserve the possibility of such a revival as a political weapon to be used against abolitionists and free soilers if in his opinion their aggressions would require it.

After secession Yancey was one of the first to urge the Southern States to prohibit this same African slave trade. On Jan.. 28, 1861, he said in the Alabama convention: "But, sir, if such considerations induced a doubt under the old regime, they dispel all doubt under the new. * * * With no territories to people and no balance of power to strive for and to sustain, we shall need no other supply of labor than the ordinary laws of natural increase and emigration of owners with slaves will give us in abundance. * * * At the proper time I shall move an amendment proposing that the Southern Confederacy shall prohibit the trade in slaves from any foreign quarters."[4]

There is another important matter in regard to which I think posterity will say that Yancey has sometimes been misunderstood. He has been called a disunionist and the term has been used in such a way as to imply that he regarded separation from the Union not merely as a last remedy for wrongs that could not be righted otherwise, but as a thing desirable in itself and preferable to a redress of grievances within the Union. This opinion probably had its origin in the earnestness and vigor with which he repeatedly advocated secession; but it overlooks the important fact that he did so only because he believed it no longer possible to get what he always preferred, constitutional rights, in the Union. The final estimate will, I think, recognize that Yancey and Webster were equally devoted to the Union under the constitution. But with Yancey the Union was desirable chiefly as giving the States the benefit of the constitution, while with Webster the constitution was valuable chiefly as perpetuating the Union. Yancey thought the time had come when either the Union or the constitution had to be given up, and he preferred to give up the Union.

Two days after Lincoln's election he said: "In my opinion the

[3] DuBose's *Life of Yancey*, p. 358, *et. seq.* The whole matter was much discussed in the Montgomery and Richmond papers of 1858.

[4] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Feb. 6, 1861.

election of Abraham Lincoln to the office of president of the United States by the Black Republican Party, taken in connection with his own political utterances, and the views and acts of his party in congress, and the Northern States, is an overt act against the constitution and against the Union, and as such should be sufficient cause for a withdrawal of the State of Alabama, and a resumption of all the powers she has granted to the Union, by separate State secession. And while giving utterance to this advice, I repudiate as utterly untrue that in any just sense I am a disunionist. If always to have advocated the right of all under the constitution—if never to have assailed any single provision of that constitution—if the advocacy of a policy of defense against wrong done to Southern rights, equality and honor in the Union, constitutes a friend to that "more perfect Union" represented by the constitution, then by universal acclaim I should be held to be a Union man; and if to-night I advise my State to withdraw herself from this Federal government in order to protect her rights and the rights of her people from wrongs done to them by violation of that constitution by numerical power that controls the government, I have the judgment of the constitution itself in my favor and against its violators, and am no disunionist."[5]

But in every estimate of Yancey the chief difficulty arises when one comes to pass judgment on his policy. Here is where opinions differ most widely and have done so from his own day down to ours. Some have pronounced his course the only one which the South could pursue without sacrificing its rights and its manhood, others have considered it rash, impracticable, and disastrous. Under such circumstances it is manifestly difficult to forecast with any certainty the verdict of history. Yet I think most of us will agree that certain facts will be recognized by that verdict and will be included in the final estimate.

First, then, I think there will be little dispute as to what was his policy. Its key note was struck in the once famous "Alabama Platform" which consisted of two parts, one stating a theory, the other a policy. The first said: "Neither congress nor the territorial government which it establishes has a right in any way to prohibit slavery in a territory," the second added: "No candidate

[5] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy.*

for the presidency can get our votes unless he endorses this view." The first half was the old doctrine of Calhoun and had come with his mantle to Alabama, the other half was Yancey's addition and the motto of his life. The two ideas were characteristic of their authors; Calhoun's part was a keen and unanswerable deduction from the State rights view of our government, Yancey's a bold and unswerving stand for his rights under the constitution. Combined they epitomize Yancey's position—a position maintained with striking consistency from 1848 when the war with Mexico made the territorial question the burning issue down to 1860 when he strenuously opposed the nomination of Douglas.

In the next place, I think that when the future historian comes to inquire whether it was wiser for the South to insist, as Yancey urged, on all its rights under the constitution, or to accept some such compromise as Douglas suggested, he will have to admit that neither plan was fully tried. Yancey hoped that a united South could compel the practical politicians to accept its creed and thereby obtain a national administration pledged to maintain its rights. Whether this would have been possible will probably remain a mooted question as the South failed to unite on his political policy. Douglas maintained that his policy would secure practically all that the South required and that its success was possible if the South would unite with Northern Democrats on it. Whether either of his claims were justifiable will equally remain a subject for speculation as the South likewise failed to unite on his policy. Whether either policy if endorsed by a united South could have defeated the Republican party will perhaps always remain a fascinating problem for historians, as also the question whether Yancey's policy, even if it had led to defeat although endorsed by a united South, would have been preferable to political success upon Douglas's principles.

VIII. RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF 1860.[1]

By Sutton S. Scott,[2] Auburn, Ala.

The Alabama Democratic State Convention met in the hall of the house of representatives at Montgomery, January 11, 1860. The city was full of visitors from every section of the State. Long before four o'clock in the afternoon, the time set for the meeting of the convention, a large and continuous stream of people was moving along Dexter avenue in the direction of the capitol. There were no noisy demonstrations. All shouts and laughter were hushed. A grim sort of quietude and determination were the ruling spirits of the hour. The very atmosphere seemed op-

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[1] Having been asked to give the public my recollections of the Alabama Democratic State Convention of 1860, I now endeavor to comply with that request, although I fear, as I have no ready access to papers relating to that convention, nothing, in short, to refresh my mind on the subject, I may now and then be guilty of inaccuracies, none of which, however, I am sure, will be vital or important. Mr. Owen has supplied the following title of the published record of the Convention:

Proceedings | of the | Democratic State Convention, | held in the | city of Montgomery, | commencing | Wednesday, January 11, 1860. | Montgomery: | Advertiser book and job steam press print. | 1860. | 8 vo. pp. 38.

[2] Sutton S. Scott, author and legislator, is a native of Madison county, Ala., where he was born Nov. 26, 1829. He is the son of James Greene and Ann (*Biddle*) Scott, the grandson of John Scott, and the great-grandson of John Scott, a Scotch emigrant to Virginia. The home of the first John Scott was called "Old London," and was in Dinwiddie county, Va., near the Brunswick county line. The Scotts were well-to-do planters and slave owners, and were related to the Darvells and Thompsons, of Virginia. James Greene Scott was born in Virginia, Nov., 1799, and when but little over nineteen years of age, he left his home and migrated to Madison county, Ala. His education was imperfect being such as could he obtained in pioneer times, but he was able to make the most of it, as he was a man of quick and vigorous mind. He was, in fact, what might be termed a sort of mechanical genius, for while he never served an apprenticeship at a trade, he could do almost any kind of work in wood from the making of a bureau or carriage, to the building of a house. He married Ann Biddle (from North Carolina) in Huntsville, and there they both lived and died. She was a Methodist, but he was a Baptist, uniting with the church late in life. Sutton S. Scott was graduated from the University of Tenn., Knoxville, in the class of 1850, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Having read law he began the practice in Huntsville. In 1857 he was elected to the house of representatives from Madison county, and re-elected in 1859. He was consequently a member of the

pressed with the weight and burden of issues, the result of which could not be otherwise than far-reaching and enduring.

As the rotunda and hall at the capitol were being gradually filled, the men would gather in little groups, seemingly engaged in deep and anxious consultation. Two of these groups deserve especial notice. One was made up of the Secessionists, and the other of Unionists, as they were then generally, and rather loosely designated. All of both groups were delegates, or, claimed to be such, with perhaps one or two exceptions. In one of these groups were John Anthony Winston,—the whilom "veto-governor of Alabama,"—loved by some and feared by many,—a man whose intellect was as sharp, and whose disposition was as highly tempered as the Damascus blade of Saladin, joined with a tongue and vocabulary able and ready to give full expression to both; Henry W. Hilliard, ex-member of congress and ex-minister to Belgium,—whose speeches on the hustings and from the rostrum were as smooth and sparkling in their easy flow as the essays of Oliver Goldsmith or the sketches of Washington Irving; J. J. Seibels, another ex-Minister to Belgium, and editor of the Montgomery *Confederation*,—a man massive in body and mind, whose boldness and aggressiveness were tempered by great caution and conservatism; and Nicholas Davis, of Madison, genial, jolly, elo-

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extra session, which convened in 1861, just about the time of the secession of Alabama from the Union. He was a member of the committee, with E. C. Bullock, John T. Morgan, Thomas H. Watts, John D. Phelan, James H. Clanton, A. B. Meek and others appointed by the governor to meet Jefferson Davis, the president elect of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, at West Point, Ga., and escort him to Montgomery. From the position of an assistant, Mr. Scott was promoted, Feb. 26, 1863, to the responsible post of commissioner of Indian affairs, C. S. A., to succeed David Hubbard. He labored diligently in this position until the close of hostilities. After the war Mr. Scott removed to Russell county, where he became a planter. He represented this county in the Alabama constitutional convention of 1875, and also in the House of Representatives, 1884-85, and 1890-91. He was appointed, during President Cleveland's first term, a commissioner to settle depredation claims against the United States government in New Mexico, and during Mr. Cleveland's second term was chairman of the commission to arrange the land troubles with the Ute Indians upon their reservations in Utah. He was married Nov. 10, 1864, at Columbus, Ga., to Loula M., daughter of William Hurt, a planter of Russell county, Ala., and granddaughter of William Hurt, of N. C., a soldier in the Revolution. While Mr. Scott has had an active business and political career he is essentially a student, a man of fine literary acumen and of historical tastes. He is the author of *Southbooke* (1880), *The Mobilians, or Talks About the South* (1898), as well as a large number of short articles in the papers and magazines of the day. He now resides at Auburn.—EDITOR.

quent, and free-hearted,—whose faults were of such a nature that, in spite of them, he was much loved by a large part of the young men of North Alabama. The central figure of the other group was LeRoy Pope Walker, afterwards Confederate States secretary of war, one of the most highly cultured men of the South, and one of the courtliest:—around him stood Thomas H. Watts, afterward Confederate attorney general and governor of Alabama, a favorite at the bar and in society,—one who thought it worthier to give than to receive,—who took a positive delight in serving his friends, never hesitating even when it was against his own interests; Francis S. Lyon, quiet and modest, whose genius for doing work, and making no enemies, was the wonder of contemporaries; Thomas H. Herndon, afterwards a Democratic candidate for governor of the State, and at the time of his death, March 28, 1883, member of congress from the Mobile district,—a gentleman endowed by birth and training with all those high-toned and knightly virtues characterizing the old-time Southern planters of the Alabama canebrake; Edward C. Bullock, the brilliant publicist, whose reputation for intellectual solidity, richly deserved though it was, had been made to suffer by the exuberance of his wit, who could no more resist the inclination in season and out of season, of perpetrating a witticism, than the opium-eater could forego his daily cup of poison,—who indeed, in a game of repartee, never failed to call his opponent's hand, and always with success; and Edmund S. Dargan, ex-chief justice of the supreme court of Alabama, a slow talker and a slow thinker, but sure in both respects,—a man whose fine mind was so constantly engaged in untangling legal complexities that he could seldom find time to brush his hair or tie his shoes.

Before three o'clock most of the members were in their seats, and every available space in the vast hall was packed with spectators, wearing generally interested and anxious faces. The crowd in the galleries was largely made up of women—the fairest of Southern beauties—whose presence relieved to some extent the solemn, I might even say, the sombre gravity of the occasion, as they looked down with bright, flashing eyes, and cheeks all aglow with life and excitement, upon the most prominent men in the State, standing, or sitting, or moving restlessly about the floor of the hall.

Seated by the main aisle, and nearly in front of the speaker's desk, was the distinguished leader of the so-called secession wing of the Alabama Democracy—the Hyperides of the South—William Lowndes Yancey.

This is not the place for a fair analysis of the character of that remarkable man. Justice could not be done to it without going more into detail than this paper will allow. In speaking, however, of a convention, in which he was the most conspicuous figure,—a convention, every act of which was in harmony with his teachings,—I cannot refrain from making some comments upon what was regarded by his enemies as a weak point in his moral armor—uncompromising ultraism, as they were pleased significantly to term it. This they must have considered the only weak point in his moral harness, for against it all their anti-Yancey shafts were persistently directed. It, however, when studied in the light of his public acts and utterances during the whole of his political life, will be thought perhaps by reasonable men one of his strongest claims to the respect and gratitude of his people. Let us look at it a little: for it is readily admitted that in one respect, at least, Yancey was an extremist of the most pronounced type;—I mean in the strictness and intensity of his devotion to the rights of the Southern States under the Constitution. With regard to these he was indeed uncompromising.

When a schoolboy I heard Andrew Johnson, at Knoxville, Tennessee, in his canvass for governor of that State, say that "a thing was right, or it was wrong; and with regard to it there could properly be no compromise." The sentiment was vigorously applauded by the Democrats around, because it tended to support some political position advocated by the speaker and his party. William H. Seward, a Republican extremist, as Johnson, at the time suggested, was a Democratic extremist, subsequently said something to the same effect and for a like purpose. He pronounced "all compromises radically wrong and essentially vicious."

Yancey, with all his alleged ultraism, never entertained such a sentiment as that avowed by Johnson and Seward. He was no mere politician. He was too honest and sincere; too calm and clear-headed; in short, too broadly and serenely wise, to endorse and seek to maintain, for the accomplishment of political ends,

so pernicious and destructive a proposition. He knew that in compromise was frequently to be found the very essence of truth; that in all bitter factional contests right was generally located at some point between the extremes engaged in the strife, and, in such cases, could be reached by compromise, and by compromise alone. But as to a constitutional requirement involving the rights of the States—especially the States of the South, his home-section and at the same time the weaker section—the question of compromise never entered into his calculation at all. He stood as firm as a rock in demanding the fulfillment of every constitutional guaranty, and the discharge of every constitutional obligation. He was the same unflinching and uncompromising advocate and defender of the rights of the States under the Confederate constitution that he was under the Federal constitution. In fact, so immovable was his faith in these rights and so utter his devotion to them, that he was not accustomed to ask himself, if they had not been modified by a change of circumstances, and consequently did not require in the treatment a change of front—if, in other words, "the expedient," to which he had such aversion in that connection, had not risen to the dignity of a "necessity." The truth of these hurried and imperfect suggestions is evident from his celebrated controversy with Ben Hill in the Confederate senate. Yancey's position in the argument, based upon the great fundamental idea of his political creed—the indestructible rights of the State—made no allowance whatever for the strained and critical conditions existing at the time. It seemed difficult, almost impossible, for him in fact, to realize that the question then to be considered, was, not whether the legislation asked by the government, through Hill, was in accord with the demands of State rights, but whether it was in accord with the demands of the situation—not whether it promised most for the preservation of local self-government, but whether, without serious and lasting injury to constitutional freedom, it promised most for the preservation of the Confederacy.

Yancey, it should be added here, was frequently charged by his enemies with being a disunionist *per se*. It was an unjust charge. He was no such disunionist; on the contrary, he had a gallant and knightly love for the Union; but the Union of his affection was the Union handed down by the fathers of the Republic—a

Union blessed and glorified by an unbroken and unviolated constitution. The closing words, indeed, with a slight verbal alteration of Webster's eloquent and impassioned appeal for Union, in his great speech against Hayne before the United States senate, may not inappropriately be given as the motto, or guide of Yancey at every stage of his political career—the constitution and the Union—now and forever—one and inseparable.

The epithet "grand" is often used to describe remarkable men; but it was never used in this way more appropriately than when applied to Yancey. He had his faults: he made mistakes. These mainly resulted from the fact, as Goldsmith says of Edmund Burke, he often "gave up to party what was meant for mankind." But, in the face of these failings, he can confidently be pronounced a grand man! grand in his sincerity and love of truth; grand in his eloquence, ability and integrity; grand in his devotion to the rights of the States, and to constitutional liberty; and grand in the courage with which he defended his honest convictions, like Ivanhoe in the lists at Ashby, not only against each adversary, but against them all combined.

But let us come back to the convention. The hands of the clock on the wall behind the speaker's stand, pointed to about twenty minutes of four when Yancey slowly rose from his seat near the middle of the hall. The convention, as before intimated, was to begin its session exactly at four.

I pause here to remark that, having been admitted behind the scenes of secession management, I knew what steps it proposed to take in perfecting the organization of the convention. Henry D. Smith, of Lauderdale, had been settled on for temporary chairman and I think, Francis S. Lyon, of Marengo, for permanent president. Some reason existed for management on the part of the secessionists, for although delegations favorable to their views had been selected from almost every county in the State, there was a minority of Union members from certain counties, and contesting delegations from the great counties of Mobile and Montgomery. Some of these Unionists, too, were men of decided ability and prominence. Among the minority suggested, were such members as John Anthony Winston, A. K. Shepard, and Nicholas Davis, while the contesting delegations were headed by John Forsyth, Alexander B. Meek, and Percy Walker, from Mo-

bile, and Henry W. Hilliard, J. J. Seibels, T. B. Bethea, and Henry C. Semple, from Montgomery.

Yancey stood up amid a sea of animated and expectant faces. The buzz of voices suddenly ceased. He commenced talking slowly and deliberately, with that clear and musical intonation which had so frequently charmed into silence hostile assemblies, and which was now heard with delight by hosts of friends, and with no interruption from those who disagreed with him. His magical tones, even when most suppressed in utterance, reached and filled every ear in the vast hall. He spoke of the condition of the country, and the duty of the Democratic party in the pending crisis. As the hands slowly traveled around the face of the clock, his stream of talk flowed freely on, now rising, now falling, but gaining each second in volume, in rapidity, in animation. The hands were about to point to four, when, after a pause, he said: "I move, gentlemen."—Just then Nicholas Davis sprang from his seat on the northern side of the hall and shouted: "I move."—Both motions were put at the same time, one that Henry D. Smith, of Lauderdale, and the other that Michael J. Bulger, of Tallapoosa, be made temporary chairman of the convention. The two gentlemen named rushed for the stand from different parts of the hall, and passing up the steps on either side, met at the Speaker's chair, into which Mr. Bulger glided with astonishing promptness, while Mr. Smith seized with equal promptness the gavel, or emblem of authority, and began rapping for order. But there was no order. Apparently every man was at once on his feet, stamping, gesticulating, screaming. The roar of indignation raised by the secessionists, who knew that they were overwhelmingly entitled to the organization of the convention, joined with the thunderous manifestation of excitement on the part of the others present, was simply deafening. It seemed sufficient to raise the heavy roof of the huge building, and bring it down in ruins upon the heads of the vast assemblage. In the midst of the terrific hubbub, Alexander B. Clitherall, of Pickens, mounted a desk close to my standing-place, in the southwestern corner of the hall, so that I caught a few words of his earnest appeal to the delegates for order. He besought them to remember that there were enemies, open and secret to the Democratic party in the gallery and lobby who were enjoying the confusion and evidences of disruption in

the party, and that on this account, if for no other reason, the disorder should cease, and cease at once. It would have been as well for him to have talked peace to the ocean when stirred up from its bottom by tempests. But few heard him; none heeded him; and after talking himself hoarse, he gave up the effort in despair. At length, when exhaustion had brought about a slight lull in the storm, General L. P. Walker stood up in a chair and waving his hand with that ease and grace characteristic of the man, and with voice and expression of all smoothness and suavity, said: "Inasmuch as the motions to the temporary chairmanship were simultaneous, and as the convention, itself, has given no certain indication of the choice of either gentlemen occupying the stand for the office, I move that they vacate the place, and that the Hon. Francis S. Lyon be made the temporary chairman of this convention." The motion was received with tremendous applause and the ayes for its adoption were apparently unanimous. Francis S. Lyon took the chair; and the secessionists had control of the convention. The temporary organization was made permanent. John Erwin, a noted secession lawyer and planter from the canebrake country, was put at the head of the committee on resolutions; and John T. Morgan, whom I, in common with most other persons present, now saw for the first time, was appointed chairman of the committee on credentials. These were perhaps the two most important committees of the convention. Morgan, though doing perhaps his first heavy political work in the State, had to defend the report of his committee with regard to the contesting delegations from Mobile and Montgomery, against Forsyth, A. B. Meek, Percy Walker, Hilliard and other political debaters of eminence. He did it in speeches, which for brilliancy and force and dash, were seldom equalled. They stamped him as one of the coming men of the South and the country.

The other notable operations of this convention, with all their widespread and momentous results, are known to every well-read schoolboy at the South;—for are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the Confederacy?

IX. THE FRENCH GRANT IN ALABAMA, A HISTORY OF THE FOUNDING OF DEMOPOLIS.

By Gaius Whitfield, Jr., Demopolis, Ala.

There is no more romantic or interesting chapter in Alabama history than the one which tells the story of the early French colony in Marengo county. It has long proven an attractive field for Southern writers and a number of excellent papers[1] have been written, each describing some particular phase of the subject. Yet, perhaps, there may still be room for another account which aims to cover the entire movement in a connected way and supply as far as possible the contemporary authorities upon which our knowledge must finally rest.

When the star of Napoleon's glory had gone down at Waterloo, never to rise again, and the famous leader had been exiled to the desolate Isle of St. Helena, his loyal followers were compelled by the Bourbons to suffer many kinds of punishment for having served him whom the powers called the Usurper. Some were sentenced to death, some expelled from France and their property confiscated, some were imprisoned and were given no opportunity of defending themselves when they were at last brought to trial, and others were obliged to sell their property and take up their abode in foreign lands.[2]

Special ordinances were directed against them by Louis XVIII, partly perhaps from a desire for vengeance, partly also from the fear that their continued presence and persistent devotion to their exiled leader might assist, or even give rise to, future revolutions. The most important of these proclamations were the two following:

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[1] Among these special attention is called to the chapter in Pickett's *History of Alabama* entitled "Modern French Colony in Alabama," to Prof. Thomas Chalmers McCorvey's article on "The Vine and Olive Colony," in the *Alabama Historical Reporter*, Tuscaloosa, April, 1885, to Anne Bozeman Lyon's article on "The Bonapartists in Alabama," in the *Southern Home Journal, Memphis*, March, 1900 (since reprinted in the *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, Montgomery, March, 1903) and to a series of articles on the subject in the Demopolis *Express* by Prof. J. W. Beeson.

[2] Bourrienne's *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, vol. iii, pp. 317-318.

The first of these was issued by the king to the French people,[3] and was as follows:

"I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is a matter of grief to France and of horror to Europe. In the plot which they hatched I perceive many of my subjects misled and some guilty.

"I owe it, then, to the dignity of my crown, to the interests of my people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two chambers which I propose forthwith to assemble.

"Given at Cambrai this 28 of June, in the year of our Lord 1815 and of our reign the 21st.

Louis."

The second was a decree issued by Louis XVIII on the 26th of July, 1815,[4] and[5] "singles out for example the following general officers, accused of treason against the king before the 23rd of March, etc., Ney, Labedoyere, the two brothers L'Allemand, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Ameith, Breyer, Gilly, Monton, Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavelette, Rovigo.

"2. The individuals whose names follow, viz: Soult, Alex, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehec, Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vondamme, Lamarque, (general), Lobau, Harel, Pire, Barrere, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi (de Padoue), Dejean son, Garrau, Real, Bouvier, Dumalard, Dirat, Defermont, Merlin de Donai, Durbach, Bory, Soint Vencent Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Millinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Jauson eldest son, Le Lorgne Didevelle, shall depart within three days from the city of Paris, and retire into the interior of France, to such places as our ministers of the general police shall point out for them, where they shall remain under surveillance, until the chambers shall decide on their case whether they ought to leave the kingdom, or be delivered up for the prosecution of the tribunals."

Nevertheless, Louis and his ministry thought it would be more advantageous to the interests of the Bourbons if they should extenuate the fault of the offenders. In order to obviate the result

[3] *Niles' Weekly Register,* vol. viii.

[4] *Ibid,* vol. ix.

[5] An interesting account of the decree, and indeed of the entire situation in France at that time is given in the *Memoirs* of Talleyrand, vol. iii, p. 170, *et seq.*

of a trial the king and his ministers tried to provide the Bonapartists with money for their escape. Even though the arrests were delayed and passports given to the accused, they were arrested while attempting to leave France. But many of them, with courage worthy of their leader, refused to leave the country for which they had undergone so many hardships and braved the perils of numerous battlefields, as their departure would be a tacit admission of their guilt.[6]

After long debates in the chambers, the following law of amnesty was passed and sanctioned by the royal assent on January 12, 1816:[7]

"Art. 1. A full and an entire amnesty is accorded to all those who directly or indirectly took part in the rebellion and usurpation of Napoleon Bonaparte, saving those hereinafter named.

"2. The ordinance of the 26th of July will continue to be executed with respect to the individuals named in the first article of that ordinance.

"3. The king can in the space of two months from the promulgation of the present law, exile from France such of the individuals comprised in the 2nd article of the said ordinance as he shall keep on it, and as shall not have been previously brought before the Tribunals; and in that case such parties shall quit France within the time fixed for them, and shall not return without the express permission of his majesty, under pain of transportation.

"The king may in like manner, deprive them of all property and all pensions granted to them on grounds of favor.

"4. The relations of Napoleon Bonaparte in ascending and descending line—his uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces; his brothers and their wives and their issue; his sisters and their husbands are excluded forever from the kingdom. All are bound to depart therefrom in the space of one month, under the penalties specified in the 91 article of the Penal Code. They cannot enjoy any civil right in France, or possess any property whatsoever, any title or pension granted to them of favor; and they shall be bound to sell, within six months, all the property that they hold in France by purchase.

"5. The present amnesty is not applicable to those persons against whom prosecution has been directed, or against whom judgments have been pronounced, prior to the promulgation of the present law; such prosecution shall be continued, and such judgments executed conformably to the laws.

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[6] Miss Lyon's "Bonapartists in Alabama."

[7] *Annual Register*, vol. lviii.

"6. Are not comprised in the present amnesty crimes or offences against individuals, at whatever period they may have been committed. The persons charged with such crimes may be always prosecuted according to the laws.

"7. Those of the regicides who in contempt of a clemency almost boundless voted for the Additional Act, or accepted offices or employments from the Usurper, and who by so doing declared themselves irreconcilable enemies of France, and of the lawful government, are forever excluded the realm and are bound to quit it in the space of one month, under pain of the punishment enacted by the 33rd article of the Penal Code. They cannot possess any civil right in France, nor any property, title or pension granted to them of favor."

At the end of 1816 and the beginning of 1817, the imperialists, after the trial and execution of Labedoyere and finally of Ney, began to understand the true light in which they were held by the Bourbons. A number of these Bonapartists, broken in spirit and persecuted by Bourbon hatred, sought America,[8] where they hoped to find rest from the trying ordeals through which they had passed. It is true their king had shown much nobility towards them, but he might change and they were never certain of the implacable Fouche. After having arrived in America they determined to leave the cities, for they feared that persecution would follow them even there. They decided to form a colony[9] in the wilds of

[8] The number coming to America was so great as to start some very wild statements in Paris. *See* the following extract from *Niles' Register,* Sept. 6, 1817:

"It is said in the Paris papers that the French emigrants that have reached the United States 'do not amount to a less number than 30,000.' People do not think what thirty thousand is. I have a right to know something of this matter; and venture an opinion that three thousand have not arrived here, in ships and vessels, since the first return of Louis; nor do I believe that any have crossed the ocean in balloons. Vessels from France very seldom have more than 10 to 20 passengers. I am certain that they have not averaged 20: this would give us fifteen hundred vessels from France in the period stated."

[9] The spirit that animated them is well shown by the following extracts from the tri-weekly *National Intelligencer,* of Sept. 4, 1817:

"Never was a project set on foot under better auspices, or entered into, as we learn, with more ardor and a fuller determination to make a fair experiment to show what Frenchmen can do. 'I am astonished,' said *a Capitalist* of Philadelphia to Generals Clausel and Desnouettes, 'that such men as you who have money at command, should undertake such a Don Quixote expedition, when, by taking your stand in the Exchange, you would get 20 per cent. for your money without trouble.' 'We have been accustomed,' replied General Clausel, 'to labour for the glory and happiness of our country, not to prey upon their or other people's necessities.'—A reply which marks a noble mind."

the West, for they thought it would be a refuge, where they would be able to gather together the forces of body and soul, and begin life again on a new basis free from the cares and dangers of a broken empire.[10]

A number of these exiles formed an association in Philadelphia, with George N. Stewart, then a youth of eighteen, as its secretary, to establish a colony somewhere in the West. Therefore they sent out their exploring commissioners, Jean A. Penniers and Bazile Meslier, to select a suitable situation for a colony. They made their observations on the soil, productions, etc., of the country lying between the 32d and 36th degrees of latitude, on the west bank of the Mississippi river, but found no place which they thought suitable for a modern French colony. During the absence of Penniers and Meslier, the association dispatched Colonel Nicholas Parmentier,[11] one of their number, to Washington for the purpose of petitioning congress to grant them a tract of land upon which to form a settlement. While Colonel Parmentier was at the capital, the emigrants came to the conclusion that the far West was by no means what their fancy had pictured it. They were easily persuaded by Dr. Brown, of Kentucky, who had traveled some in France, to settle near the confluence of the Black Warrior and Tombigbee rivers, in what was then the Mississippi Territory. He took great interest in their welfare and thought they would find the climate and soil of the South very similar to that of their own country. He believed that with little difficulty they would be able to convert the wild fertile lands into a perfect vineyard. They would find in this region, which had once acknowledged the supremacy of France, many kindred people; for Mobile contained many whose hearts were filled with sympathy, admiration and love for their emperor. Louisiana was only a short distance from Mobile, and it was upon this French country that they based their hopes for help in the furtherance of their plans to restore the great Napoleon to his empire. When they learned these things, there was no doubt in their minds that Alabama was the country in which they ought to settle, and where the oppressor's hand could not reach them.[12] After they decided

[10] Miss Lyon's "Bonapartists in Alabama."
[11] Pickett's *History of Alabama.*
[12] *Ibid.*

to settle in the region traversed by the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers, congress granted them a tract of land by the following act, approved March 3, 1817:[13]

"An act to set apart and dispose of certain public lands, for the encouragement of the cultivation of the vine and olive.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President of the United States, to designate, and set apart, any four contiguous townships, each six miles square, of vacant public lands lying in that part of the Mississippi Territory which was formed into a land district, by the act, entitled 'An act for the ascertaining and surveying of the boundary line fixed by the treaty with the Creek Indians, and for other purposes,' passed on the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen; and the four townships, so designated and set apart, shall be reserved from public and private sale, anything in the aforesaid act to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the sale of the said four townships, which shall have been designated and set apart, as aforesaid, at the rate of two dollars per acre, to be made payable fourteen years after the contract shall have been concluded with any agent, or agents, of the late emigrants from France, who have associated together for the purpose of forming a settlement in the United States; *Provided,* That satisfactory evidence shall be produced that such agent, or agents, are duly authorized to form such contract, and that the number of such emigrants, being of full age, for which he or they are authorized to act, are equal at least to the number of half sections contained in the four townships proposed to be disposed of.

"Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the said Secretary shall have power to make such allotment of the lands among the individuals, and to stipulate, in the proposed contract, for such conditions of settlement and cultivation of the vine, and other vegetable productions, as may to him appear reasonable; and that on the fulfillment of such conditions shall the issuing of grants, for the lands, be made to depend: *Provided,* That no patent shall be granted for any of the lands aforesaid, nor shall any title be obtained therefor, either at law or equity, until complete payment shall have been made for the whole four townships, and until they comply with the conditions of the contract, so to be made as aforesaid; nor shall a patent be granted for a greater quantity than six hundred and forty acres to any one person."

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[13] U. S. *Statutes at Large,* vol. iii, p. 374.

Having obtained the grant of land, Colonel Parmentier and others of the emigrants sailed from Philadelphia for Mobile with some of the French gentlemen and their families in the schooner McDonough, which had been procured for the purpose. In a letter to a friend in Philadelphia, Colonel Parmentier wrote thus concerning an accident that occurred while on board:[14]

MOBILE BAY, *May 26, 1817.*

"After a passage of 21 days from the capes of Delaware we have arrived within sight of these shores, which not a soul on board had ever seen before; we had, however, a very narrow escape at the moment when about to gain this real land of promise; we were gliding gently along under favor of a pleasant breeze, lead in hand, when suddenly from nine fathoms we made only two fathoms, or twelve feet, and before we could haul off, grounded. You may conceive the feelings of our associates under all our circumstances. However, we were fortunate in possessing in Captain John McCloud, a mind experienced, collected and intrepid; his activity, presence of mind and excellent temper were not disturbed by the indiscreet conduct of some on board, whose imprudence and want of self-possession might have been fatal with a man of less manly and less resolute disposition; he may be fairly said to have saved every person on board by his firmness and discretion. By his good disposition we were enabled to obtain succor from Fort Boyer; a boat from which set off under its intrepid and generous commanding officer, Lt. R. Beal, of the artillery, and Captain Bourke, formerly of the army, who happened to be at the fort. These two gallant men, with four privates, put off on discovering our situation and succeeded in carrying our passengers on shore, after great and persevering fatigue; it is by men like these, whose profession inures them to dangers and privations unknown in common life, that the greatest acts of generosity are usually displayed; not content with rescuing us from danger of wreck, they conducted us into the fort, and with an affection the most unaffected taught us to forget the dangers we had escaped, and to bless the circumstances which enabled us to enjoy their generosity, hospitality and kindness; there was nothing which the country could afford which we were not provided with, and they have left on our hearts impressions of gratitude which time cannot efface.

"Our vessel being lightened, and having suffered no injury, moved into the channel, and having procured the requisite information to proceed to our destination, the same kindness which had flown to our relief, contributed to our comfort and gratification and conducted us on board, and, accompanied by such a variety of

[14] *National Intelligencer,* July 17, 1817.

refreshments, and acts of goodness exercised towards individuals whom they had never seen before, but whose fortunes and destiny appears to have found in their generous hearts a noble sympathy; they furnished us with letters of introduction to their friends. It is impossible to communicate the sense we entertain of the kindness we have experienced—to-morrow we ascend the river Mobile, from whence you shall hear from me again.

"The country on the margin of the sea presents a scene of the highest luxuriance. The foliage brighter than your more northern climate; the bay is a young sea, and appears to be unbounded; but it is too soon to give you any ideas of a distinct landscape, to speak of a soil that we have scarcely touched, and that towards which we are approaching too remote yet to be seen."

The following extracts of a letter from Colonel Parmentier, dated White Bluff, July 14th, 1817, to a friend in Washington, tell of their treatment while in Mobile and of their trip up the Tombigbee river to the White Bluff.[15]

"We reached Mobile[16] on the 25th ult., and found that our arrival was expected. The officers of the government, those who would be benefited by the increase of inhabitants and the augmentation of the price of produce, those who were friendly to the prosperity of the country, and, indeed, all who were not actuated by a jealousy as short-sighted as pitiable, were favorably disposed towards our settlement. Mr. Gibson, a public agent, and a man of liberal education, Mr. John Toulmin, brother of Judge Toulmin, and Mr. Lewis, the collector of the port, distinguished for their merit and affability, treated us with the greatest possible attention and introduced us to the first houses of Mobile, from whom we obtained very particular information of the country we were about to traverse. Mr. Lewis offered us the use of the revenue cutter, which we accepted, so that our first excursion up the country was made under the United States flag."

When the revenue cutter started on its way up the river, it left the wharf crowded with many friends whom the exiles had made

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[15] *National Intelligencer,* August 30, 1817.

[16] A short description of Mobile taken from the same letter may interest the reader.

"Until lately there was no quay at Mobile to moor vessels to. One is now constructing, which is to be built out far enough to have nine feet of water at its eastern extremity at low tide. It will when completed be very long. The city is situated on a sandy beach perfectly level. The streets are from 60 to 100 feet wide. The houses are almost all of wood, one story high, with some few of two stories. They are raised from two to four feet above the ground on piles of large dimensions. There are from 80 to 100 houses, and they continue to build very fast. The population is estimated at from 1000 to 1500, of every description."

during their brief stay in Mobile. They departed on a bright clear summer morning which presented a marked contrast to the day that they entered the harbor. They entered the port friendless and distressed, now they continued their voyage joyously with many friends to pray for their safe passage up the river. Adieus were waved from the wharf as the cutter set out, and were answered by cheers from the enthusiastic exiles.

"I arrived at Fort Stoddard on Sunday the 31st of May. Judge Toulmin had sent horses to convey me to his residence, distant one and a half miles from the river. This highly respectable magistrate treated me with the greatest possible kindness, and expressed the interest he felt in our settlement. He accompanied me to Fort Montgomery, and introduced me to his son-in-law (Gen. Gaines), who received me in a manner suitable to our recommendations and his well established character. All the topographical documents in his possession were at my disposal, and he instructed those of his officers, who had been employed in reconnoitering the country, to give me the most circumstantial details as to the courses of the navigable rivers, the nature of the soil on their banks, the hills which rise above them, the ways which have been opened on these hills, and the character of the inhabitants who are already established here and there over this immense surface.

"On Tuesday I arrived at St. Stephens,[17] and on delivering my letters of recommendation, I met with the greatest possible attention. Mr. McGoffin, of the land office, placed at my disposal all the plans and reports of the surveyors: which most singularly corroborated the information I had previously obtained, although by induction, the surveys extended as yet only to the 32d degree of latitude, which is the northern of the lands for sale on the 1st

[17] There is an interesting description of St. Stephens in Parmentier's letter of July 14, and an article in the *National Intelligencer* of September 9, 1817.

"The town of St. Stephens, at the head of ship navigation on the Tombigbee, is advancing with a rapidity beyond that of any place, perhaps, in the Western country. It is built on very uneven ground, and much time and expense will be necessary to level it. It is situated half a mile from the river, and has an area laid out containing 1320 acres. The lots are 45 feet wide and 90 feet deep. They sold on the first settlement of the town at 200 dollars each. The present proprietors continue to sell at the same price, excepting certain situations, for which it is said 2,000 dollars might be procured if they were for sale. There are already fifty houses, twenty of which are stores. New buildings are erected every day, and there is a want of workmen to build them. A hod-man gets two dollars per day wages. An academy has been erected on the most elevated part of the town, it is directed by professors of acknowledged merit, and has already eighty scholars, several of whom are from New Orleans. The annual amount of merchandise brought and vended at this place, is not less than 500,000 dollars and is still increasing."

of July. I acquired much information from Colonels Dale, Fisher, Dinsmore, Watson, and Mr. Malone, etc.'"

At St. Stephens they discharged the revenue cutter and procured a barge for the remainder of the trip.

After some time the exiles reached the White Bluff, where some of the party landed while the rest pushed high up the river to "old Fort Tombeckbee." There they consulted with George Strother Gaines, who was at that time United States Choctaw Factor, upon a favorable place for locating, and he suggested that they settle at the White Bluff. While they were at the fort, Jean A. Pennier and Bazile Meslier, their exploring commissioners, whom they had sent out to seek a location for their colony, joined them and agreed with the suggestion of Mr. Gaines; whereupon it was decided to settle at the chalky cliff upon which now stands the town of Demopolis. These two gentlemen were then sent back to Philadelphia with letters to the association, which convinced them that this was the country in which to make a settlement.[18] In a letter to a friend Colonel Parmentier wrote thus:

"We have explored the country situated on the east side of the Tombigby, above the line called the Choctaw boundary, and we have resolved to fix ourselves on the spot known by the name of the White Bluff, about three-fourths of a mile below the junction of the Black Warrior and Tombigby rivers, as part of our grant. It remains to say in what shape the four townships are to be laid out, and this we will do as soon as the meridian line shall be continued twelve miles above the White Bluff, and the lines of demarcation shall be marked as far as the said Bluff. The season is already advanced, and no resource would be left to a number of individuals during the ensuing winter if the benevolent intentions of the government towards us are not administered with some celerity. White Bluff is one of the finest situations I ever saw in my life, and the lands lying around it are of the very finest quality. Nature here offers us everything. If we know how to profit by these advantages we must be happy."

The county in which they settled was given the name Marengo, at the suggestion of Judge Lipscomb, while a member of the legislature at St. Stephens, in commemoration of the great battle which the imperial army won over the Austrian general, Melas.

The emigrants chose lots and erected cabins and made such other improvements as were possible in this wilderness. In the

[18] Pickett's *History of Alabama.*

course of a few months quite a number of emigrants had arrived in boats by way of Mobile.[19] They laid out a town on the White Bluff, which they called Demopolis—the city of the people—at the suggestion of Count Pierre Francois Real, one of the Philadelphia incorporators, who never came to Alabama.

In the meantime the land had been surveyed and Charles Villar, agent of the association, had contracted with Hon. William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, for township 18, range 3, east, and townships 18, 19 and 20, range 4, east, in the Mississippi Territory, for which the association agreed to pay one hundred and eighty-four thousand three hundred and twenty dollars on or before January 8, 1833. The contract contained the following conditions and stipulations:[20]

"1. That, before the expiration of three years from the date of this contract, there shall be made upon each tract in the aforesaid four townships allotted to the respective associates a settlement by themselves individually, or by others on their account.

"2. That, before the expiration of fourteen years from the date hereof, there shall be cleared and cultivated within the said four townships at least ten acres of land for each quarter section, taken aggregately.

"3. That, before the expiration of seven years from the date hereof, there shall be cultivated within the said four townships at least one acre to each quarter section, taken aggregately, in vines.

"4. That, before the expiration of seven years from the date hereof, there shall be planted within the said four townships not less than five hundred olive trees, unless it shall be previously established to the satisfaction of the President that the olive can not be successfully cultivated thereon.

"5. That a report shall be made annually to the Secretary of the Treasury by the agent of the said association, or his successor, showing the number of settlements made within the said four townships in each year; the progress made in cultivating the vine and olive, and the degree of success with which the same is attended; and describing the number and kind of such plants which have been cultivated; and also the said agent, or his successor, shall, from time to time, furnish to the Secretary of the

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[19] It seems that some also came by way of the Ohio if we may credit the following extract from *Niles' Register*, Sept. 6, 1817:

"*The French Emigrants.*—By a respectable Indian agent, now at the seat of government we learn, that in coming up the Ohio, he met upwards of a hundred Frenchmen, at different times, directing their course towards the new settlement on the Tombigbee."

[20] *American State Papers.* vol. v.

Treasury such other information touching the condition and state of the association as he may require.

"6. That the list of the associates deposited in the treasury aforesaid be recognized, and the persons thereon inscribed confirmed in the allotments of land annexed to their names respectively, with the exceptions following, viz: Martin Pignet Joseph, Wiles and Leclerc, V. M. Garesche, Jacques Brand and John Roster, Jean Thomas Carre, Laurent Faures, Englebert, Samuel Jackson, Joseph Robard, Pierce Freres, Jean Baptiste Neel, William Tablee, Bellington, George Gaines, S. Voohees, Guillaume Montelius, Kimbal, shall be erased therefrom, and Jacques Moncravie, R. A. Terrier, Charles Brugiere, Joseph Ducommun, Madame George, Pierre Garesche, J. Bonno, Pierre Drouet, Emely and Conde, be inserted thereon, and be entitled, in the order in which they stand herein, to the allotment of the persons thus erased; and the allotments annexed to the names of the others of the persons thus erased shall be assigned to the other late emigrants, under such regulations as are hereinafter prescribed.

"7. That such emigrants as are inscribed on the said list, who had previously to knowing of the allotments assigned to them respectively, settled and improved land within the said four townships, either in those sections set apart for the small allotments, or in others, and before the first day of August last past, shall be entitled to hold the same, to the extent, and in lieu of the quantity, in the large or small allotment, as the case may be, unless the party to whom such lands were actually allotted shall, within six months from the date hereof, tender to such settler the value of the improvements which he may have made thereon, to be ascertained by two respectable persons under oath; and, on failure to make such tender, the party to whom such land was allotted shall be entitled to the land allotted to such emigrant as the aforesaid to the extent of the allotment so occupied and improved; or, if the same be insufficient, he shall be further indemnified by the assignment of so much land as will make up the quantity, out of any land not otherwise appropriated.

"8. That the land exempted from appropriation by the foregoing provisions may be appropriated to other emigrants from France—not already provided for, and whose names shall be presented to the Secretary of the Treasury for his approbation by the agent of the association, or his successor; but actual settlement shall in all cases be an indispensable condition."

The following is "a list of the names of the persons who entered into contract with the Treasury Department for the culture of the vine and olive, and of the tracts of land allotted to each."[21]

[21] *American State Papers,* vol. iv.

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
1	1	Meslier, Bazile,	480
	2	Lauret, Louis,	160
2	3	Conte, Honore,	120
	4	Reudet, Corneille Cadet,	120
	5	Vial, Antoine,	120
	6	Bujey, Antoine,	120
	7	Godemar, Jean Baptiste,	120
	Reserve A.	Colomel,	40
3	8	Jeannet, Louis Rene,	320
	9	Ve, Julie Pastol,	320
4	10	Allard, Henry,	120
	11	Combes, Germain,	120
	12	Combes, Vincent,	120
	13	Sibenthal, freres,	240
	Reserve B.	Latapie,	40
5	14	Derdrauville, Rene,	240
	16	Alma, Anselme,	120
	16	Salmon, Francois,	120
	17	Lintroy,	120
	Reserve C.	Payen, freres,	40
6	18	Shults, Colonel Jean,	320
	19	Comb, Colonel Micheal,	320
7	20	Martin Francis,	480
	21	Pelagot, Antoine Zacharie,	160
8	22	George, Edward,	480
	23	Voile,	160
9	24	Lacombe, Pierre,	480
	25	Lalapie, Antoine,	160
10	26	Richard, Etienne,	160
	27	Papillot, Etienne,	160
11	28	Frenage, Jean Pierre,	480
	29	Rivet, George,	160
12	30	Boutiere, J. Claude Benoit,	240
	31	Ve, Louis David,	120
	32	Delaposte, Louis,	120
	33	Meynie, Jean Ulysse,	120
	Reserve D.	Barthelemine,	40
13	34	Metais, Et. J. B.,	240
	35	Mansuis, Luiller,	120
	36	Jouny, Louis Michel,	120
	37	Vernhes, Jean Vincent,	120
	Reserve E.	Bestos,	40
14	38	Marchaud, Louis Pre. Th.,	480
	39	Martin, Amedee,	160
15	40	Butland, Isaac,	240
	41	Keller, Jonas,	240
	42	Menou, Dieu Donne,	120
	Reserve F.	Fouquet, J. and Moulin,	40
16	43	Jordan, Colonel Ambroise,	320
	44	Vorster, Colonel Emile,	320
17	45	Cadet, Bergache,	240
	46	Gallard, Pierre,	240
	47	Lefeuvre, Claude Joseph,	140
	Reserve G.	(Not appropriated),	40
18	48	Paguenaud, Edward,	240
	49	Transon, Jean,	240
	50	Gaunay, Nicolas,	120

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
	Reserve H.	Glenville,	40
19	51	Astolphi, Laurent,	480
	52	Knappe, Phillippe,	160
20	53	Grouche, Colonel Alphonse,	320
	54	Grouchey, Captain Victor,	160
	55	Pillero,	160
21	56	Drouet, Pierre,	480
	57	Bailley, Michel,	120
	Reserve I.	Dupui and Ragon,	40
22	58	Lemaignen, Pierre Paul,	480
	59	Lerouyer, Francois,	160
23	60	Gavesche, Pierre,	480
	61	Formento, Felix,	160
24	62	Gavesche, Pierre,	240
	63	Burkle, Emanuel,	120
	64	Coquillon, freres,	240
	Reserve J.	Parat, R.,	40
25	65	Drouet, Pierre,	240
	66	Baizeau,	60
		Fagot,	60
		Delpit,	60
		Lapeyre,	60
	67	Boutierre, Francois Gaspard,	120
	Reserve K.	Miot,	40
26	68	Robin, Thomas,	240
	69	Nartique, J. Justin,	240
	70	Gerard, Hyacinth,	160
27	71	Follin, Auguste Firmin,	480
	72	Follin, freres,	160
28	73	Chapron, J. M.,	480
	74	Wiell, James,	160
29	75	Dupouy, Nicholas Alex'r,	480
	76	Manoury, P. Max,	160
30	77	Madame, George,	480
	78	Tournel, Jacques,	160
31	79	Martin, Picquet, L. I. F.,	480
	80	Moucravie, Jacques,	160
32	81	Emely,	480
	82	Martin, Picquet, pere,	120
	Reserve L.	Mangon and Martial,	40
33	83	Aieze, freres,	240
	84	Brugiere, Charles,	240
	85	Barrau,	160
34	86	Lecampion, Francois,	240
	87	Brechemin, Lewis,	240
	88	Humbert, Jacques Estienne,	160
35	89	Jamet,	480
	90	Rigau, Narcisse Pericles,	160
36	91	Promis, Gillaume,	480
	92	Desmares,	160
37	93	Durand, Jean Baptiste,	480
	94	Robaglia, Joseph,	160
38	95	Garnier, fils,	240
	96	Peniere, fils, Emile,	240
	97	Ve, Audibert,	120

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
	Reserve M.	Mignon,	40
39	98	Nidelet, E. F.,	480
	99	Cousin, David,	120
	Reserve N.	Doudel,	40
40	100	Galabert, Colonel Louis,	320
	101	Petitval,	320
41	102	Anduze, Mathew Bernard,	480
	103	Frederick, Louis Auguste,	160
42	104	Gubert, J. H.,	480
	105	Moynier, Jos. Ariste Theo,	160
43	106	Colonel Douarche,	320
	107	Grouchet, Louis,	320
44	108	Villar, Charles,	480
	109	Pagniere, J. Alexander,	160
45	110	Dirat, Louis M.,	480
	111	Mondin,	160
46	112	Pagaud, Pierre,	480
	113	Fallot, Eugene Hyacinthe,	160
47	114	Frenage, Marce Antoine,	480
	115	Laurent, Clement,	120
	Reserve O.	Dalaunay,	40
48	116	Vondame Gl,	480
	117	Angeli, Hiacinthe,	120
	Reserve P.	Foquet, aine,	40
49	118	Poculo, Benoit,	320
	119	Baltar,	160
	120	Moquart,	160
50	121	Besson, Louis An,	480
	122	Lemeunier, J. Joseph,	160
51	123	Mesnier,	240
		(Not appropriated),	240
	124	Henry, Germain,	160
52	125	Colonel Rigau,	480
	126	Mariano, Pompee,	160
53	127	Texier, Lepomerave,	320
	128	Harraneder, Charles,	160
	129	Mataye, Jean Pierre,	120
	Reserve Q.	Penard and Amedee,	40
54	130	Martin, J. Du Colombier,	480
	131	Campardon, Bte,	160
55	132	Ravesies, F.,	480
	133	Bordas, Elie,	160
56	134	Debrosse, Charles,	480
	135	Merle, Etienne,	160
57	136	Lauderelle, M. F. Aug.,	480
	137	Canobio, Francois,	160
58	138	Davis, L. A.,	240
	139	Charles, Fermin B.,	240
	140	Montalegri, Hiacinthe,	160
59	141	Duval, Jacques S.,	480
	142	Bacle, Alexis, fils, aine,	160
60	143	Lakanal,	480
	144	Desportes, Leonte,	120
	Reserve R.	C. Desafoe,	40
61	145	Tulane, freres,	240
	146 and 147	Antoine,	240
	148	Boitau, Francois,	120

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
	Reserve S.	Pueek,	40
62	149	Leboutellier, Michel,	480
	150	Plantevigne,	160
63	151	Moncravie, Jacques,	240
	152	Bringier,	240
	153	Monot, Charles,	160
64	154	Cluis, J. Jerome,	480
	155	Ruffier, Ferdinand,	160
65	156	Garnier, frere,	480
	157	Simon,	160
66	158	Terrier, R. A.,	240
	159	Macre, Jean M.,	120
	160	Dumas, Antoine,	120
	161	Dalmazeau, J.,	120
	Reserve T.	St. David,	40
67	162	Foutanges, P. F.,	480
	163	Godan, Victoire, (N),	120
	Reserve U.	Blancon and Taverly,	40
68	164	Belair, Louis,	480
	165	Sagnier, Henri Antoine,	160
69	166	Lallemand, General Charles,	480
	167	Valcourt, Aime,	160
70	168	Clausel, General Bertrand,	480
	169	Blaquerolle,	160
71	170	Sary, Jean M. Alex.,	160
	171	Gatly, Antoine,	160
	172	Ilari, Benoit,	160
	173	Millon, Solidor,	160
72	174	Ducommun, Joseph,	480
	175	Genin, Charles Franc,	160
73	176	Colonel Charassin,	320
	177	Vasques, Jean,	320
74	178	Roland, Jean Francois,	320
	179	Pichon, Claude Charles,	320
75	180	Clareton, Joseph Louis,	480
	181	Grillet, Francois,	160
76	182	Texier, Jean,	240
	183	Martinet, Pierre Louis,	240
	184	Vitalba, Jean Baptiste,	160
77	185	Jogan, Antonin,	240
	186	Cavoroc, Charles,	120
	187	Brugiere, Charles,	120
	188	Chapon,	120
	Reserve V.	Make,	40
78	189	Dubarry, John,	480
	190	Salaignac, Louis,	120
	Reserve W.	Lebrusse,	40
79	191	Descourt, Leonard Alex.,	240
	192	Onfray, Jean Baptiste,	120
	193	Pochard, Aug. Francois,	120
	194	Fux, Louis,	160
80	195	Colonel Raoul,	320
		Neel, J. B.,	160
	196	Gilbert,	160
81	197	Seveligne,	480
	198	Mane,	160

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
82	199	Richard, George,	160
	200	Nardel, Francois,	160
	201	Chauvot, Charles,	160
	202	Pladaut, Francois,	160
83	203	Bono, Charles,	240
	204	Tasche,	120
	205	Blanden, Jean,	120
	206	Azan,	120
	Reserve X.	Devengen,	40
84	207	Victoire, Delaunay Jos.,	480
	208	Castan, Etienne,	160
85	209	Lefrancois, freres,	480
	210	Groning,	160
86	211	Pothier, Simon,	240
	212	Shubart, Henry,	240
	213	Fisher,	120
		Soulas,	40
87	214	Beylle, Joseph,	480
	215	Malozewsky, Constant Paul,	160
88	216	Teterel, Francois,	480
	217	Pagniere,	160
89	218	Bubosq,	120
	219	George, fils, aine, Edward,	120
	220	Lesueur,	120
	221	Dor,	120
	222	Maillet, Henry Pre. A. As.,	160
90	223	Stallenwereck, freres,	480
	224	Vallot, Joseph,	120
91	225	Matthieu, Dr. Joseph,	480
	226	Allain, Joseph,	120
	Reserve Y.	Mayer,	40
92	227	Jeandrau, Jean,	240
	228	Carlebaux, Guillaume,	240
	229	Buttand,	120
	Reserve Z.	Constantin and Dechoule,	40
93	230	Colonel Taillade,	320
	231	Olivieri, Joseph,	160
	232	Luciani, Pascal,	160
94	233	Mal, Grouchy,	480
	234	Deschamps, Francois Me,	160
95	235	Baumier, Cesar,	160
	236	Barbe, Antoine,	160
	237	Stribaud, Charles,	160
	238	Decorme, Charles,	160
96	239	Chaudron, Edward,	480
	240	Gilbal, Antoine,	160
97	241	Martin Prosper,	480
	242	Desplan, Samuel,	160
98	243	Melizet, Francois,	480
	244	Carso, Francois,	160
99	245	Hamel, Victor,	480
	246	Havard,	160
100	247	Peniere, pere, J. A.,	480
	248	Fauchon, Hoe,	160
101	249	Lecoq du Marcelay,	480
	250	Godat,	120

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
	Reserve AA.	Morin,	40
102	251	Defourni, Col. Fabius,	320
	252	Guillot,	320
103	253	Badaraque, Thomas,	480
	254	Conte, Marius,	160
104	255	Desfouch, Charles,	160
	256	Pascal, Paul,	160
	257	Fouasche, Pierre,	160
	258	Bernard, Henry,	160
105	259	Rapin, Joseph,	480
	260	Contardi, Lewis,	160
106	261	St. Guiron, Jeune,	480
	262	Demony, Dominique Victor,	160
107	263	Ravesies, E.,	240
	264	Fournier, Honore,	240
	265	Farcy,	160
108	266	Champenois, P. J.,	240
	267	Savary, Joseph,	240
	268	Belmere, pere, and fils,	160
109	269	Gen. Lallemand, Hy,	480
	270	Prompt,	160
110	271	Bayal, Honore,	480
	272	Duriere, Francois,	160
111	273	Conde, Charles,	240
	274	Conde,	240
	275	Laurent, Maurice,	160
112	276	Chaudron, Simon,	480
	277	Boilandry, Eugenie,	120
	Reserve BB.	Darembert,	40
113	278	Arnaud, Camille,	240
	279	Deprest, Rene, frere and Zach,	240
	280	Batre, Charles,	120
	Reserve CC.	Lagay,	40
114	281	Belange, Mal. Denis,	320
	282	Chasserian, Benoit,	320
115	283	Real, Pierre Francois,	480
	284	Penazi, Louis,	160
116	285	Bujac, Mathew and Alf'd. freres,	240
	286	Germond and Riviere,	240
	287	Guybert, H'y,	120
	Reserve DD.	Payen, freres,	40
117	288	Ducoing, Pre,	480
	289	Stephens, Samuel J.,	160
118	290	Fourestier, Elie,	480
	291	Gregoire, Etienne,	160
119	292	Manfredi, Math. Ferd.,	160
	293	Dupont,	96
	Reserve EE.	Hurtel, J.,	384
120	294	Lefebvre, Gen. Desnouettes,	480
	295	Desroures,	160
121	296	Jeannet, George,	480
	297	Jeannet, Je,	160
122	298	Dumenil,	240
	299	Ducommun, Joseph,	120
	300	Parat, F. Romain,	120
	301	Burgues, Jn. Bernard,	120

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
	Reserve FF.	Cuchet,	40
123	302	Ve, Demerest,	240
	303	Boulon, E.,	240
	304	Lapeyre, Jn. Bte,	160
124	305	Thouron, pere and fils,	480
	306	Larau, Sully,	120
	Reserve GG.	Janin,	40
125	307	Bonno, J.,	480
	308	Landerin, Francois,	120
	Reserve HH.	Bonneau,	40
126	309	Legrix, Bellisle,	240
	310	Legras,	240
	311	Bulliard, Etienne,	160
127	312	Follin, George,	480
	313	Fauquier,	160
128	314	Emery and Duteste,	480
	315	Vogeslang, Daniel,	120
	Reserve II.	Chapotin,	40
129	316	Haez,	120
		Prudhomme,	120
		Morel,	240
	317	Murrat, Jean Baptiste,	160
130	318	Mestayer, Michel,	480
	319	Rieger, Gabriel V.,	160
131	320	Parmentier, Nicholas Sim.,	480
	321	Bauzan, Pierre,	160
132	322	Villemont,	240
		Guilleault,	180
		Quepart,	60
		Verrier,	60
	323	Fisher,	160
133	324	Dufourg, Jean Jacques,	240
	323	Dufourg, D. V.,	120
	326	Dufourg, F.,	120
	327	Lacloix, Rene Francois,	160
134	328	St. Guiron, Pre Pascal, aine,	240
	329	Farrouilh, A.,	120
	330	St. Felix, Jean R.,	120
	331	Decave, Marc Lewis,	120
	Reserve JJ.	Rapin,	40
135	332	Barbarroux, Joseph,	240
	333	Cirode, William,	120
	334	Shoeun, Sebastian,	120
	335	Gouiran, Joseph Michel,	120
	Reserve KK.	Allouard and Achard,	40
136	336	Lajonie,	480
	337	Truck,	160
137	338	Colona, Dornano B.,	320
	339	Peraldi, Toussaint,	160
	340	Scasso, Vincent,	160
138	341	Laroderie, Alphonso,	240
	342	Savournin, Joseph,	240
	343	Balbuena, Joseph,	160
139	344	Canonge, Pierre August,	480
	345	Lucien,	160

Nos. of Sections	Nos. or Marks of the Land	Names	Quantity of Land to Each
140	346	Vaugine,	240
		Bogy,	240
	347	Torta, Jean,	160

The colony's severest blow came in the discovery that the location of Demopolis was not included in the townships set apart for them by the contract entered into between the secretary of the treasury and the agent of the association. The improvements made by the exiles were upon land which did not belong to them. The land had been alloted by the association in Philadelphia, irrespective of the claimants; and they were compelled to leave their improvements and begin anew further in the depths of the forest.[22] General Charles Lefebvre Desnouettes, who seems to have been the acknowledged leader of the colony, made a journey to Philadelphia in behalf of the settlers. He very unfortunately could do nothing for his friends, although he secured his own tract and improvements. Upon his return he regretfully saw them abandon the lots upon which they had spent much labor, and begin clearing and building in new parts of the wilderness.[23] They laid out another town about a mile east of the White Bluff, which they called Aigleville in token of their love for Napoleon's standard which bore the eagle perched upon its summit. Later it was found that many of the emigrants had settled on land that was not allotted to them individually by the association in Philadelphia. They were, therefore, compelled again to leave their hard earned comforts. It seemed that no matter how far they went into the forest, some trick of fate compelled them to give up their rough-hewn homes and commence again the work of clearing and preparing new land for cultivation. But in spite of all these vicissitudes, the grantees who remained strove earnestly to stand up to their part of the contract. Each time they were compelled to move, they went to work with wonderful zeal to prepare the land for the cultivation of the vine and olive. They finally became settled on the land allotted to them and made many attempts, which were fruitless, to grow the grape.

The country in which they settled had until within the last few

[22] Pickett's *History of Alabama.*

[23] Miss Lyon's "Bonapartists in Alabama."

years been a part of the land held by the Creek Indians. It was covered by virgin forests and luxuriant growth of cane, broken here and there by stretches of open prairie. These lands, which are now the garden spot of Alabama agriculture, were then a wilderness so thickly overgrown with cane of various kinds that it was almost impassable.[24] There were no roads traversing it and scarcely could a path made by the deer or the savage, be found leading through the dense jungle, which covered what are now the richest plantations in west Alabama. In this wild, level, "canebrake" region there were few springs and water was very hard to find after a little distance had been put between the traveler and the river. The exiles could not move far into this region for lack of water and the means by which to transport goods to their huts.[25] As they were unable to continue their labors unaided, and had no slaves of their own, a number of German redemptioners were imported through the enterprising and generous Desnouettes. But these people proved more of a burden and expense than an assistance, for they disregarded entirely the obligations of their contract.

Pioneers less suited by nature and training for subduing the forest and overcoming the trials of frontier life could not have been found, and never were stronger hands and stouter hearts needed in any undertaking than in this country, then barely known to civilized man. Among other trials the refugees were repeatedly stricken with sickness. The lands which they settled were often overflowed two or three times a year by the rivers, and the stagnant pools left by the receding water caused malarial fever, from which many of the exiles died. On an old map of Demopolis are seen two crosses which mark the graveyards where rest the remains of many of this brave and sturdy band.

Their nearest neighbors were the Choctaw Indians, who possessed the land lying west of the Tombigby river. This was a war-like, brave and honest tribe. They were honest in paying their debts and sturdy in their protection of their white friends. Their chief, Pushmataha, was magnificently developed both mentally and physically and was an orator of some genius. He was

[24] Prof. McCorvey's "Vine and Olive Colony."

[25] Conversations with old settlers of Demopolis.

known far and wide as the white man's friend, and kept his tribe on friendly terms with the emigrants, whom they helped greatly by teaching them how to clear and work their land.[26] They learned very readily anything the white man would teach them. Later came the unprincipled American squatters. They were a great source of annoyance to the hard-working Frenchmen, whom they harrassed no little by taking possession of their lands without the least shadow of a title and declaring that they did not expect to give them up under any conditions. Such occurrences brought on lawsuits. In every instance the court decided in favor of the grantees. In many cases, however, the Frenchmen, worn out by troubles with the squatters, sold their lands for a very small part of their real value.[27]

Their homes are described by William L. Adams, agent of the treasury department, in a report to the secretary of the treasury thus:

"The owner or some one on his or her account, built on the allotment a log cabin of a common height for such kind of buildings, hewed down inside and out, covered with a good board or shingle roof, laid with a plank or puncheon floor, with a log chimney, and made quite comfortable for a building of the cabin kind. The smallest size cabin which I examined was 16 by 18 feet on the inside; and the largest, 19 by 23 feet. Every building had enclosed about it from one to five acres of land, and cost the owner from 85 to 150 dollars, varying in price according to the size of the cabin and the quantity of land cleared and enclosed."[28]

One can scarcely imagine the discomforts which the settlers, who had been accustomed all of their lives to live in luxury, had to suffer in these pioneer homes. Their ignorance concerning the commonest domestic affairs was most pitiable. The clothes they wore during their daily tasks were very unsuitable garments in which to work. Women dressed in silk gowns and satin slippers, which they had worn at court balls, were seen dropping corn or wading out in the mud to milk the cows; and the men ploughed, ditched and cleared land while dressed in their richest uniforms.[29]

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[26] Notes taken by Mrs. W. A. Gayle during a conversation with Judge William E. Clarke.

[27] Pickett's *History of Alabama.*

[28] *American State Papers,* vol. v.

[29] Conversations with old settlers of Demopolis.

But in spite of all their trials the French refugees were happy and their native gayety prevailed. They brought with them many ornaments, books, musical instruments, and even their fine china, glass and silverware, the latter often the present of royal friends. Among them was always seen the gay grace and social culture for which Paris is so famous. Although the days were filled with trials, yet, when night came on the day's troubles were forgotten and all was given up to pleasure. Beautifully attired ladies accompanied by gallant gentlemen might be seen going in and out of the rough cabins, where music and dancing were enjoyed by all. As long as they had money they were determined to enjoy life. Their tables were loaded with luxuries and on festive occasions their boards flowed with the richest wines, long before a grape had been planted on the grant. Their tables were supplied with all kinds of game from the surrounding forest, where it could easily be procured with little skill, and with many varieties of vegetables which in season the rich garden spots brought forth in abundant supplies. Along with these things they often had large supplies of wines and other luxuries sent them by friends at home. Upon the arrival of these gifts from France, the town always put on the appearance of a minute French village, and the pastimes engaged in did not comport with the self-denial and hardships necessary for success in settling a wilderness; but it must be remembered that pioneers of this class are very seldom found, and it could hardly be expected that men and women, who had been reared and taught in the fashionable courts of France, would be able readily to abandon their former customs for the uneventful routine of farm life.[30]

The exiles made a mistake in the location of their land for the vines and olive trees which they planted were total failures. If the grant, which lay in the prairie region of Marengo and Hale counties, had been located about twenty-five or thirty miles farther north towards the hills of Hale, the vineyards, at least, might have been a success. Yet they could not know this country of great forests as it is known to-day, nor be able to tell that about thirty miles to the north of their settlement, where they tried to grow the grape, was land which Nature had covered with extensive wild vineyards. The land was new and it took many years

[30] Prof. McCorvey's "Vine and Olive Colony."

of hard labor to get it into a condition suitable for productive cultivation.[31]

Besides the trials of continually having to leave their clearing and improvements, and the encroachment of the squatters, there was trouble at Washington and Philadelphia. The government had been misled, no doubt by designing persons, and made to believe that the colony was founded merely as a speculation on the part of the leaders.[32] As early as December 14, 1818, the secretary of the treasury in a communication to the house of representatives, states that many of the grantees had transferred their allotments and followed the French generals, who were attempting to make a settlement on the Trinity river, in Texas; or had engaged in occupations which prevented them from complying with the requirements of the contract.[33] It is true that General Henry L'Allemand and a small band of French exiles seized a tract of land in Texas and tried to form a colony,[34] but the greater

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[31] Miss Martha Young.

[32] As a sample of the accusations made in the press and otherwise, the following extracts from *Niles' Register*, Aug. 8, 1818, will serve:

"Among the splendid fooleries which have at times amused a portion of the American people, as well as their representatives in congress, was that of granting, on most favorable terms to certain emigrants from France, a large tract of land in the Alabama territory, to encourage the cultivation of the vine and olive, passed the 3rd of March, 1817.

"This tract contains 92,000 acres, and was sold at $2 per acre, payable without interest, in 14 years—in truth, much better than a mere gratuity of so much land considering the license of selection, and which could not, at this time, probably be purchased of the proprietors for less than two millions of dollars. What was honestly intended as a common benefit to a number of unfortunate persons, is understood to have immediately centered, like banking, into the benefit of a few; and I am told that one man's gain by this speculation are estimated at from 500,000 to a million of dollars."

"It was the abuse of the Alabama grant that caused the rejection of the petition of the Irish emigrant associations for the laying off of a tract of land in the Illinois, though everybody felt satisfied that their design was an honest one."

"By way, however, I very much question the policy of any act of government that has a tendency to introduce and keep up amongst us a foreign national language or dialect, manners or character, as every large and compact settlement of emigrants from any particular country, must necessarily occasion."

[33] Prof. McCorvey's "Vine and Olive Colony."

[34] The following taken from *Niles' Register*, August 8, 1818, and written by one of the band, shows their intentions in forming the colony.

"Champ D'Azile, province of Texas, May 11, 1818.

"Reunited by a series of the same calamities which have torn us from our homes, and scattered us in different countries, we have resolved to seek an asylum, where we may be able to recall our misfortunes, and that we may draw from them useful lessons.

part of the emigrants were opposed to this proceeding, and strove to carry out their part of the contract. They were charged with having converted what was intended as a common benefit to a number of unfortunate persons into a benefit for a few scheming leaders.

Another element of the earliest settlers of the French grant, whose history is very little known, is a band of West India refugees. These French were living in San Domingo at the time of the great negro insurrection which drove the whites from the island. Many of the French were murdered in the insurrection, but a few escaping to the coast sailed for America and ultimately reached Philadelphia, where they were living at the time the grant was made for the cultivation of the vine and olive. Some of them were determined to cast their lot with the Tombeckbee Association. They did not come to Alabama with the first settlers, but joined them in the year 1820. Among those of the West India

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"A vast country presents itself to us: a country abandoned by civilized man, where is only to be seen, some points occupied, or traversed by Indian tribes, who contented with the chase leave without cultivation a territory as fertile as extended. In the adversity of which we boast, far from humbling our spirit, we exercise the first right granted to man, by the author of nature, in establishing ourselves in this land, to fertilize it by our labors, and to demand from it the products which it never refuses to perseverence.

"We attack no one, we have no hostile intentions. We ask peace and friendship from all who surround us; and will be grateful for the kindness, which will be extended to us. We will respect the religion, the laws, the manners, and the usages of the civilized nations. We will respect the independence, the customs, the mode of life of the Indian nations, whom we will not restrain either in their hunting, or in any other point of their existence.

"We will maintain with all those, to whom it will be expedient, social relations, and good neighborhood, as well as commercial pursuits.

"Our deportment will be peaceful, active and laborious; we will be useful to the extent of our power; and will render good for good.

"But if it be possible that our situation be not respected, and that persecution may follow to the deserts where we have sought a retreat, we ask it of all reasonable men; what defense would have ever been more legitimate than ours? It will be that of the most entire devotion. Our resolution is taken before hand. We have arms. The care of our preservation has imposed it upon us to furnish ourselves with them, as men in our situation always have done. The land, on which we have placed ourselves, will behold us prosper or die. There we will live honorably and free, or will find our tomb; and just men will grant a testimonial of esteem to our memory. But we have a right to look for a more happy result; and our first care ought to be to merit the general assent in tracing the simple regulations, which will be a guarantee of our dispositions.

"We will name the place, where our colony is situated, Champ D'Azile.

refugees who joined the colony in the canebrakes of Alabama, were the Stollenwerks, Martiners, Fourniers and Ravesies.[25]

The company was entirely a corporation, as shown by the act of Congress making the grant, and in no manner allowed complet. individual ownership of land. The exiles were assigned certain tracts of land, which they were to cultivate, but were not allowed to hold deeds to the land until complete payment had been made for the entire four townships. However, on April 26, 1822, was approved "an act supplementary to the act, entitled 'An act to set apart and dispose of certain Public Lands for the Encouragement of the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive."[26] It is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, whenever any individual or individuals, named in the contract entered into between the Secretary of the Treasury and Charles Villar, agent of the French Association, on the eighth day of January in the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, by virtue of the Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to set apart and dispose of certain public lands for the encouragement of the cultivation of the vine and olive,' passed on the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, or the heirs or devisees of such individual or individuals, shall have complied with the condition of settlement and cultivation, in said contract prescribed, in proportion to his or their interest, under said contract, and in the lands thereby set apart, and shall have paid the amount of purchase money, proportionate to his or their interest

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"This denomination, in recalling to us our reverses, will also recall the necessity of fixing our destiny; of setting up anew our household gods; in a word creating a new country.

"The colony, essentially agricultural and commercial, will be military for its preservation.

"It will be divided into cohorts:

"Each cohort will have a chief, who will be required to keep a register of the persons who compose it, and to preserve it in order.

"A general register formed from that of the cohorts, will be kept by the direction of the colony.

"The cohorts will be collected in the same place, that they may be the better protected from insult; and that each may live tranquilly under the protection of all.

"A colonial code shall forthwith be made, to guarantee safety and property, to prevent and repress wrongs; to secure the peace of just men, to curb the evil intentions of the wicked."

[25] These statements are based on a conversation with Mrs. Bayal, one of the settlers of Demopolis.

[26] U. S. *Statutes at Large,* vol. iii, p. 667.

in said land, within the particular periods in the said contract limited, it shall and may be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury, and he is hereby required, to cause letters patent to be issued to such individual or individuals, or his or their heirs or devisees, for the amount of his or their interest in the lands set apart and contracted for by virtue of the said act, anything in the said act or contract contained to the contrary notwithstanding: saving, always, to the widow of any such deceased proprietor her right of dower in said lands, according to the laws of the State of Alabama.

Thus was set aside the principal object of the grant which was "not that a small number of tracts of land should be cultivated in vines and olives, but that the whole tract should be settled by persons understanding the culture of those plants."

The government kept in touch with the colony through the agent of the association, who was required by the contract to send in an annual report. There was also an agent appointed by the treasury department. A report by Charles Villar, dated Aigleville, December, 12, 1821, thus states the progress of the colony:[37]

"In spite of our enemies, we have done more work than could be reasonably expected, considering the many losses that we have sustained to repair the spot, and, after the beginning of our settlements, the want of communication in a rough and hardly explored country, the greater part of which has been overflowed nine months of this year, and the sickness which has visited us, and deprived yet many families of their hands. Nevertheless, we may assure your excellency that between 81 actual planters for themselves or their commetans (23 being dead), forming 327 persons, we may present to the government 1,100 acres in full cultivation with their own hands, and 1,500 acres of land cultivated by lease. By anticipation we have 10,000 plants of vine in full growth; and that number had been treble had it not been for the loss of so much by accidents at sea, or out of season. As every planter now present in this State has made all possible exertions to answer fully to the expectations of the government, it would be very easy for me to prove substantially to your excellency that, from the time we left our homes till this day, we have, by an average, spent more than $160,000. What better badge of our intention to fulfill the conditions of the contract?"

The following taken from a report of Mr. William L. Adams, agent of the treasury department, dated February, 1827, shows

[37] *American State Papers*, vol. iii.

how much work was done towards the cultivation of the vine, olive, etc.:

"From my own examination, and the best information I could obtain, there are seven thousand four hundred and fourteen acres cultivated in vine, corn, cotton, small grain, etc. The quantity of land planted and cultivated in vine within the four townships granted is two hundred and seventy-one and one-half acres, and the manner of planting the vine is by putting the vines ten feet apart in one direction and twenty the other, and fastening the vine to a stake put in the ground for that purpose, of a size and height to suit the vine. The plantings are in their cotton fields, and are cultivated in the same manner as their cotton is. The number of olive trees planted within the four townships granted has been three hundred and eighty-eight, some of them about six years ago, and the latest three years since. Two hundred trees were imported, and perished on the way, and twenty-five thousand seed have been planted. The tree perishes with every winter's frost, but puts up fresh shoots in the spring, which also perish with the succeeding winter's frost; and I feel confident in the belief that the tree will not succeed in this climate."

Mr. Frederic Ravesies, "agent of the Tombeckbee Association," in a letter to the secretary of the treasury, dated Aigleville, February 27, 1827, thus gives some of the reasons why the conditions of the contract were not carried out.[38]

"It will be recollected that the members of our association were chiefly composed of officers and merchants, possessing an extremely limited knowledge of either the science or practice of agriculture; that the region of country to which they were to remove was a perfect wilderness; and, under circumstances like these, it is to be expected that very many unforeseen and unexpected difficulties would present themselves; and as the common necessaries and means of support must be obtained before an entrance could be made upon the principal object of the association (the culture of the vine), we have, in many instances, been obliged to neglect the performance of our contract, and yield to the more immediate and pressing demands upon our industry for a bare competency and support. Many of the grantees, unfortunately for themselves, came prematurely to their lands, they came to the trackless desert or country, almost impervious to the approach of man, without a road or passway; consequently, the means of transportation to their particular allotments of land was so impracticable and expensive that many persons upon their arrival were compelled to settle, temporarily, on their small allot-

[38] *American State Papers,* vol. iii.

ments around the town of Aigleville, where their funds were exhausted and they became unable to make a second settlement upon their large allotment. The surveyor's report of these lands will exhibit the difficulty of passing through the country, their notes showing that for many days they could not proceed more than 2 or 3 miles per day.

"Many of us were obliged to pay as much as four or five dollars per bushel for corn, and a proportionate price for many other articles of provisions, which prices were very frequently doubled by the difficulties of transportation to their residences. 40 or 50 dollars have often been paid for a cow and calf, which can now be purchased for 8 or 10 dollars. Thus commenced our settlement; and possessing little knowledge of agriculture, strangers to the language, the manners, and habits of the people of this country, we have been greatly retarded from making that rapid progress which, perhaps, the citizens of the United States would have made.

"In addition to those natural difficulties under which we labored, we had other and more serious ones to encounter; for upon almost all that part of our grant which was the easiest to settle and cultivate, the squatter, who is the pioneer of all new countries, had fixed himself. He, just having experienced the difficulties of settling a new country, at once became hostile to our claims, and sternly refused possession to the grantees, in some instances denying the right of the emigrants, and in many others threatening the most violent and determined vengeance upon any person who would interfere with his settlement. From these circumstances many were deterred coming to their lands and in many instances those difficulties exist until this day, there having been as yet but one decision upon the subject, which was in 1825, which judged to the grantee the right of possession and entry, but many continue wrongfully to hold our lands, and refuse possession.

"Again, many of the allotments, from their natural locality, being within the prairie country, admit of no settlement, on account of the impracticability of procuring water, many having dug to a great depth unsuccessfully; these still remain unsettled and unimproved. I further will remark that for several years the colony was remarkably unhealthy, scarcely a family escaped sickness, and many of the grantees died. These, sir, are some of the reasons why failures have occurred in regard to the conditions of settlement, etc. You will now permit me to mention some of the causes which have produced the failure in the condition relative to the vine; and here some of the same reasons present themselves that have been previously stated—the necessity of first acquiring the means of subsistence; the difficulty and length of time required in preparing and clearing land for that, that the 7 years had nearly elapsed before this was accomplished; yet

very early importations of the vine were made long before the time necessary for planting them. But a large quantity of those first imported arrived out of season; and when we consider the lateness of the season in Europe when the cutting must be taken, and the early time at which they must be planted here, it will be seen that any delay in the arrival of vessels must prove fatal to the vines, and they will arrive out of due season. Many more vines have been shipped in due time, and had they all safely arrived, those would have been more than requisite to comply with the condition of the contract, upon all of the allotments, by the time required. All that have arrived alive have been carefully planted, and none wasted; as evidence of which they sold at first for 25 cts. a piece, then twelve and a half, and the last year at six and a quarter cents. A great number died after planting, owing as we believe to the newness of the soil on which we were obliged to plant. The vine requires old land which we have not; and at first, not knowing the cause, the result was discouraging. Those planted in older soils grew better, and are not so apt to die. Again, many kinds of the vine have been imported which do not succeed in this country, and it is but very lately that we are enabled, in some degree, to ascertain the quality and kind of vine best adapted to this climate. At this time the great question seems to be the proper mode of cultivation, and, instead of seven, perhaps seventy years may be required to ascertain this fact. This will be readily conceded when it is known that in France, in many places, the mode of cultivation is radically different on opposite sides of the same river or mountain, and on farms differently situated in the same country. Your excellency is well aware how many years, nay centuries, Europe has required to obtain this experience and perfection. We can assert that from our own experience, seven years are not sufficient to enable us to cultivate the vine successfully in an old country, and much more so in a wilderness."

As late as the year 1828 some of the grantees were striving to cultivate the vine. In a letter of Frederick Ravesies to the treasury department, dated January 18, 1828, is the following: "We have suffered severely from the unparalleled drought of the last summer; many of our largest and finest looking vines, which had just commenced bearing luxuriantly, were totally killed by the dry hot weather. Yet, notwithstanding this misfortune, the grantees, with increased diligence, are using every exertion to procure others which are thought to be more congenial to the soil and climates, and are now generally engaged in replanting."[39]

[39] *American State Papers*, vol. iii.

Although the tone of these reports was always hopeful, yet the grantees found themselves contending with difficulties which could not be overcome. The vine and olive had both proven totally unsuited to the soil and climate. Eyed with suspicion by the government, harrassed by squatters, their situation unknown to the association in Philadelphia, it was impossible for them to continue their undertaking. In spite of their many efforts to make the cultivation of the vine and olive a success, the forces which had been at work were rapidly causing the destruction of the colony. The wealthiest and most prominent of the exiles began one by one to seek more peaceful homes in the neighboring cities, or to return to Europe. Many, mindful of the kindness they had received, sought homes in Mobile; while many of the chief men were allowed by the Bourbons to return to France and again take their places among the leaders, both in military and civil affairs. After the leaders had left, many of the others were not slow to follow their example; for as soon as they could raise a sufficient amount by disposing of their grant and other property, they sought other places of abode, and before many years the grant ceased to be distinctly French. There were some who remained on their grants, but they were soon swallowed up by the great tide of American emigrants who sought the fertile lands of the "black belt" of Alabama.

It is true that this association, organized to cultivate the vine and olive in Alabama, had but a very brief existence, yet there are names found in Marengo and the adjoining counties, which serve constantly to remind us of the little band of Bonapartists who settled on the White Bluff. To-day, one can find no evidence in the typically Southern town of Demopolis, which will show that it was once the abode of a band of Napoleon's heartiest supporters. Yet the talents and virtues of the colonists and their descendants have made a lasting impression, for Alabama boasts of no names more honorable than those borne by the descendants of the original shareholders in the French grant in Alabama.

There were many distinguished characters among this band of emigrants. The most noted of these, perhaps, was General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, who was born in 1773. He was an aid-de-camp to Bonaparte at Marengo and for his gallantry at Austerlitz was made commandant of the Legion of Honor. He shared

Napoleon's carriage in the disastrous retreat from Moscow. In the battle of Saragossa he commanded a division and was captured in Soult's pursuit of Sir John Moore to Corunna. He was conspicuous in the victory of Bautzen and received a wound in a charge at Brienne. Napoleon made him count of the empire and lieutenant-general upon his return from Elba and he took part in the battle of Waterloo. Upon Napoleon's departure for Elba in bidding farewell to his soldiers at Fontainebleue he embraced Desnouettes in behalf of them all. In his will the Emperor bequeathed him 150,000 francs. He was marked for one of the victims of Bourbon hate, and in May, 1816, was condemned to death, without trial, by the first court martial of the second division, but in the meantime he had escaped to the United States. He was vivacious and active, handsome in person and graceful in carriage and one of the best riders of his age. He was very wealthy and spent his fortune liberally for the benefit of the colony. Near his main dwelling was a small cabin which he called his sanctuary, in the center of it stood a very handsome bronze statue of Napoleon, and the walls of the room were hung with flags, swords, pistols, and other trophies of war. His wife, the sister of the celebrated banker La Fitte, often sent him large sums of money from France, and it was through her negotiations and the influence of her family that the government at last gave him permission to reside in Belgium. He left his grant in 1823 and sailed in the ship Albion, which was wrecked off the coast of Ireland. The distinguished refugee was washed overboard and found a watery grave.[40]

Nicholas Raoul, another distinguished settler, accompanied Napoleon in his banishment to Elba and led his advance guard of two hundred grenadiers upon his return march to Paris. He was a colonel under Bonaparte and an officer of great merit. At the time of his stay in Alabama he was in the prime of life. He was a large, fine looking man, his air and bearing being decidedly military, energetic in speech and action and quick to resent the slightest insult. He dwelt upon his grant for several years, but becoming much reduced in circumstances, was forced to keep a ferry across French creek, three miles east of Demopolis. His

[40] Pickett's *History of Alabama*, Brewer's *Alabama*, and Prof. McCorvey's "Vine and Olive Colony" are my chief sources of information for these sketches of the most prominent men.

wife, a handsome woman of the Italian style of beauty, and a native of Naples, had been Marchioness of Sinabaldi, and maid of honor to Queen Caroline. Her two children by a former husband came to this country with her. Travelers passing over the creek often wondered what manner of people these were who kept the ferry. In 1824, Colonel Raoul and his wife went to Mexico, where the colonel took part in the revolution. At length returning to France he obtained a commission of general in the French army and held other important positions in the service of his country, among which was governor of Toulon.

Jean A. Penniers was a member of the National Assembly and voted for the execution of Louis XVI. He remained about Demopolis for a few years engaged in agriculture, but having procured an appointment as sub-agent to the Seminoles, moved to Florida where he died in 1823. He had been distinguished in France and honored with many civil appointments and was at last expatriated for his adherence to the fortunes of Bonaparte.

J. Jerome Cluis, another of the refugees, cultivated his grant near Greensboro. He had been an aid to Marshal Lefebre, the Duke of Rivigo, who later became the head of the police department of Paris. Colonel Cluis was then his secretary. When Napoleon had Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, imprisoned near the Spanish frontier, Cluis was appointed to keep him in custody. Like many of the refugees he found that he could accomplish nothing by planting the vine and olive in Alabama. Having become reduced in circumstances he kept a tavern in Greensboro. After some years he left his tavern and moved to Mobile where he spent his last days.

Simon Chaudron, "the blind poet of the canebrake," was another of the settlers. He formerly resided in Philadelphia, where his house was a center of elegance and wit. He was a poet and scholar of repute, and had been editor of the "Abeille Americaine." The eulogy, which he delivered before the grand lodge of Philadelphia upon the life and character of Washington was pronounced a fine effort both in Europe and America. He lived about Demopolis for a few years but finally moved to Mobile where he died in 1846 at a very advanced age. He left behind him many very interesting works which were published in France.

General Count Bertrand Clausel, an officer of merit throughout Napoleon's campaigns, had command at Bordeaux during the Hundred Days. Having made the Duchess of Angouleme prisoner, he released her for reasons which were never known. He did not occupy his grant on the Tombigby but in 1821 settled on the bay near Mobile, where he raised vegetables for the market and carted them into the city himself. In 1825 he was allowed to return to France and was made governor and marshal of Algeria by Louis Philippe.

Henry L'Allemand, who had been a lieutenant-general and commanded the artillery of the imperial army, was an officer of great merit and a man of high ambition. General Charles L'Allemand, his brother was an officer of distinction in France and commanded Napoleon's foot artillery. They were both at Waterloo and gave proof of the greatest courage. Henry L'Allemand was filled with ambitious and daring projects which could not be satisfied in the colony on the Tombigby. He soon made a hazardous expedition to Texas, having collected his followers at Philadelphia and in Alabama. His band suffered greatly for want of provisions after arriving at Galveston Island but was generously relieved by the pirate La Fitte. Prostrated by sickness and annoyed by Indians, in a short time many of the colonists perished and the undertaking failed.

Marshal Grouchy was one of the Philadelphia associates. He was a man of middle stature and his appearance showed very little of his military training. As his comrades could not stand his presence, on account of his conduct at Waterloo to which they imputed the loss of the day, he did not settle his grant in Alabama but sent his son Victor who had been a captain in the French army. The marshal, wishing to vindicate himself, became involved in controversies with the emigrants in the American papers. After some years of exile he was allowed to return to France and to enjoy honors under the Bourbons.

M. Lakanal, a savant, was one of the members of the National Assembly and had voted for the death of Louis XVI. During the empire he had charge of the department of education; a position where many honors were bestowed on him. He did not live on his grant but settled on the bay near Mobile in 1819. After a long residence in Mobile he returned to France where he died in 1843.

Frederic Ravesies was a native of Bordeaux. Being Bourbons his family were compelled to flee upon the downfall of the monarchy. His father took his family to San Domingo where he opened extensive plantations. His mother and sister were murdered in the insurrection, but he and his father escaped to Philadelphia where his father soon died. Frederic rose very rapidly in business and held many positions of trust and was for a long time director of the Bank of Philadelphia. He first married Mary Roan and after her death he married Madame Adele Gertrude Davide, widow of General Davide, one of Napoleon's favorite generals. In 1820 he obtained the agency of the "Tombeckbee Association." He lived on his grant for some years but finally moved to Mobile where he died in 1854 at the age of seventy-eight.[41]

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[41] From a sketch of his life written by Prof. J. W. Beeson in an article on Demopolis.

X. BENJAMIN FITZPATRICK AND THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

By Shepherd H. Roberts, Montgomery, Ala.

The student of history usually concerns himself but little with men whose names are connected with the vice-presidency. Yet there are reasons why they would seem entitled to more consideration. Five times in the history of our government has the vice-president, by the death of his superior, had the duties of the Presidency unexpectedly thrust upon him. Twice at least his succession has caused a radical change in the policy of the administration. Although he is often side-tracked after election, he plays no unimportant part in the political campaign which precedes it, and his selection is regarded by political managers as an important matter. As he is commonly chosen to conciliate the minority element of the party, he can at least claim the dignity of representing a considerable and often a wisely conservative element.

These and other reasons may warrant a brief presentation of the facts concerning the nomination of Benjamin Fitzpatrick[1] on the Douglas ticket of 1860.

During the years that intervened between the Mexican War and the War between the States, there were many parties and factions in Alabama politics; but so far as national issues were concerned they may be roughly grouped into two classes:—those

[1] Gov. Fitzpatrick was born in Greene county, Ga., in the year 1800. He came to Alabama when a youth of sixteen years, beginning his business career as a clerk at Wetumpka. Five years later he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession in Montgomery. Forced by declining health to cease office life, he abandoned law and engaged in agricultural pursuits in Elmore county. In 1840 he was a presidential elector on the Van Buren ticket; was elected governor in 1841 and re-elected in 1843; was appointed to the senate by Gov. Chapman to succeed Mr. Lewis, in 1848; again appointed to the senate in 1853, to fill out the unexpired term of Senator King; was elected to full senatorial term in 1856. In 1860 he was nominated vice-president on the Douglas ticket, withdrawing a few days later. He resigned his seat in the senate on the secession of Alabama. In 1865 he was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention being elected president of that body. His death occurred Nov. 21, 1869.

who favored an aggressive Southern attitude and those who were more conservative. The former, under the leadership of Yancey, demanded the full rights to which they claimed the South was entitled under the constitution, and refused to support for the presidency any one who would not unequivocally endorse their position. These views are best set forth in what became widely known as the "Alabama Platform,"[2] which dealt especially with the rights of the South in the national territories. It denied the right of congress or of the territorial legislature to exclude slavery from them. In opposition to these men were those who, for one reason or another, opposed such a policy. Some among the many followers of Douglas doubted the soundness of the premises on which it rested.[3] Others accepted the theory, but doubted the political wisdom of insisting vigorously upon it,[4] believing that such a course would sacrifice the co-operation of the moderate men in the North, without whose help nothing could be accomplished peaceably. It must lead, they thought, either to a back down or to a dissolution of the Union.

Now it should be remembered that Fitzpatrick, in 1860 when he was nominated, belonged to this last class. In theory he believed in the full measure of Southern rights; but he thought it the part of wise statesmanship to conciliate as far as possible those who differed from him. During the fall of 1859 this matter became a direct political issue. The national Democratic convention was to assemble in Charleston next spring and the Douglas and Yancey wings of the party were already struggling to secure the Alabama delegation. A Mr. Hudgins wrote to Fitzpatrick for his opinion upon the issue. On October the 25th, Fitzpatrick replied in a letter from which the following extracts are taken:[5]

"It is well known among those who are conversant with my opinion that Mr. Douglas is not my choice for the presidency and that I do not desire his nomination. In conformity with previous usage the Democratic party of the different States is holding primary meetings for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention. I have no doubt that our State will send

[2] John Witherspoon DuBose's *Life of William L. Yancey*, p. 212, *et seq.*
[3] *Montgomery Confederation*, especially for 1860.
[4] For example, Hilliard at one time.
[5] Montgomery *Advertiser*, Oct. 25, 1859.

delegates whose patriotism will forbid them to sanction any platform that does not secure to our section all our rights, as well as justice to every portion of the Union, and who will agree to the nomination of no one who is not of acknowledged fidelity. I regard this as the safest and surest policy at a time when it is so important to secure that harmony of action so essential to success in the coming contest with the Black Republicans, a party whose success will bring dire calamities upon the country. Prematurely to commit ourselves against any individual whose name may be brought before the convention would authorize the friends of each similarly to commit themselves, and thus instead of promoting harmony we should engender great bitterness of feeling, create confusion in our ranks, endanger success, and in all probability make us an easy prey to the opposition."

In the preliminary State campaign the Yancey wing was successful, and the State convention instructed[6] its delegates to Charleston to insist upon an explicit declaration in favor of their demands. What followed at Charleston[7] need not be detailed here. It is sufficient to recall that their demand was rejected; a somewhat ambiguous Douglas platform was adopted, the delegates from Alabama and a number of other States withdrew, the remnant of the convention adopted a rule requiring for nomination a majority of two-thirds of the original voting strength of the convention. Douglas failed to secure this and they adjourned to Baltimore. When they reassembled there in June, the struggle was renewed. Other delegates withdrew, as some had already done at Charleston. It was found impossible for Douglas to get the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate him. He himself seems to have realized the situation. He wrote to friends suggesting that his name be withdrawn in favor of some other man. Fitzpatrick's name seems to have been urged by his friends as a substitute for Douglas if he had to be given up. A letter from J. R. Powell to Fitzpatrick, dated Washington, D. C., Aug. 9, 1860, contains an interesting paragraph in reference to this matter. It says:

"I had exhorted the delegation on every proper occasion and when by some of them it was considered improper, not to cast the vote of Alabama for Mr. Douglas, if for no other reason than

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[6] *See* DuBose, p. 444; Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 401.

[7] See Rhodes' *History of the United States*, vol. ii; Burgess' *Constitution and Civil War*, and the Alabama newspapers for 1860.

to preserve the harmony of the Democratic party and to protect themselves at home. And I sincerely believe that a large number of the delegates from our State who did support Mr. Douglas did it with the belief that he could not get the nomination and then they could the more easily control his friends for you for the first office in the gift of the people, and thus restore quiet and harmony to the Democratic party. Your nomination for the Presidency even without a platform, they thought would have been sustained by the party in every part of the Union without a division."[8]

It is very doubtful whether Douglas' withdrawal at so late a day would have done much to heal the breach in the party. At any rate it soon became evident that his friends would not permit it. They at once began to cast about for some way to evade the two-thirds rule.[9]

This rule, adopted at Charleston before the adjournment and not repealed, was in these words: "The chair shall not declare any person elected as the candidate of this convention unless he shall have received two-thirds of the whole number of votes in the electoral college."[10] That was of course the full vote of the convention. It amounted to 303, and two-thirds of it was 202. This Douglas evidently could never get. The highest point that he reached was 181½ at a time when the withdrawal had reduced the total vote to less than 200. Under the circumstances his friends with perhaps a rough sense of justice took the bull by the horns, ignored the language of the rule and

"Resolved unanimously that Stephen A. Douglas, of the State of Illinois, having now received two-thirds of all the votes given in this convention, is hereby declared in accordance with the rules governing this body, and in accordance with the uniform customs and rules of former Democratic National Conventions, the regular nominee of the Democratic party, etc."[11]

Fitzpatrick was then nominated for vice-president, receiving 198½ votes out of a total of 199½ cast.[12] The choice is not hard to understand. Douglas was a western man, and a southern man

[8] This letter is printed in full in the Montgomery *Weekly Advertiser*, Aug. 22, 1860.

[9] For history of this rule see Stanwood's *History of the Presidency, passim;* also *Weekly Advertiser*, April 18, 1860.

[10] DuBose, p. 471; also Stanwood, p. 284.

[11] Greeley's *American Conflict*, p. 318.

[12] *Ibid.*

for the vice-presidency was therefore desirable. Moreover there was throughout the South a feeling of distrust in regard to Douglas; while Fitzpatrick was widely known as a man of high integrity and sound practical sense. Then, too, living in Alabama, he was supposed to be in a position to counteract the influence of Yancey.

Others were considered for the place, especially A. H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson. Fitzpatrick's friends were questioned, and seemingly through some misunderstanding pledged his acceptance. The whole story is best told in a letter which he wrote shortly after to his personal friend, Col. J. J. Seibels, who had been especially earnest in his efforts to have him nominated, and who was greatly surprised at his declining. In it Fitzpatrick says:

"The office of vice-president is a high position and one a nomination for which I am frank to say I would not decline if tendered me by my political friends upon a proper platform. I said this to many of my friends, you among the number, as you passed through Washington on your way to the late convention at Baltimore. No one at that time, I suppose, apprehended, I know I did not, the discord and division in the convention that subsequently took place. Except the news by telegraph and the current rumor, I was ignorant of the extent of the breach in the convention until you called at my room early on Saturday morning of the day the nominations were made; and you did not seem to be fully aware how far the dissatisfaction had gone, as you said several delegations were deliberating as to their course when you left. We had, as you will remember, rather a hurried conversation than otherwise, as you said you had to return on the early morning train. Among other things you said that you thought that Mr. Douglas would be nominated for the Presidency and that Mr. Stephens, Johnson of Georgia, or myself would be put on the ticket with him for vice-president.

"I told you that one or the other of the above named gentlemen or somebody else must go on the ticket and that my name must be excluded as I did not desire the nomination and would not accept it unless made on a good platform and by a majority of two-thirds. I did not believe then from what I had heard and from what I learned from you that the convention would harmonize. On leaving me, in reply to some remark that I must not desert my friends or some remark of similar character, I said to you emphatically, standing at the door of my room, that 'Before God I would not go on the ticket with Mr. Douglas or anybody else without a good platform and the two-thirds majority of 202

votes.' You remarked just as you were leaving that you would do the best you could and I told you to keep me off the ticket.

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"Entertaining the opinions I do, which I have avowed to the world, I could not see with what semblance of consistency I could go on a ticket upon the platform presented with any one holding opinions so entirely opposed to mine on the territorial question as those of Mr. Douglas. His letter to Mr. Richardson alone would have rendered my place on the ticket with him wholly incompatible and inconsistent.

"In my letter[13] to Mr. Hudgins last fall I said that I do not doubt the power or the duty of congress to intervene to protect slavery in the territories (I have not the letter before me, but that is in substance what I said).

"I voted for the Senate, commonly called the Davis[14] resolutions which declare the same thing.

"Mr. Douglas says intervention means disunion, and goes on to elaborate that idea.

"To have accepted the nomination under these circumstances would have subjected me to the imputation of having abandoned opinions, well settled and declared to the world, for power and place. This I feel assured that neither you or any other friend would have me do, however much you may have regretted the course I have taken.

"It is not only unpleasant but painful to decline a position so honorable, tendered me, as I believe it has been, mainly through the efforts of my friends from this State. No one, I am sure, has felt more keenly than myself the embarrassing situation in which I have been placed. My embarrassment though has been solely on account of friends who were actors in the scene and whose honesty and fidelity I do not now and never have questioned, but on the contrary fully acknowledge and appreciate."

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[13] "I am unqualifiedly opposed to Squatter Sovereignty as my antecedents and record will conclusively show. The people of a territory, until they meet in convention preparatory to admission as a State, have no power to exclude slavery through the territorial legislature or otherwise. Congress has no such power. The territorial legislatures derive all their powers from congress and it is impossible that congress should delegate powers which it does not possess. In relation to intervention for the protection of slave property in the territories, I entertain no doubt either as to the power or duty of congress. The constitution is obligatory upon every department of the government. When rights are conferred or recognized either expressly or by implication, it was intended that these rights should be enjoyed and protected; and if legislation is necessary to their full enjoyment and protection, it is the plain duty of congress to afford such protection by the enactment of laws which will accomplish that end."—Letter to Mr. Hudgins. See Montgomery *Advertiser*, Oct. 25, 1859.

[14] See Burgess, vol. i, p. 47; Greeley, vol. i, p. 306.

A letter [15] from Mr. Powell contains some further explanations of the incident. In referring to the nomination, he writes to Fitzpatrick:

"There is no issue of veracity on any point. There is only a difference in the construction of facts. For example, your friends of that convention now think their platform is a good one, and such an one as would be suitable for you to stand upon. They say also even now that the vote that nominated Mr. Douglas and yourself, though less than 200, was acquiesced in by over 202 votes, which were in the convention at the time but did not vote, and that therefore the two-thirds rule governing Democratic National conventions was complied with."

As soon as he was nominated telegrams came in from his friends. One from Baltimore said: "You have been unanimously nominated for vice-president. Your friends pledged themselves you would accept. You must. Answer immediately." Another said: "Accept no nomination from the Douglas convention. Success would not compensate the loss of friends." Another urged him to accept and added: "Take courage and stand by your friends or all is lost."

It was truly a delicate and puzzling situation. Finally came the formal notification from a numerous and imposing committee. But his mind once made up he seems never to have wavered. He was willing to be conciliatory, but the Douglas platform now seemed to him no more conciliatory than any other. Douglas and the platform combined seemed to him clearly irreconcilable with his fixed convictions. He deeply regretted the rupture in the Democratic party, but things had gone too far for any remedy, and he preferred the Breckinridge wing if there had to be a split. In a speech to his neighbors and friends in Alabama soon afterwards he thus compares the men and their positions:

"Mr. Douglas is a man of great force of character and many attractive qualities. I have always maintained with him very kind social relations, and I will do him the justice to say that outside of his opinions and doctrines on the territorial question, no one among Northern Democrats has more boldly and manfully sustained the constitutional rights of the South upon the slavery question. But he has chosen to make an issue in the party and with the South upon this question; he has made it the issue; it is forced upon us and we must meet it or yield to it; and I tell you

[15] See note 8.

my friends that the South if she would preserve her equality and the equality of her citizens cannot and never should surrender it.

"Mr. Breckinridge is in my opinion a statesman of the first order of intellect, of high culture, of unblemished character and unquestionable Democracy. Upon the grave issue before the country in the maintenance of the principle of equality between all the States and citizens he stands with the South; he is pledged to the maintenance of the rights of every section; and if he should be elected, he has the integrity and courage to assert and defend them. Agreeing with him entirely as I do I shall give him my support."

XI. THE HISTORY OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ALABAMA PRIOR TO 1826.

By the Rev. James H. B. Hall,[1] Birmingham.

In this undertaking I find myself almost entirely destitute of materials the most vital. The records of the various organic bodies have, during those bygone days, been most uncertainly made and preserved. The history of many local churches, if ever made, has been entirely lost. As a rule this has occurred to the first churches planted on Alabama soil, and hence the severity of the loss. Presbyterial records have been given a better chance at life; yet, in at least three instances, the early records have been destroyed by accidental fires. The history of the Alabama Synod so far as that history is found in its minutes, has been preserved with a greater degree of security.

Some eighteen years ago I was elected the stated clerk and treasurer of the synod. This brought into my hands all the

[1] The Rev. James Hugh Blair Hall was born Sept. 22, 1855, at Hall's ferry, on the Tennessee river, seven miles east of Madisonville, Monroe county, in East Tennessee, and is the son of Sylvester Young and Alazannah (*Blair*) Hall, the grandson of James Wiley and Ruth Margaret (*Parks*) Hall, and of Rev. James and Jane Gamble (*Blair*) Blair, and great-grandson of James and Margaret (*Wiley*) Hall, and of William and Sallie (*Simmons*) Blair, and great-great-grandson of John Blair and Thomas Rogers, the two last named fighting side by side at King's Mountain. The Halls came from Ireland, and the Blairs were of Scotch origin. His boyhood was spent on a farm. In the fall of 1869 he entered Hiwassee College, of the M. E. church, South, two and one-half miles east of Madisonville, the Rev. J. B. Greiner, of Virginia, being the president and Prof. Benj. C. Graham, of Alabama, his first assistant. Here Mr. Hall remained until the spring of 1872, doing all his preparatory work, the Rev. Frank M. Grace, now of the North Alabama Conference College, Birmingham, having succeeded Prof. Greiner. While here, he made a profession of religion and joined the church. In the fall of 1872, he entered the Loudon high school, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, located at Loudon, Loudon county, East Tennessee. Here he studied until the spring of 1876, doing his collegiate work. During this period he joined the Hiwassee—now the Knoxville Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church as a candidate for the ministry. In Sept., 1876, he entered Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., from which he received the A. B. degree, June, 1878. Coming to Alabama, Aug. 28, 1878, he began teaching in the Helena Collegiate Institute, Helena, Ala. With the exception of some five years, he has spent all the intervening time in the school room, having had in his care about two thousand pupils and

existing records for a period of fifty years—from its creation, in 1836 to 1884. I soon discovered that the minutes were in a perilous condition, as the proceedings of several sessions were on detached sheets and others in partial transcription. At the sittings of the Synod in 1883 I brought the matter to the attention of the body. The result was that I was authorized to purchase suitable books and transcribe the records *ab initio*. In prosecution of this order, I secured two handsome volumes, and, with painstaking, did the work. I soon found omissions, and the loss of the entire records of several sittings. It came to me then as a pleasant duty to supply as far as possible all these deficiencies. It required time, patience and much work to complete this self-imposed task. The results of this extra labor I put into various "historical notes" throughout the volumes. Since 1884, the clerical work has been nicely done and the records carefully preserved. Many of the early ministers kept only imperfect data of their lives and labors, while most of them left no records or notes whatever. Again: if these things were not true, I am a pioneer in this work, inasmuch as it has not hitherto found any historian. In the midst of such surroundings it can be seen how difficult the task set myself. And yet if I do not speak, who will and when?

In crossing the Alleghany Mountains into the great Mississippi Valley immigration formed for itself two centers, one in Kentucky, the other in Tennessee—both at that day open territory. These centers came later to be known as the Cumberland and the Green river settlements. Speaking in more modern terms the former was South Kentucky and north Middle Tennessee; the latter is now North Kentucky. The people who settled in this new country were typical Americans, moving down from Virginia and North Carolina. They were largely Presbyterian

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students. Helena and Highland high school, Highland, Shelby county; Springville, St. Clair county; Pleasant Hill academy, Dallas county; and the Zelosophian academy, Jefferson county, Ala., are the points at which most of this work has been done. He spent one year as the president of Loudon high school, already named. Two of the out of the school room years were spent as pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, Winchester, Tenn., one as such at Gadsden, Ala., and the other two as Synodical evangelist of the Alabama Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. On July 23,1882, he married Miss Emma C. Gardner, daughter of the Rev. W. C. Gardner and wife Cora Carleton, of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, at Montevallo, the Rev. W. H. Meredith, D. D., officiating. Mr. Hall is an earnest student and has written much. He is the recognized historian of his church in Alabama.—EDITOR.

in faith. Consequently we find the Presbyterian Church one of the first, if not the first, operating in that field. Local churches, presbyteries and finally the Kentucky Synod were organized. Much of the Cumberland country after a while became the home geographically of the Transylvania Presbytery of this great church. "At the sessions of the Kentucky Synod, October, 1802, the Transylvania Presbytery was divided, and the Cumberland Presbytery formed, including the Green River and Cumberland countries."

A most gracious revival of religion swept the American continent, as far as settlement had gone, beginning in 1797 and finding its flood tide in 1800. It is generally referred to in American ecclesiastical history as "the revival of 1800." This movement, like all others, social, political and religious, had both its friends and its enemies—its helpers and its hinderers. In this new country many demands, new and pressing, were made for church existence and polity. A new order of things was growing out of the pioneer progress. The old order was inadequate and not adapted to the modern needs. The Rev. David Rice, the first Presbyterian minister who settled in Kentucky, in his sixty-eighth year advised that his church, owing to the great demand for public expounding of the gospel, select laymen of intelligence and piety and encourage them to apply for admission into the presbytery. This seemed to him the only practical solution of the problem of giving these thousands the gospel. In the new presbytery created by the division of the Transylvania—the Cumberland—there were ten ministers, five of whom were in favor of the revival, while the remaining five were its opposers. Soon these became known respectively as the Revivalists and the Anti-Revivalists. Here is the entering wedge. It is not my purpose, however, to discuss the causes leading to the organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Suffice it to say, they were both doctrinal and economic. I am but giving a few facts with their dates—a bit of history. The tension grew so strong that finally, Dec. 5, 1805, the Cumberland Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church was dissolved. Those who opposed the revival were transferred to the old Transylvania Presbytery. The Revivalists were left out wholly and summarily. Prior to the dissolution several other

men favorable to this party had been regularly inducted by it into the sacred office.

These men, having now no ecclesiastical relation, faced this question: "What shall we do?" They did not delay in getting and giving their answer. Practically the next day, Dec. 6, 1805, they formed themselves into "a council." They agreed to go not then into any organic body; but that they would continue to preach the gospel to their fellows, and administer the ordinances, and do all the work of "the man of God" in those new, hard, destitute districts. In a word, they would do nothing of a presbyterial nature. They hoped for a friendly adjustment of all differences. For this they labored earnestly and patiently. More than four years elapsed in this fruitless hope and vain endeavor. "The council"—born practically December the sixth, 1805—was the first step—though not so intended—toward the organization of the present Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Finally, February 4, 1810, the Cumberland Presbytery was organized. It will be noted that this body had an absolutely independent existence. It had no relation to, connection with, or dependence upon any body of Christians in the world ecclesiastically. This date marks the birthday of the church of whose doings in Alabama I am writing. Its birthplace was the home of the Rev. Samuel McAdoo, in Dixon county, Tennessee. The founders were the Rev. Messrs. Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdoo. These men had all been regularly inducted into the ministry by the old Cumberland Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church. They were all three men of fine native ability, good education, deep piety, and indomitable energy. The name was a mere accident of the locality in which the organization occurred. The people who had received "the tidings of great joy" at the mouth of these devout men before the formation of the new church now heard them all the more joyfully. In their log cabins, in their rude school houses, in the groves these evangels of peace and life were welcomed and heard by the vanguards of Western expansion and culture. "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" greeted them constantly.

From its Dixon county home, the new church began its radiation. Literally, it had the world for its field. The growth was immediate, rapid, and abiding. The preachers one and all were

men of the people, for the people. This the time and place demanded. Before all things, the heralds of the cross in this new land must be orthodox and practical. The preachers did not, as a rule, allow any day to pass without their preaching somewhere to the thickly multiplying new settlements. Wherever they could call the people together they told "the old, old story." Truly, "they went everywhere preaching the word." Underneath all this effort, the organization of local churches went surely on.

So rapidly and so steadily did the young denomination enlarge that in 1813 the one and sole presbytery divided itself into three, preparatory to the formation of a synod, viz: The Cumberland, the Elk, and the Logan. These three presbyteries were the constituent members of the synod, which became at once the highest organic body in the church. Naturally it was named the Cumberland Synod, and throughout our history is known as the old or General Synod. The Logan Presbytery comprised the Kentucky district and the regions beyond; the Cumberland, the Nashville and indefinite eastern and western fields; and the Elk, southern Middle Tennessee and the unlimited territories south, embracing, of course, the present fair and fertile Alabama. It will be borne in mind, however, that at this date there was no Alabama. This history has been given because it will help us in knowing by what authority the work of the Cumberlands was inaugurated and performed in the future State of Alabama.

Perhaps a little Alabama history here will the better enable the reader to understand the introduction and growth of the church in the State. I find this so well done by the Rev. B. W. McDonnold, D. D., that I quote him here:

"The country was all claimed by Georgia under its original charter from England. Several efforts were made by Georgia to place colonies on this soil, but as the whole land was in the hands of Indians and Spaniards, who claimed the country, it generally cost the Georgians their lives to settle there. * * * *

"Then the United States bought Georgia's claim to this country, but Spaniards and Indians still had not only their claims, but also what is called 'nine points in law'—possession. A territorial government was, however, established, and all the country was called 'Mississippi,' and continued to be so designated till 1817.

"In 1805, the Indian claim to a small portion of what is now Madison county, Alabama, was purchased, and settlements were established and the Indians withdrawn in less than two years

afterward. In 1813, the long-promised, long-delayed evacuation of South Alabama by the Spaniards was accomplished. In 1814 the Creek claim to that portion of Alabama was extinguished, but hostile Creeks still roamed over it and made it unsafe for Americans.

"In 1816 the country east of Cotton Gin Port, on the Tombigbee river, was brought from the Chickasaw Indians. In 1818, the first Territorial legislature assembled, Alabama being then severed from Mississippi. In that legislature there was but one senator. Some of the counties represented had in their elections cast but ten votes. There were just three settlements of Americans in the Territory—one centering at Mobile, one at Huntsville, and one on the Tombigbee river. There were hostile Creek Indians, and a Creek war on Alabama soil as late as 1836. The way to the American settlements in South Alabama was open and free from danger only by the sea, though Georgians and Carolinians sometimes took their chances and traveled along the land route from the east. Travel from Tennessee and Kentucky was sometimes accomplished on rafts down the Tombigbee, but there was very little emigration by that dangerous route."[2]

As the tide of immigration flowed from Kentucky and Tennessee west and south, it brought with it many who had found Jesus precious under Cumberland Presbyterian influence, and many of whom had cast their lot with the young church; while the influx from Georgia and the Carolinas knew nothing of these people. As a result, a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher was not long in finding a cordial welcome on his arrival in any neighborhood, particularly in North and Middle Alabama. Places were found ready for preaching, and gladly accepted. These led to monthly appointments and also to camp-meetings. The former were seed sowing and pastoral; the latter, seasons of harvesting. Closely on the heels of these followed the organization of societies or individual churches. This was the order of development in the work everywhere. Indeed, it was, in large measure, the course pursued by all the churches laboring in this newly opened country.

It may very readily be seen how difficult it is to give, at this late day,—and owing to a carelessness for dates amounting almost to contempt,—definite localities, precise dates, and exact numbers. One can give only such facts as he, after long and diligent

[2] Rev. B. W. McDonnold's *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (1888), pp. 155-6.

search, may have unearthed. The work of a pioneer historian is easy only to him who has never been called to wander through a wilderness of tradition.

I have not been fortunate enough to ascertain the name of the first preacher of our faith in the State. The date and the place are likewise unknown. They all belong back in the unrecorded period. Most likely he was "a visiting brother." The place was most probably some "new comer's" log cabin, and the hour an evening one lighted by the "pine torch" or "the tallow candle." The auditors were "the settlers from the States," then called "squatters."

In the formation of "the council" it will be remembered the ministers, as well as the probationers—licentiates and candidates, were subject to its direction and control. These orders were many times very inclusive as related both to fields and duties; embracing many counties and often large tracts of different States and territories, requiring many months of time to complete the hundreds of miles made almost without exception on horseback; and every form of ministerial service. Usually they traveled in pairs—an older and a younger man, an ordained preacher and a probationer. This was not always possible as the number of the former was too limited. The orders given generally looked, in their incipiency, to the formation of "a circuit," or "a mission." In later days all such work took the name of "home mission fields."

Of such efforts, as it relates to Alabama, we have no records prior to 1807. At its meeting this year the council ordered the Rev. Robert Bell, then a licentiate, to the new settlements about Hunt's Spring—afterwards Huntsville—the first town in North Alabama. "Within a year or two [of 1805] the settlement had begun to rival St. Stephens in importance."[3] Nothing is known of Mr. Bell's operations under this direction. His home, at the time, was Bean's creek near Salem, Tenn. His work at most was to spy out the land—a sort of a tour of inspection. The next year, 1808,—the same year in which Madison, the second county in the present State lines, was formed,—the council directed the Rev. Thomas Calhoun, at the time only a candidate, to the Huntsville field. He was a Tennesseean, and a young man. His father

[3] Brown's *History of Alabama,* p. 98.

lived near Big Spring, Wilson county, not far from the present historic Lebanon. It is said that he preached in Mr. John Hunt's house before it was finished. He, no doubt, followed in the steps of Mr. Bell, holding and enlarging the work. It must not be forgotten that their work was largely but introductory and preparatory. In the year 1809, the council placed the Rev. Robert Donnell, then a candidate, in this locality. He was at work here when the Cumberland Presbytery—the Cumberland Presbyterian Church—was organized, Feb. 4, 1810. He was formally received from the council into the presbytery March 22, 1810, and orders given him "to ride once around the lower circuit." This became the chosen scene of his life work. He was ordained by the Cumberland Presbytery Feb. 19, 1813. He was emphatically the pioneer preacher of his church in North Alabama. From being a candidate at his coming he remained until the day of his death, being one of the foremost ministers in his church and one of the ablest divines of his day. His ashes quietly sleep in the cemetery at beautiful Athens, which was his home for many years. He held the first camp-meeting ever held in Alabama. It was held near where Huntsville now stands so queenly, before any town was there. "Timber grew thick around the big spring," says Dr. McDonnold, "though the camp-meeting was not at that, but an another spring a mile below."[4] He preached the first sermon ever heard in Huntsville. Out of his camp-meeting the old Canaan congregation grew. He held, at a very early day, a camp-meeting where Mooresville is located. The people were then called "squatters," for as yet there had been no land sales. Meridian, afterwards Meridianville, was one of his early churches. He was one of the first preachers who labored at Hazle Green. In 1809, in company with the Rev. Robert Bell, he preached occasionally at Athens. Many who professed faith in these and other of Mr. Donnell's meetings afterwards removed to Arkansas and elsewhere and became the nuclei of Cumberland Presbyterianism in those regions. Mr. Donnell is the man to whom, more than to any other, the church owes her success in North Alabama. His labors appear to have been almost unlimited. Dr. McDonnold says: "Our old churches all over that country were planted by

[4] McDonnold, p. 89.

him."[5] At the initial meeting of the General Synod, 1813, he was made one of the committee of three whose duty it was to formulate a Confession of Faith for the church, and report at the meeting of the Synod the following year. This duty he discharged with fidelity and credit.

In the minutes of the Cumberland Presbytery in session at Sugg's Creek, Wilson county, Tenn., April 7, 1812, I find that Alexander Wilson, a ruling elder, was present as the representative from Huntsville, Hermon and Kelly's Creek churches. As I have no knowledge whatever of any other Huntsville at this primitive day, it must have been our little city. If I am correct, Mr. Wilson has the distinction of being the first elder from Alabama whose name comes through the records who ever occupied a seat in presbytery.

Mr. Donnell was very much aided in his early labors by the Rev. James Brown Porter, whose efforts were mainly evangelistic, and expended chiefly in Middle Tennessee and North Alabama. He was, in many respects, an admirable yoke-fellow for the mighty Donnell. Such men could not labor in vain. At all their meetings glorious successes were achieved.

It will be held in mind that I am speaking of events prior to and including the year 1813, when the first synod was erected. The Elk Presbytery, formed that year, was the first presbyterial organization any part of whose bounds embraced Alabama soil. I transcribe here *in extenso* the order providing for said body:

"*Resolved,* That a part of the present Cumberland Presbytery shall be and is hereby directed to constitute a presbytery known by the name of the Elk Presbytery. The boundaries are as follows, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of Duck river, thence a due north course to the top of the Tennessee ridge, thence eastwardly along the top of said ridge to Cumberland mountain, thence south to the Tennessee river, thence easterly, southwardly and westwardly to undefined boundaries, to be composed of the following members, to-wit: The Rev. Messrs. William McGee, Samuel King, James Brown Porter, Robert Bell, and Robert Donnell, to meet at Mt. Carmel meeting house [near the present town of Winchester, Tenn.] on the first Tuesday in August next [Aug. 3]. Mr. McGee, or, in case of his absence, Mr. Bell, is hereby directed to open the Presbytery by a sermon. The following per-

[5] McDonnold, p. 156.

sons shall be considered under the direction of said Presbytery, to-wit: John Carnahan, James Stewart, and Elisha Price."[6]

Of these men only one—Mr. Donnell—is positively known to have had his home permanently, at the time, inside Alabama lines; Mr. Carnahan's home was in Arkansas, yet he was a member of this far off body. It seems fitting here to speak of one who, most likely, was the first to enter the ministry from the Alabama field. I quote Dr. McDonnold:

"In 1817, a family that had just arrived from South Carolina, visited Donnell's camp-meeting at the Meridian church [Meridianville], and several of its members were converted. One of these was a boy seventeen years old, who from that day helped to preach Jesus to the people of North Alabama. His name was A. J. Steele."[7]

Mr. Steele, if not the first, is among the first, Alabama ministerial fruits. He lived a long and useful and honored life, dying Nov. 9, 1887, in his eighty-eighth year. He was an uncle of the Rev. Isaac Donnell Steele, present pastor (1903) of the First Cumberland Presbyterian church, Birmingham.

Dr. McDonnold says: "John Carnahan and Steele rode the circuit together, in 1819, through North Alabama, attending all of Donnell's camp-meetings. A little later John Morgan and Albert Gibson joined the band of Alabama preachers. There came other noble laborers, and North Alabama bloomed like the garden of the Lord."[8] It is said the distance round Mr. Morgan's circuit was four hundred miles. Mr. Steele states that he established the first year three new camp grounds. By the way, these camp grounds with their camp-meetings were in those days what in modern times we call chautauquas and summer assemblies. They were centers and occasions of assembling for social, religious and spiritual quickening. In view of what has been said it is not strange that many strong churches were energetically laboring in the State prior to 1820; and the same was equally true of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas.

Southward the tide of settlers rolled, bearing with it additional Cumberlands. About this time Pleasant Valley, Roupe's Valley,

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[6] Minutes of Cumberland Presbytery.

[7] McDonnold, p. 156.

[8] *Ibid.*

Jones' Valley, and Cahaba Valley, down to old Cahaba, near the present Selma,—all Middle Alabama—began receiving thousands of citizens. The country east of Cotton Gin Port—the Alabama side of the Tombigbee—near the present town of Aberdeen, Mississippi, was, likewise, filling with pioneers. As early as 1817, but one year after the purchase of the port from the Indians, pioneer Cumberlands from that place asked the Elk Presbytery to send them a minister. It is said that five hundred names were attached to one petition. Mr. Donnell was requested by the Presbytery to go to their assistance. For satisfactory reasons he did not comply. The following year, 1818, the Ladies' Missionary Board of the Elk Presbytery sent to that field and a part of the adjacent Indian territory west of the Tombigbee the Revs. Samuel King and William Moor. These good men toiled for both the whites and the Indians, and so faithfully that they reported at the ensuing meeting of their presbytery compliance with the instructions given them by the Missionary Board. Men in those years usually did what they were directed by their church councils.

The three presbyteries, Nashville, Elk and Logan, composed the synod until its meeting, Oct. 19, 1819, when the McGee Presbytery was formed. This body, therefore, enjoys the distinction of being the first daughter of the old synod.

Dr. McDonnold, whom I must measurably follow in all these matters, since he is our only historian to date, says:

"The Elk Presbytery, in 1820, ordered two of its members to establish a circuit in South Alabama, but, for satisfactory reasons they both failed to comply."[9] Dr. McDonnold had access, doubtless, to the minutes of the Elk Presbytery, a help I have not had at command; and this, it will be noted, was a presbyterial act. The names of these brethren are not known. Distance, lack of roads, no bridges or boats, dangers from various quarters, as well as excess of work at home, might one, or more, or all have been assigned as the grounds of their non-compliance. Those were days of daring and hardship.

"The four presbyteries already named composed the synod until its session in the year 1821. At this meeting four new additions were made, viz: Alabama, Anderson, Lebanon and Ten-

[9] McDonnold, p. 157.

nessee. The minutes of this sitting, unfortunately, have been lost. The meeting, however, was held in the town of Russellville, Logan county, Kentucky, Oct. 16, *et seq.*, 1821. This was certainly one of the most eventful sittings of the old synod, and it is consequently all the more to be regretted that the records have perished. The next source of information would be the minutes of the presbytery itself; but these, if ever in existence, have been lost also. These losses, it will be seen, create an impassable barrier in the way of acquiring some facts which would be highly valuable as they are necessary in giving the story of the Church in her first operations in the State. The old people have all gone and consequently the facts cannot be supplied from memory. In fact, there are few, if any, now living who have any knowledge whatever of this early organization, which herein, and in my history of the Church, I shall call "The Alabama Presbytery, original." The writer, who has spent the last twenty-five years in Middle and South Alabama, does not recollect ever to have heard any one mention or refer to its existence as a matter of either personal or traditional knowledge. But a few years remove these human landmarks, and hence the necessity for written forms.

It will be seen, from this history, that the Alabama Presbytery, original, could not be younger than the fifth nor older than the eighth presbyterial child in the Cumberland family. It was, beyond question, the second whose bounds embraced Alabama soil.

The precise date of the formation of this presbytery I have ascertained from the Rev. Robert Donnell. It was October 18, 1821.[10] How valuable the habit of making historic notes! Our thanks are due to all those who, in the times gone, have in any department of human activity, kept fresh the foot-prints of man's progress.

Under the circumstances, it is impossible to give with certainty the number and the names of the ministers comprising its charter members. They were, most likely, only the Rev. Messrs. Robert Bell, Benjamin Lockhart, and William Moor. There may have been others, but it is doubtful. If others united with them after the organization it is unknown. Whether or not there were any probationers is also not known. All the first men, of course, were from beyond the State confines.

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[10] Donnell's *Thoughts*, p. 255.

The reader will at once see that it is equally impossible to define "the metes and bounds" of the presbytery. It, most probably, included the territory south of the mountains south of the Tennessee river, and west, embracing much of eastern Mississippi. This last section was occupied largely by the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes of Indians. This is in harmony with the policy of those days, which was to form a new presbytery just as soon as a sufficient number of ministers could be found in any given field. This was, for various reasons, the wisest course to be pursued. It manned the territory, it brought the gospel to the people, it saved time and labor expended in long journeyings to ecclesiastical courts. I find myself confirmed in these opinions by the following history.

The old Cumberland Synod, in session at Suggs Creek meeting-house, Wilson county, Tenn., Oct. 19, 1819, adopted the following:

"*Whereas,* Several letters have been directed to the Moderator informing the synod that a number of societies have been formed, the object of which is to raise funds for the purpose of establishing schools for the literary and religious instruction of the Chickasaw and the Choctaw tribes of Indians, and appointing the ordained ministers of this synod their board of trustees. Therefore,

"*Resolved,* That this appointment be accepted."[11]

This is the first budding of the systematic conduct of missions in the church. It is pleasant to reflect that it had its inception in that presbytery whose arms first enclosed any portion of the State. It is also gratifying to know that Mr. Bell, one of her members, was a prime, if not the prime, mover in this glorious work. He prepared the constitution of the church's first missionary society. As we shall see just a little later, he holds the first place on her long roll of regularly accredited missionaries. Moreover, it is due to our women that this work received its earliest and most earnest support. All honor to them!

We are now prepared for the reception of the following extract taken from the report of the committee on the state of religion at the same meeting of the synod, Oct. 19, 1819:

"By the heaven-born charity and zeal of some female members of the church, funds have been raised, which have enabled the

[11] Records of the Synod.

Missionary Board to employ several missionaries a considerable part of their time, by which your bounds have been much enlarged in the south and west. This has multiplied calls and cries to our Presbyterial and Missionary Boards for help. The people desire the word and ordinances. Among the most impressive calls we hear is one from the tawny sons of the woods of the south."

Dr. Beard, in speaking of this period, says:[12]

"It seems that in consequence of the opening condition of things, and the state of feeling developed in the Church, the plan was conceived of a school in the Chickasaw Nation, which should combine at once instruction in letters and religion, together with domestic, agricultural, and mechanical pursuits.

"Accordingly, on the 11th day of September, 1820, the following articles of agreement were entered into by the Revs. Samuel King, Robert Bell [grandfather of the venerable Rev. C. H. Bell, D. D., Lebanon, Tenn.], and James Stewart as the representatives of the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Missions, which consisted [as seen above] of the ordained ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, on the one part, and the chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation on the other part:

"'Articles of Agreement between Samuel King, James Stewart, and Robert Bell, missionaries, and the chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation, viz:

"'Article 1. We, the said Samuel King, James Stewart, and Robert Bell, on the part of the Board of the Cumberland Presbyterian Missionary Society, do promise to teach the people of the said Nation reading, writing, and arithmetic, and a knowledge of agriculture and the mechanical arts. Also those who resort to them for instruction shall be boarded and clothed gratuitously, provided they are not able to clothe themselves.

"'Article 2. We promise that we will not take more land than will be necessary for the support of the institution. And should we leave the institution, the houses and land which we have occupied shall revert to the Indians.

"'Article 3. We, the chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation, on the part of said nation, do permit said society and missionaries to come into our nation to teach our young people.

"'Article 4. We do hereby bind ourselves to allow said society as much land as may be necessary for the support of their missionaries, which land they shall hold as long as they continue to teach our children.'

"These articles were signed by Messrs, King, Stewart and Bell, on the part of the Missionary Board, and, on the part of the Chickasaws, by Stako Tookey, King of the Nation; and Tisho

[12] Beard's *Biographical Sketches*, vol. ii, pp. 99-101.

Mingo, Appa Suntubba, Samuel Sealy, William McGelbra, James Colbert and Levi Colbert, chiefs.

"In the month of November (1820) a school was opened under the name of Charity Hall, within the limits of what is now the State of Mississippi, about seven miles from the present city of Aberdeen, and three miles from Cotton Gin Port. Mr. Bell was appointed superintendent. He taught a few weeks in a private room furnished by one of the chiefs (Levi Colbert) until suitable buildings were prepared for the use of the school. The buildings erected were plain and cheap, costing in all about $1,500. Thirty acres of land were cleared and put under cultivation. The Indians learned with some facility, and labored with as much readiness as would have been expected. The government of the United States contributed liberally toward paying for the buildings, and also made an annual contribution of $300 or $400 toward keeping up the school."

I have made this somewhat lengthy quotation for a double purpose:

First, as showing the extent of the Alabama Presbytery, original. From this history Mr. Bell began his school November, 1820, before the presbytery was formed, Oct., 1821. He taught at Charity Hall until sometime between 1830 and 1832. If he resided in the bounds of the presbytery, of which he was then a member, and which is most highly probable, he was near the western boundary line. Consequently, as heretofore said, much of the State of Mississippi was included in the Alabama Presbytery, original. The Rev. Benjamin Lockhart, another member of the presbytery, lived in what is now Clayton's Cove, in the northern part of Jefferson county. He was likely near the eastern line. The Rev. William Moor, who settled and lived and died at Pleasant Hill, twenty miles south of Selma, Dallas county, was another member. The line between Dallas and Lowndes counties divides the town of Pleasant Hill. Mr. Moor lived on the Lowndes side. He was doubtless near the southern limit. This is, perhaps, as definitely as the field can be described. Speaking freely: It was bounded on the north by the mountains south of the Tennessee Valley and east, south and west by undefined limits. If it did not extend beyond Alabama lines, it was the first presbytery ever formed wholly within the State. It was a large field, and, in many respects, a dark, difficult and dangerous work. These things, however, had very little influence on men in those days. Heroic times sought and found heroic men.

Second, as showing how the men were employed. Mr. Bell's work is worthy of especial remark. He was, I repeat, the first man who, properly speaking, ever accepted missionary work in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. His work was a most valuable one—one whose golden harvests are still ripening. It is truly sweet to know that his name heads the list of those good and great men who have lived and labored in our own "dear Alabama."

Inasmuch as the records of the presbytery are gone, nothing can be learned of the development of the church during this time. It is safe to say that the workers were busy sowing the seed and fostering the buds of congregations. There were, also, transient toilers—advance heralds—here doing good and gracious service—gracious, indeed, in the sense that it was "without money and without price." Regular meetings were held at various points as often as surroundings would permit.

As giving a glimpse of the field in 1821, I allow Messrs. King and Patton, the field officers, to speak in the following quotations:

Says Mr. King:

"In April, 1821, I was ordered by the presbytery to form a circuit on the south side of the Tennessee river, in the counties of Morgan, Lawrence and Franklin, in Alabama. I had to hunt my own preaching places, and make my own appointments. The country was all newly settled, having been lately purchased from the Indians. Here I found many good Cumberland Presbyterians. I formed a circuit of four weeks' extent, with regular daily appointments. I succeeded in getting up three camp-meetings, one in Morgan county [then Cataco county]. Here I was assisted by the Rev. James Stewart, the Rev. James Moore, and my father [the Rev. Samuel King.] * * * The results of those three camp-meetings were one hundred and fifty professions. Besides these, there were a good many professions at my circuit appointments. I never failed to reach my appointments. I received in compensation from the people sixty dollars. During all this time I was only a candidate."

Mr. King, continuing, says:

"South Alabama was newly settled, mainly with people from the Carolinas and Georgia. They had never seen a Cumberland Presbyterian before our visit. What they had heard of us was from our enemies; so we had to fight our way against prejudice and opposition. We traveled separately, and never failed, either

of us, to reach our appointments. We often had to swim the rivers. We preached every day. God blessed our labors. We gathered societies under a written compact to organize regular congregations as soon as an ordained minister could be had for the purpose. This was the beginning of the Church in South Alabama. On our way to the meeting of presbytery in the spring we swam five streams in one day. Hundreds of persons petitioned for us to be sent back. For this winter tour I received nothing."[13]

Mr. Patton furnished me the following items:

"In the fall of 1821, R. D. King, son of the Rev. Samuel King, was licensed to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and Daniel Patton was ordered to accompany him to South Alabama. We entered the field at the head of Jones' Valley. [At that time there were only two Cumberland Presbyterian preachers in South Alabama.] Our first business was to form a circuit—seek out a people to preach to. The country was being rapidly settled up. In crossing from valley to valley, our travel was on the Indian trails. The circuit was formed—no time was lost. It required six weeks to go round; finding very little encouragement. Making the Rev. Benjamin Lockhart's, at the head of the Jones' Valley, the starting point, thence down Jones' Valley and Roup's Valley on to the falls of the Warrior river, where was a town of pine boards called Tuscaloosa; thence south and southeast to Cahaba; thence across the Alabama to the most easterly settlement, where brother William Moor and a few others were forming a settlement [now Pleasant Hill]; thence north by east to Selma on the Alabama river; thence up Pleasant Valley to the head; thence over the ridge to Canoe Creek, where was being builded St. Clair, the county seat of the same name. Here my first preach was made, in a little grocery. I stood by a whiskey barrel, upon the head of which I laid my books. I was treated gentlemanly; no whiskey was drank. From the last named point—St. Clair—we wound our way through the Shades of Death [Shades Creek] to Elyton. Now, remember, we traveled three weeks apart after we had completed the circuit."[14]

This, it will be seen, falls within the period and compass already given, and shows us graphically two other workers and their action. They are, above question, the first organizers of systematic work in this beautiful field.

The only recorded—the only official—information that can be gained is secured from the records of the session of the synod

[13] King's MS., quoted by McDonnold, p. 158.

[14] Manuscript letter.

meeting, October 15, 1822. The Rev. Robert Bell was present in that gathering and enrolled as a member of the Alabama Presbytery, original; the Revs. B. Lockhart and W. Moor were noted as the absentees of the same body. From the same source we read: "The Revs. Richard Beard, Alexander Chapman and John L. Dillard were appointed a committee to examine the minutes of the Alabama Presbytery, with their respective elders." The report of this committee does not appear on the record of the old synod. It is presumed the minutes of the presbytery were present in the synod, and that they were duly reviewed. The committee on the state of religion, in its report to the synod the same year, says: "The number of conversions in the Alabama Presbytery, fifty." A very good harvest, it may be said, for five men in those days, three of whom were a large part of their time unavoidably secularized; when the material was of a difficult kind; when the state of society was primitive; and, when we were a small people, and, in some instances and quarters, little respected even by good people in the older and more influential denominations.

"An incident taken from the manuscript autobiography of the Rev. R. D. King will suffice to illustrate the state of things in South Alabama when Cumberland Presbyterians began their work in that field. The State legislature then met at Cahaba, and it was in session while King was there. Several of its members knew King, and invited him to preach for them, which he did. As there was no house of worship in the place, the three denominations of the town each had procured the use of the State-house for one Sabbath per month. This left one Sabbath unoccupied. By a formal and official resolution the legislature invited King to take possession of the house for that vacant Sabbath. He accepted their invitation, and left an appointment. When the time for his appointment arrived, and he was on his way to the place of preaching, the resident minister of the Presbyterian Church came driving rapidly past him in his buggy. When King, who was walking, entered the hall, which was then thronged with people, this Presbyterian preacher, whose name was Sloss, was up lining out a hymn. After song and prayer, Mr. Sloss announced a text and proceeded to preach. The sergeant-at-arms of the legislature came to King and said: 'Sir, with your permission, I will put him out.' King, however, begged him not to interfere. Mr. Sloss gave a horrid caricature of the doctrines, the practices, and the ignorance of the Cumberland Presbyterians, and warned everybody against having anything to do with them. After the benediction, King announced preaching for the afternoon. When

the hour arrived, he had a crowded hall, and there was a solemn and precious meeting without the least allusion to Mr. Sloss or his caricature of our people. When Mr. Sloss came to his own appointment the next Sabbath, his wife was his only auditor. He tried one more time to fill his regular day, and again his wife was his only hearer, the members of his own church reprobating his conduct as much as others. Then he closed out his work in Cahaba."[15]

The next authentic information is obtained from the minutes of the old synod, virtually the General Assembly, in 1823. These records, by the way, were lost from our history until recently when they were discovered by the Rev. John V. Stephens, D. D., professor of ecclesiastical history, Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee. The synod held its session at Russellville, Kentucky, Oct. 21, *et seq.* From this source it is learned that the Rev. R. Bell was present as a member from the Alabama Presbytery, while the Rev. Messrs. John Forbes, William Moor, and Benjamin Lockhart were the absentees. Here we have the name of another of the members of the Alabama Presbytery, viz: John Forbes. Dr. Stephens, in a letter to me, says:

"Committees were appointed to examine the minutes of the various presbyteries, but none was appointed to examine the minutes of the Alabama Presbytery, perhaps for the reason that no minutes were there from this presbytery."

The Rev. R. Donnell was chairman of the committee on the state of religion. This committee gives, in its report, statistics of the various presbyteries except the Alabama.

On Friday, Oct. 24, 1823, the synod adopted the following:

"*Whereas,* The members of the Alabama Presbytery live remote from each other and are separated by water courses difficult to pass in time of high water.

"*Resolved,* That said presbytery be dissolved, and that Rev. Messrs. Robert Bell and John Forbes of the Alabama Presbytery and John Malloy and J. C. Smith of the Tennessee Presbytery constitute a presbytery to be known by the name of Bigby [Tombigbee] Presbytery at Abner Boan's in Monroe county, State of Mississippi, on the 24th of January next, including the following boundaries, viz: Beginning at the mouth of the Mobile river, thence up said river to the mouth of the Black Warrior to

[15] McDonnold, pp. 159-160.

the road leading from Florence to Tuscaloosa, thence with said road to Tennessee Presbytery line, thence with said line to the Tennessee State line, thence with said line to the Mississippi river, thence south to the undefined boundaries; that Robert Bell be the first moderator, and, in case of his absence, John Forbes. The Rev. Messrs. William Moor and Benjamin Lockhart, with the remaining bounds of the Alabama Presbytery, be attached to the Tennessee Presbytery, and that the minutes of said presbytery, with the licentiates and candidates belong to the Tennessee Presbytery, except Daniel Patton who shall be attached to the Elk Presbytery."—*Minutes of the Cumberland Synod,* 1823.

"On the 24th of October, 1823, by the authority of synod, the Alabama Presbytery, owing to the remote situation of its members from each other, the difficulty of meeting in time of high water, etc., was dissolved, and a part of its members, with two from the Tennessee Presbytery, were appointed to constitute the Bigby [Tombigbee] Presbytery. The balance of the members of the Alabama were attached to the Tennessee Presbytery."[16]

On these paragraphs the following remarks may be made:

1. It gives the date of the extinction of the Alabama Presbytery, original.

2. There were four members of the Alabama Presbytery, original, at the time of its dissolution, viz: The Revs. R. Bell, J. Forbes, Wm. Moor, and B. Lockhart.

3. Mr. Forbes appears as an addition to the charter members, whether by synodic or presbyterial act is not known.

4. Messrs. B. Lockhart and W. Moor became members of the Tennessee Presbytery.

5. The Revs. R. Bell and J. Forbes became factors in the Bigby Presbytery—two of its charter members. Mr. Bell was appointed by the synod first moderator of the new presbytery, Mr. Forbes being named as his alternate.

6. There must have been at least one meeting since the minutes are to be given into custody of the Tennessee Presbytery. The writer, however, knows nothing of said meeting or meetings. The records are doubtless destroyed with the early minutes of the Tennessee Presbytery when the latter were burned.

7. The same remark is rendered necessary since reference is made to licentiates and candidates. These could come in only by

[16] Donnell's *Thoughts,* p. 256.

presbyterial act, unless given in the act creating the presbytery, or by subsequent change of presbyterial lines.

8. All this comports with what has been said regarding the bounds and the work, and the difficulties of the Alabama Presbytery, original.

In keeping with these facts the records of the synod, meeting at Cane Creek, near Fayetteville, Lincoln county, Tennessee, October 19, 1824, register Mr. Bell as a member of the Bigby and Messrs. Lockhart and Moor as members of the Tennessee Presbytery.

Messrs. Lockhart and Moor remained in the then new State and pressed their work. Others, mostly workers of a somewhat transient kind, were doubtless in the field aiding. These two men, be it remembered, were our fixities—our denominational dependence. They held the field until the reorganization of the presbytery. Thanks be to these good, self-denying, self-sacrificing men! Blessings on their names! They cannot—cannot—die! "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance!" Let their church never forget her debt of gratitude to the men who have so heroically planted her banner in the fields at home and in the lands afar off.

Dr. McDonnold, p. 157, disposes of the Alabama Presbytery, original, in the following manner:

"In 1821 the General Synod appointed certain preachers to go to South Alabama and organize a presbytery. There were candidates for the ministry who wanted to settle in that field, and it was believed that a presbytery might soon secure a local supply of ministers; but this attempt to form a presbytery composed entirely of non-resident ministers was a failure. A quorum never met."

I have submitted the records. These, I suppose, will be regarded official. The doctor is certainly in error in reference to the residence of at least two of these ministers.

The session of the General Synod, 1823, held at Russellville, Ky., Oct. 21, *et seq.*, made provision for the Bigbee [Tombigbee] Presbytery. This was in harmony with the reigning policy—a presbytery as early as there appears reasonable prospect of its success. This new presbytery would occupy mainly Mississippi soil. Its eastern limits would lie within Alabama, embracing the northwest corner of the State. For some cause, doubtless satis-

factory, the presbytery failed to formally organize upon the day and at the place appointed. This is the third presbyterial body whose limits should hold any part of Alabama. As it was never organically in existence, it might be called "The Tombigbee Presbytery, provisional." Nothing at all is known of its character.

The dissolution of the Alabama Presbytery, original, left the Revs. B. Lockhart and W. Moor laboring within the bounds of the Columbia—later the Mississippi—later still the Union—now the Alabama—Synod.

Sometime during the spring of 1822, Messrs. J. W. Dickey and John Williams, both licensed preachers in the Elk Presbytery, entered Middle Alabama.

These all made Elyton—then the metropolis of Jones' Valley, near the present city of Birmingham—their center of operations—their radial point. They spent, in circuit riding, some two years in this field and in South Alabama. Messrs. Lockhart and Moor were, of course, busy in their respective circles.

In conversation with the Rev. Peter Harden, at the semi-centennial meeting of the Alabama Synod, held at Cross Plains—now Piedmont—October, 1886, he said:

"Shiloh [Leeds] was the first congregation ever organized in Middle Alabama. The date of its birth is 1820 or 1821. Enon was formed at about the same time; I think, October, 1821. These were both organized by brother Lockhart."

From its records, I find that Hopewell, three milles south of Bessemer, was organized by Mr. Lockhart and others October 21, 1823, three days before the Alabama Presbytery, original, was dissolved. In like manner I find that Revs. Lockhart and Williams organized Mt. Calvary, in Clayton's Cove, April, 1824. There were other churches, but I have been unable, after diligent search, to ascertain their names, their location, the date of their organization or by whom.

The Elk Presbytery, at her spring session, 1824, appointed a commission whose duty it was to proceed to Marion, South Alabama, and ordain the young men Dickey and Williams. This commission was composed of the Revs. Albert G. Gibson, Benjamin Lockhart, William Moor, and A. J. Steele. These all, at the time appointed, proceeded to Marion and formed a presbytery for the discharge of the duty assigned them by electing Mr.

Moor moderator, and Mr. Gibson clerk. Here, June 1, 1824, J. W. Dickey and J. Williams were solemnly ordained and set apart to the work of the ministry. The ordination sermon was delivered by the Rev. A. G. Gibson, the Moderator presiding and giving the charge. The prayer of consecration was offered by Mr. Steele. This ordination was the first that ever occurred at the hands of the Cumberlands in Middle or South Alabama. It took place in the home of old brother Alexander George, a pioneer and veteran Cumberland, who resided on Bogue Chitto creek, Perry county, distant only a little way from Marion, then known as Muckle's Ridge. In those days such meetings as this were called "intermediate meetings" of the presbytery. The two terms "intermediate session" and "commission" were used interchangeably.

There was no organized church at Mr. George's, for Mr. Steele, writing to me under date of Feb. 8, 1886, said of the further work of the commission: "We organized a church there of twenty members. Old father George was made an elder. Others were elected, but I cannot recollect their names." From records I have learned that this local church was called Elim, afterward Jericho.

Talking with Elder P. A. Hickman, of Green Pond, Ala., in 1885, he said:

"Brothers Gibson, Steele and Hubbard, with other brethren, held the first camp-meeting in Middle Alabama, in a little dirt-floor school house with one door and one window, at Elyton, as they returned from South Alabama, June, 1824. The people occupied the school-house, and sheet tents, and wagons. A large bush arbor served for a chapel. On a Sunday during this meeting I saw two or three persons have 'jerks.' There were many conversions. The meeting was one of great power and deep work. Out of its converts grew the Elyton congregation. It was organized in the fall of 1824, or the spring of 1825. I do not know who organized it, but am inclined to say brother Lockhart."

These years mark a period of very rapid growth in our church throughout Middle Alabama. In the midst of such active progress and so favorable circumstances, the synod, in session at Cane Creek, Tennessee, Oct. 22, 1824, adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. Messrs. Benjamin Lockhart, William Moor, James W. Dickey and John Williams, compose a presbytery to be known by the name of the Alabama Presbytery: Bounded on the west by the Mobile river, from the mouth of said river to the mouth of the Bigby [Tombigbee] river; thence by Boliver's road to the top of the mountain south of the Tennessee river; thence with the top of the mountain east to the Indian [Creek] boundary line; thence south with said line to the ocean; to be constituted at Alexander George's, Perry county, State of Alabama, on the first Friday in April [April 1], 1825, Benjamin Lockhart, Moderator, and in case of his failure, William Moor."

Herein we have given the creation of the first presbytery whose territory lay wholly within the State. It is referred to in our history as "The Old Alabama Presbytery." I shall in my history refer to it as "The Alabama Presbytery, old." I shall revert to it presently.

For the sake of chronology I return to the Bigby [Tombigbee] Presbytery. On October 22, 1824, the same date as the preceding, the General Synod renewed its action, giving to the presbytery the following bounds, which may or may not have been those designated a year previously:

"Beginning where the dividing ridge between the Tennessee and the Bigby waters strike the Tennessee State line, thence with said line to the Tennessee river, thence up the river to the east boundary of Morgan county, thence south with said line to Boliver's road leading from Florence to Tuscaloosa; and that the following members, viz: The Rev. Messrs. James Stewart, Green P. Rice, James Moore, and Carson P. Reed, be also attached to said presbytery; and that, in consequence of said presbytery's having failed to constitute agreeably to a former resolution of the synod, it is hereby appointed to constitute at Carmel meeting-house, in Lawrence county, Alabama, on the second Tuesday in March [March 8], 1825, Robert Bell being Moderator, or, in case of his failure, James Stewart."[17]

Since the ministers herein named are "attached" to the presbytery, it would seem that the rolls of the two authorizing acts differed. This was doubtless done so as to make the presbytery a possibility. The northwestern portion of the State was held within the borders of this new presbytery.

[17] Minutes of Synod, 1824.

The presbytery, so far as I am informed, met and was duly organized at the time and place mentioned. The records of its life and work are not accessible to me. Besides, it is not expected that I shall further pursue it, as I am at the goal of my task.

In pursuance of the synodic action, the Alabama Presbytery, old, was, April 1, 1825, organized. It would scarcely be correct to say that it was reorganized, unless the term be used with much latitude.

The reader will bear in mind that the Cumberland Synod embraced the entire Cumberland Presbyterian Church at this period. The Alabama Presbytery, old, was, of course, subject to her oversight.

I here quote in full the minutes of the initial meeting:

"The Alabama Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church met, agreeably to order of [Cumberland] Synod, at Alexander George's, Perry county, State of Alabama, on the first Friday in April [April 1], 1825.

"The opening sermon was delivered by the Rev. William Moor, on ii. Cor. v : 20: 'Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.'

"MEMBERS PRESENT: The Rev. Messrs. William Moor, John Williams and James W. Dickey.

ABSENT: The Rev. Benjamin Lockhart.

ELDER: Alexander George, from the Elim Society.

REPRESENTATIVE: Hugh Morrow, from Hopewell and Elyton Societies.

"The Rev. William Moor presided as Moderator, agreeably to the order of Synod.

"The Rev. James W. Dickey was chosen clerk.

"The Rev. Vincent Hubbard, of the Tennessee Presbytery, was invited to a seat as a corresponding member.

"Presbytery adjourned to meet at Elim meeting-house of this society and neighborhood to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

"Concluded with prayer.

"SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1825.

"Presbytery met agreeably to adjournment, constituted with prayer. Members present as on yesterday.

"ORDERED, That the Revs. Benjamin Lockhart, John Williams, and James W. Dickey administer the sacrament of the supper in Bethany society on the fifth Sabbath in July; in Shiloh, on the third; and in Mt. Moriah, on the fourth Sabbath in September.

"ORDERED, That the Revs. William Moor, John Williams, and James W. Dickey administer the sacrament of the supper in Elim congregation on the second Sabbath in September.

"ORDERED, That the Revs. Benjamin Lockhart, William Moor, John Williams, and James W. Dickey administer the sacrament of the supper in Elyton society on the first Sabbath in October next.

"Bryson T. Dobbins came forward and related his experimental knowledge of religion and call to the holy ministry, and, presbytery having received testimonials of his good moral character and of his being in the communion of the Church, received him as a candidate for the holy ministry. *Ordered,* That he prepare a written discourse on Amos iv: 12: 'Prepare to meet thy God,' to be read at next presbytery.

"The presbytery adjourned to meet at Elyton, Jefferson county, Ala., on the 30th of September next.

"Concluded with prayer.

"WILLIAM MOOR, *Moderator.*
"JAMES W. DICKEY, *Clerk.*"[18]

Notice the following facts:

The first meeting of the presbytery was held in Perry county, April 1-3, 1825.

The first Moderator was the Rev. William Moor.

The first clerk was the Rev. James W. Dickey.

The first visitor was the Rev. Vincent Hubbard of the Tennessee Presbytery.

The first probationer was Mr. Bryson T. Dobbins.

The first representatives were Messrs. George and Morrow.

The congregations represented in this initial meeting were six, viz: Elim, Elyton, Hopewell, Bethany, Shiloh, and Mt. Moriah. To this list, as may be seen from the transactions of the subsequent seession—September, 1825—Mt. Calvary, Lebanon, Turkey Creek, and Salem may at least be added. I have already spoken of Elim, Elyton, Hopewell, Mt. Calvary, and Shiloh. Regarding the others I have learned that Lebanon was in Dallas county, Mt. Moriah, in Bibb, while Bethany was in Pickens. It was a Presbyterian church which came in a body into the Cumberland —a thing that occurred often in our early history. Turkey Creek was perhaps in Jefferson or St. Clair county. Salem was probably in Perry or Pickens. On October, 6, 1851, its name was changed

[18] MS. records, vol. i, pp. 1-2.

to Coffee Springs. It is believed that this list names and locates all the churches in middle Alabama prior to January 1, 1826.

I am wholly unable to list with certainty the congregations of North Alabama. There were churches, of course, in that part of the State, but I have not been able to ascertain their birthday and location. I name four, to-wit: Canaan, Madison county, Huntsville, Hermon, and Kelly's Creek. Those were organized prior to 1813, and all likely by the Rev. R. Donnell.

The presbytery, according to its adjournment, met at Elyton, Sept. 30, 1825. All the ministers were present. The elders present were: Charles C. Clayton, Josiah Reed, Weyman Adair, Hugh Morrow, William Hall, James Hall, and William Cameron, representing respectively the following congregations: Mt. Calvary and Turkey Creek, Lebanon, Elim and Salem, Hopewell and Bethany, Mt. Moriah, Elyton, and Shiloh. During this sitting, the following candidates were received, viz: Messrs. Bartholomew Clark and Peter W. Littlepage; the former on Sept. 30, the latter, Oct. 3.

The following orders were issued:

"That the Rev. James W. Dickey ride once round the Jones' Valley circuit, and the balance of his time on the Alabama circuit between now and next [meeting of] presbytery.

"That the Rev. Benjamin Lockhart ride once round the Jones' Valley circuit between now and next presbytery."

The Rev. James W. Dickey was appointed stated clerk of the presbytery. The body adjourned to meet with the Lebanon church, Dallas county, March, 1826.

From the minutes of Cumberland Synod, in session at Princeton, Caldwell county, Ky., Oct. 18, 1825, I find that the Revs. James W. Dickey and John Williams were present, while the Revs. B. Lockhart and W. Moor were absent. The last two were the old men, so to speak, of the presbytery, and could not take so long a horse-back ride. The records of the presbytery were present and were reviewed by the following synodic committee, viz: The Revs. James Y. Barnet, Frank M. Brawley, and Robert Baker.

Messrs. Dickey and Williams were, during this meeting of the synod, appointed agents for their presbytery in the interest of "Cumberland College," our school located in Princeton. The

duty incident to this appointment was "to receive cash or property, and convert the latter into money upon such credits and terms as they may deem advisable."

Here my pen must rest. I have come to the limit set myself. It has cost me hours and days of hard work to gain the materials for this article. How far it falls short of its ideal no one knows better than the writer. Knowing that what I shall say may be used by those who may succeed me has made me duly careful and conscientious in every statement. If there is one error or inaccuracy in it, I am ignorant of it after exhausting the means at my command for informing myself.

NOTES ON THE RECORDS OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ALABAMA.[19]

By the Editor.

As stated above, the advent of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama dates from 1808. The first presbyterial organization in the State dates from an order of the General Synod, of Oct. 18, 1821, constituting the Alabama Presbytery. It was organized, but soon became defunct. In 1824 it was reconstituted, and on April 1, 1825, its first session was held at the house of Alexander George in Perry county. This remained the only Presbytery in the State until the formation of Elyton in 1832, and Talladega in 1836, as it was also the chief local presbyterial organization of the State until the Union Synod was constituted in 1836.

The 8th General Assembly on the 3rd Tuesday in May, 1836, constituted the Union Synod, with the Alabama, Elyton and Talladega Presbyteries. It held its first session at Elyton, Nov. 17, 1836. Prior to this the records of the Church of a synodical nature are found with the Columbia Synod. It remained the Union Synod until 1867, when the name was changed to Alabama Synod.

There are three classes of records required to be kept in this Church:

(1) Minutes of the Synod, covering the State;
(2) Minutes of each Presbytery; and,

[19] Revised from the *Report of the Alabama History Commission* (Miscellaneous Collections, Alabama Historical Society), pp. 132-134.

(3) Records or minutes of the church session, which is the record of all business of the individual churches.

The two former have been irregularly printed.

No attempt has been made to ascertain the condition of the third class.

RECORDS OF THE UNION AND ALABAMA SYNOD.

Minutes, Nov. 17, 1836-Nov. 2, 1854. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1855-1887. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1888-1897. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1898-1900. 1 vol.

The originals of the two first named are in the hands of Rev. J. H. B. Hall, Birmingham. Copies of these, with the originals of the two last are in the custody of Rev. W. B. Witherspoon, stated clerk, Huntsville, Ala.

PRESBYTERIAL RECORDS.

I. Alabama (original) Presbytery, constituted Oct. 18, 1821.

Minutes presumably lost.

Alabama (old) Presbytery, reconstituted on October 22, 1824, and first meeting held April 1, 1825.

Minutes, April 1, 1825-Oct. 3, 1867. 1 vol.

Elyton Presbytery, constituted in 1831, and first meeting held April 12, 1832.

Minutes, April 12, 1832-Feb. 12, 1866, also a part of 1869. 1 vol.

Alabama (new) Presbytery, reorganized in 1883, by consolidation of Alabama and Elyton Presbyteries.

Minutes, April 2, 1868-Sept. 20, 1890. 1 vol.
Minutes, April 23, 1891-1898. Same vol. also contains Minutes of Birmingham Presbytery, Oct. 10, 1898-Feb. 9, 1900. 1 vol.

Birmingham (old) Presbytery, organized, October., 1896.

Minutes, Nov. 5, 1896-June 1, 1897. 1 vol.

These were destroyed in the burning of the Montezuma University, Bessemer, Ala. A small volume of MS. notes kept by Rev. M. W. Robison was preserved and is in the hands of the Rev. L. B. Cross, Gastonburg, Ala.

Birmingham (new) Presbytery, reorganized in 1898, by consolidation of Birmingham and Alabama Presbyteries.

Minutes, Oct. 10, 1898-Feb. 9, 1900. Included in second vol. of Minutes Alabama Presbytery, *supra.*

All of the foregoing are in the custody of Rev. Luther B. Cross, stated clerk, Gastonburg, Ala., except the first above noted, which is in the possession of Rev. J. H. B. Hall, Birmingham.

The churches of the Alabama Synod located in the western portion of the State are under the control of the Mississippi Synod.

II. Talledega Presbytery, organized 1836.

Minutes, 1836 to 1867. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1867 to 1882. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1882 to 1897. 1 vol.
Minutes, 1897 to 1900. 1 vol.
These are in the custody of Rev. J. R. McMullen, stated clerk, Fort Payne, Ala.

III. Springville Presbytery, organized 1880.

Minutes, March 5, 1880-July 15, 1886. pp. 253.
Minutes, Dec. 9, 1886-March 6, 1896. pp. 252.
Minutes, Sept. 18, 1896-1900. (Current.)
These are in the custody of Rev. R. P. Taylor, Stated Clerk, Leeds, Ala.

IV. Robert Donnell Presbytery, organized 1890.

Until the above date the churches composing this body were parts of the Jackson Presbytery and the Tennessee Presbytery. The location of the early manuscript minutes is unknown. Pamphlet minutes for all meetings have been published.
Minutes, March 31, 1893 to Aug. 4, 1897. 1 vol.
Minutes, Sept. 1897 to 1900 (current). 1 vol.
These are in the custody of Rev. H. N. Barbee, stated clerk and treasurer, Athens, Ala.

V. The New Hope Presbytery, organized by act of the Mississippi Synod, Nov. 18, 1838, and held its first meeting at Louisville, Miss., Dec. 21, 1838.

The records of both the New Hope Presbytery and the Mississippi Synod are in the keeping of the Rev. J. H. Zwingle, stated clerk, Starksville, Miss. Their condition is not known.

VI. The McGready Presbytery, organized 1840 or 1841.

The records prior to April, 1863, were destroyed by the accidental burning of the home of the Rev. W. H. Baldridge, stated clerk. The subsequent minutes are in the custody of the Rev. B. F. Finch, stated clerk, Pleasant Site, Ala. Their condition is good.

PART III.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND HISTORICAL PAPERS.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, JUNE 14, 1902.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 14, 1902.

The regular annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society was held in the city of Montgomery, Wednesday, June 14, 1902. It convened in the Senate chamber in the State capitol at 11 o'clock a. m. About seventy-five members and visitors were in attendance. Among the out-of-town members and visitors present were Dr. George Petrie, Prof. George W. Duncan and Miss Emma Beall Culver of Auburn, E. H. Bashinsky of Troy, and Dr. R. H. Duggar of Gallion. Letters and expressions of regret were received from Prof. Charles C. Thach, Col. Sam'l Will John, Rev. C. E. Crenshaw, Prof. Joel C. DuBose and others.

ORGANIZATION.

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Reuben H. Duggar, the second vice-president, who presided during the meeting. The president, Gov. William J. Samford, and the first vice-president, Dr. William LeRoy Broun, had died during the preceding year. Thomas M. Owen, the secretary and treasurer, was present.

Divine blessing on the proceedings was invoked by Rev. Stewart McQueen of Montgomery.

OFFICIAL REPORTS.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were then presented by Mr. Owen, and adopted by the Society. They showed substantial progress in the various lines of activity now engaging the members. On motion the reports were referred to the Executive Committee for such further attention and consideration as might be required.

ANNUAL ORATION.

The annual oration was delivered by Col. John W. A. Sanford, of Montgomery. His subject was the "Yazoo Fraud." Before entering upon a discussion of his subject he made a touching and eloquent introduction in which he spoke of his emotions, sur-

rounded by the portraits of the distinguished Alabamians, which now adorn the walls of the Senate chamber, where the session was held. His remarks concerning Yancey, Hilliard, Bullock, Walker and Emma Sansom were appreciated and applauded. Coming to his subject he graphically presented a history of the land speculations in the early years of the republic. He developed the whole theme in a scholarly way. It was greatly enjoyed because of the eloquent presentation, and because of the connection of the subject with the early history of Alabama. At the conclusion a resolution of thanks, offered by Mr. Owen, was extended him in a rising vote.[1]

PRESENTATION OF HISTORICAL PAPERS.

E. H. Bashinsky, of Troy, then presented a valuable "Historical Sketch of Pike County," the introduction only being read by him. It showed much careful research, and indicated the wide interest now being taken in local history.[2]

Miss Emma Beall Culver, of Auburn, was introduced, and read a paper on "Thomas Hill Watts, a Statesman of the Old Régime." In introducing her, Dr. George Petrie explained the scope and purpose of the paper. It should be stated that Miss Culver was awarded a gold medal in a competitive contest in which this paper was entered. The medal was offered by the Eufaula chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, for the best historical essay by a graduate or post-graduate student of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.

(*Printed in full hereinafter, p. 415.*)

PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The Secretary, after explaining the absence of several whose names appeared on the program, announced the following by title only, the finished papers themselves to be handed in later and to appear in the published *Transactions* of the Society, viz:

"State Pride and how it is made to grow,"[3] by Col. James T. Murfee, Marion.

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[1] Col. Sanford spoke extemporaneously. His oration has not subsequently been reduced to writing, which will explain its absence from this volume.

[2] This paper will appear in an Alabama local history collection, being arranged for publication by the Department of Archives and History of Alabama.

"Old Towns and Settlements on the Lower Alabama,"[3] by Samuel C. Jenkins, Esq., Bay Minette.

"Old Indian Mounds at Carthage, Alabama,"[3] by W. L. Fagan, Havana.

"The Early Settlement of the Tennessee Valley,"[3] by President Charles C. Thach, of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.

"Sketch of the Organization and Growth of the Alabama Educational Association,"[3] by Dr. J. K. Powers, Florence.

"Descendants of John Purifoy who were Confederate Soldiers," by Francis M. Purifoy, Tuscaloosa.

"John Murray Forbes's Horseback Trip to Alabama in 1831," by Thomas S. Forbes, Birmingham.

"The Military Operations of General John T. Croxton in West Alabama, 1865," by Thomas P. Clinton, Tuscaloosa.

"Some Contemporary Comments upon Reconstruction,"[3] by Miss Kate M. Lane, Auburn.

"The Southern Commercial Convention held in Montgomery in 1858,"[3] by A. F. Jackson, West Point, Ga.

"The Life and Public Services of William R. King,"[3] by Joel Campbell DuBose, Birmingham, and

"William F. Samford, Statesman and Man of Letters," by Dr. George Petrie, Auburn.

RESOLUTIONS.

Motions and resolutions being in order, Rev. Stewart McQueen offered the following, which was on motion adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary shall cause the proceedings and papers of this meeting with such other papers, documents, historical material and illustrations and maps pertaining thereto, as to him may seem advisable, to be carefully edited and published.

Mr. McQueen also offered the following resolution, in support of which he urged the importance of present recognition of valuable work, and on motion it was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society, in annual session, hereby places upon record its grateful appreciation of the faithfulness, energy and ability

[3] These papers have never been received by the Secretary, and presumably they have not been completed. Instead of the paper noted above, Prof. C. C. Thach has contributed a sketch of Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun, which is published herein, p. 487.

which have characterized the Secretary of this organization in the discharge of his duties, and that his efforts in promoting the welfare of the Society, are most heartily commended to our fellow-citizens throughout the commonwealth.

Mr. Owen responded in a feeling and appreciative manner to this evidence of confidence.

The following resolution was adopted on motion of Mr. Owen:

Resolved, That the incoming Executive Committee be and is hereby empowered and directed to prepare a new constitution and by-laws for the Society, which shall be in full force and effect ten days after publication.

MARKING HISTORIC SITES.

Clifford A. Lanier called attention to the fact that there had lived in Montgomery some of the greatest men of the State, and he thought that some steps ought to be taken by the Society toward marking the places where they had lived, in which sentiment there was unanimous concurrence. He offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society be requested to take appropriate steps to secure the marking by tablet or otherwise of the places of residence, in the city of Montgomery, of William L. Yancey, Henry W. Hilliard, Thomas H. Watts, James H. Clanton and of other distinguished citizens and celebrities who have resided in the city.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Officers for the ensuing year were then elected.

(*For list see page 10.*)

INFORMAL DISCUSSION AND ADJOURNMENT.

This was followed by an informal discussion of several matters of interest to the members, which was greatly enjoyed. The opinion prevailed that such meetings, if more frequently held, would prove of great value and of much pleasure to the participants. On motion the matter of more frequent meetings was referred to the Secretary and the Executive Committee.

Mr. Owen thanked the audience for their courtesy in attending. He expressed the hope that every effort would be extended toward building up the Department of Archives and History, and enriching it with historic treasures; after which the meeting adjourned.

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

(1) SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1901-1902.

A brief report of the doings and conduct of the office of the Secretary, from June 3, 1901, to June 14, 1902, is herewith submitted. It will necessarily be short, owing to a change in the scope and operations of the Society.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

In view of the fact that the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society is the Director of the Department of Archives and History, and as it has been deemed desirable to push the work of the Department as much as possible, the time of the Secretary has been so much occupied in his new relation that the work of the year is not specially notable.

Recognizing that the establishment of the Department of Archives and History meant that in future all historical enterprise of an official character would be concentrated at the State capitol, the last annual meeting of the Society, as is known, voted a removal of the Society's headquarters to Montgomery. A resolution was at the same time adopted placing all collections previously made by the Society, in the keeping of the Department, and declaring that "the operations of this Society in the future shall be limited and directed to the publication of work and the affiliation of a body of historical students and others interested in the cause of history, through its membership." The Secretary, already in Montgomery, thereupon formally transferred the collections to the Department, and established headquarters in the city of Montgomery.

SCOPE OF THE COLLECTIONS HERETOFORE MADE BY THE SOCIETY.

The collections heretofore made by the Society consist of books, old and current newspaper files, and a few manuscripts, relics and pictures. The number of books and current files, though large, form in fact only the nucleus of a library. A full catalogue of the entire collection will be included in the first annual report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History. The principal value of the Society's legacy was the interest that had been aroused and the number of outstanding promises of donations which have subsequently come to the Department.

PUBLICATIONS.

Coming to the vital work for which the Society now stands, namely, the publication of work, I beg to report substantial progress, not in books actually issued but in the preparation and projection of several volumes. It is planned to issue the proceedings and papers for the annual meetings of 1900, 1901, 1902 and probably 1903 as volume iv of the *Transactions*. By including all in a single volume much expense in binding will be saved.

The *Report* of the Alabama History Commission, forming the first volume of a series of "Miscellaneous Collections," has previously appeared (1901). The publication of volume ii of this *Report*, which will be volume ii of the "Miscellaneous Collections," was authorized by the act of the General Assembly creating the Department. It is not yet ready for the press, but its preparation will be pushed as rapidly as possible. It is to contain a formal description of all the county records of the State of Alabama.

During the year another valuable volume has been in preparation namely, "Life and Times of William J. Samford," which it is proposed to issue as volume iii of the "Miscellaneous Collections." It is being prepared by John Witherspoon DuBose, author of the well known *Life of William L. Yancey*. A definite date for its appearance cannot be named.

Comment need hardly be made as to the labor involved in these volumes, and that of the most tedious and exacting kind. At best progress can be made but slowly, yet in the course of a few months it is hoped that they will be on your shelves.

You as members will receive these and other volumes free of all cost save the small annual fee. In proportion to the number of volumes issued, and they will increase, the more valuable your membership will become.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

't cannot be other than gratifying to call attention to the very general interest in historical work now being manifested in our State.

The Old St. Stephens Historical Society is active, and held its annual meeting, June 6, 1902.

The Iberville Historical Society was organized Sept. 4, 1901, by Peter J. Hamilton, A. C. Harte, Erwin Craighead, F. G. Bromberg, Erwin Ledyard and other local students, for the study and exploitation of the history and antiquities of our oldest city and its vicinity.

The celebration of the 200th anniversary of the settlement of Fort Louis at twenty-seven mile bluff, above the city of Mobile, was an occasion of much interest and significance. It was conducted under the auspices of the Iberville Historical Society, assisted by the members of your committte heretofore appointed for that purpose. (*See* pp. 27-28, *supra.*)

Plans have been matured for the formation of a local organization with headquarters at Huntsville, to be called the Tennessee Valley Historical Society, for the purpose of exploring the history of that region.

PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS.

But all historical work in Alabama is by no means limited to historical organizations. The Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy are doing more in proportion to numbers than we are. The Alabama Press Association, under the direction of Maj. W. W. Screws, of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, is rescuing the history of the newspaper and periodical press of the State.

The press, daily and weekly, must not be overlooked in making up an estimate of the influences going to create public opinion favorable to our historical work. They are also preserving in their pages many valuable articles on subjects connected with our history.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The correspondence has, as usual, been voluminous, but it has been as far as possible given prompt attention. The files have been carefully arranged and preserved.

MEMBERSHIP.

No effort has been made during the year to increase the membership. There have been about twelve additions, while six members have died, leaving a net total of six.

NECROLOGY.

The Society has lost by death, during the year, the following members, viz:

Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun, who died Jan. 23, 1902;

Porter King, Esq., Oct. 24, 1901;
James W. Lapsley, Esq., Nov. 22, 1901;
Gov. Wm. J. Samford, June 11, 1901;
James McLester VanHoose, Esq., April 16, 1902.
Rev. Greenough White, July 1, 1901.

Appropriate necrological sketches of these will appear in our published *Transactions*.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Secretary.

(2) TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE 3, 1901, TO JUNE 14, 1902.

The Treasurer respectfully submits herewith his annual report, viz:

Receipts.

1902. June	14.	To annual dues and sales of volumes of the *Publications*,	$148 00

Expenditures.

1901. June	3.	Amount due Treasurer brought forward from last year's account,	$98 99
July	1.	By amount postage for correspondence,	10 00
Oct.	8.	Dispatch Printing Co., stationery and printing,	10 25
Oct.	9.	T. V. Boardman Co., office supplies,	14 18
1902. March	7.	Amount postage, shipment copies Report Alabama History Commission,	8 00
March	7.	Express on shipment copies Report Alabama History Commission,	19 26
March	19.	Express on shipment from G. W. Peach, Clayton, Ala.,	25
March	27.	A. Roemer, stationery and blank membership register,	5 00
April	11.	Terry & Davant, mimeographing circular letter as to annual meeting,	1 75
April	12.	Postage for the Society,	5 00
May	26.	Express on shipment from H. S. Doster, Prattville,	25
May	27.	A. Roemer, printing,	2 00
			$174 93
June	14.	Balance due Treasurer, advanced the Society,	26 93

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Treasurer.

Montgomery, Ala., June 14, 1902.

II. NECROLOGY.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

Broun, Dr. William LeRoy, died Jan. 23, 1902. *See infra* for an extended memoir, by Prof. Charles Coleman Thach.

Dr. Broun's membership in the Alabama Historical Society dates from June 21, 1898.

King,[1] Porter, born in Marion, Perry county, Ala., November 24, 1857, was the son of Judge Porter and Callender McGregor (*Lumpkin*) King, the grandson of Gen. Edwin Davis and Ann Alston (*Hunter*) King, and of Chief Justice Joseph Henry and Callender (*Grieve*) Lumpkin, and the great-grandson of Woody and Sarah (*Cartright*) King, and of Philip and Mary (*Porter*) Hunter. Woody King, emigrant, after his marriage in Tennessee, permanently located in Green county, Ga., where he died. His son, Edwin Davis King, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and served honorably, receiving two wounds. Judge Porter King had a career of distinction and usefulness in Alabama. Porter King, Jr., was educated at Howard College, taking high rank as a close and earnest student, and graduating in 1876. Later he took a course at the University of Virginia. Having prepared himself for the law, he located in Opelika, Ala., but soon removed to Atlanta, Ga., where for twenty years he successfully practiced his profession. He was first a partner of Capt. Henry Jackson, but later became a member of the firm of King and Anderson, composed of himself, Clifford L. Anderson and Lewis W. Thomas. In 1890-91 he was a member of the city council, and 1895-96 was mayor of Atlanta, during the Cotton States and International Exposition. Mr. King was an active and influential member of the Georgia Bar Association. He was a Mason, an Odd Fellow, a Knight of Pythias, a Red Man, and a deacon in the

[1] Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 495; Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, p. 573; Samuel Townes' *History of Marion, Alabama* (1844), pp. 40, *et seq. See also* Goode's *Virginia Cousins* (1887), pp. 255 and 257, for branches of the King family. *See also* note 7, page 50, *supra*.

Second Baptist church of Atlanta. He was a captain on the staff of the colonel of the 5th regiment, Georgia National Guard. In politics he was a Democrat, as had been his ancestors for a century. He had a strong native intellect, which he had strengthened by a broad culture. In his life and character he represented the higher type of the best of his generation. He had been a member of the Georgia legislature from Fulton county ten years ago, and was serving another term at the time of his death. His wife, to whom he was married in Talladega, Ala., Nov. 21, 1883, was Carrie Elston, daughter of David Hamilton and Nettie Caroline (*Elston*) Remsen. His wife and two children, Remsen and Calender, survive him. He was buried at Westview, Atlanta. He joined the Alabama Historical Society Jan. 29, 1900.

LAPSLEY,[2] JAMES WOODS, son of Rev. Robert Armstrong Lapsley, D. D., and wife, Catherine Rutherford Walker (daughter of John Moore Walker, of Augusta county, Va.), was born Dec. 20, 1835, in Nashville, Tenn. His father's family was of Scotch-Irish

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[2]John Hardy's *History of Selma, Alabama* (1879), p. 188, for sketch of John W. Lapsley, a cousin of the subject of this sketch; and Clark's *History of Education in Alabama* (1889), pp. 50-53, and Dr. Basil Manly's funeral oration, 1841, for sketch of Prof. Horace S. Pratt, father of Mrs. James W. Lapsley.

The *Life and Letters of Samuel Norvell Lapsley* (1893), son of James W. Lapsley, 11-12, contains the following ancestral facts:

"On his father's side the blood was that of the Scotch-Irish and Scotch, who came to the Valley of Virginia over one hundred and fifty years ago; he being descended from Michael Woods, of Albemarle, an Irish immigrant, who came up the Valley in 1734; his son-in-law, Joseph Lapsley, coming by way of Pennsylvania a little later, and also from Andrew Woods, of Botetourt, and Mary Poage, his wife, and counting among his ancestors in the last century the Moores, Rayburns, and Armstrongs, who came into the Valley country when it was a wilderness.

"His * father was the Rev. Robert Armstrong Lapsley, D. D., of Nashville, Tenn., a name still greatly revered through Tennessee and Kentucky. And in the old cemetery at Nashville, over the grave of his * mother, Catherine Rutherford Lapsley, is an inscription telling of her pious life and triumphant death, and of her descent from Samuel Rutherford, of the Westminster Assembly. Her father was John Moore Walker, son of Joseph Walker, for thirty years a trustee and treasurer of Washington College, now the Washington and Lee University. Joseph Walker's wife was Jane Moore, an aunt of Mary Moore, the heroine of the little book in our Sunday-school libraries, *The Captives of Abbs Valley*. How the name and character of the brave old Covenanter, Samuel Rutherford, has been held in reverence is observable from the constant recurrence of his name and that of his wife, Catherine, in the families of his descendants."

The same volume contains the following account of the ancestry of Mrs. Lapsley:

stock, who had located in the valley of Virginia over one hundred and fifty years ago. His father was for many years a preacher and teacher in Nashville. James W. Lapsley received an ordinary English education, read law and was admitted to the bar in his 20th year. He was engaged in the practice at Selma when the war cloud burst in 1861. He promptly enlisted and became a lieutenant in the 51st Alabama regiment. He spent the two last years of the war in Northern prisons. Resuming the law after the war, he practiced in Selma for a number of years; was elevated to the circuit court bench, where he served two years. From 1882 to 1886 he was examiner of public accounts, under the provisions of an act of the general assembly, dated Feb. 23, 1882. In 1889 he located in Anniston, where he practiced until he was again called to the bench—this time as judge of the city court of Anniston. This office he was filling with great success at the time of his death, Nov. 22, 1901. Under an act of the general assembly of Feb. 18, 1897, Gov. Joseph F. Johnston appointed Mr. Lapsley one of three commissioners to investigate whether the State of Alabama was justly and equitably indebted to the State University in an amount exceeding that then recognized by law. The report of the majority, of which he was one, will be found in the *House Journal,* 1898-99, pp. 500-515. Judge Lapsley was in all respects a model citizen. He was inflexibly just and upright. As a judge he was painstaking and impartial. On June 9, 1857, in Tuscaloosa, Ala., he was married to Sara Eliza, daughter of Prof. Horace Southworth and Isabel (*Drysdale*) Pratt. Prof. Pratt was for many years professor of English literature in the University of Alabama. Rev. Samuel Norvell Lapsley, a son of Judge Lapsley, was a devoted missionary of the Presbyterian Church at Leubo, Congo Free State, Africa, 1890-92, and died at Lower Congo, March 26, 1892. Mrs. Lapsley survives her husband and resides at Anniston. Judge Lapsley was entered on the roll of the Alabama Historical Society Dec. 7, 1898.

"Rev. Horace Southworth Pratt, was from Connecticut, but spent his life in Georgia and Alabama, dying while professor of *Belles-lettres* in the University of Alabama, in which office he was succeeded by his son, Rev. John W. Pratt, D. D., afterwards pastor of the Presbyterian church in Lexington, Va., and of the Second church in Louisville, Ky. * * * Isabel Drysdale [wife of Rev. H. S. Pratt] was of an old loyalist Episcopal family of the low-country, to which the late Bishop Drysdale, of Louisiana, belonged. Rather than rebel against King George, they fled to the Bahamas, where Mrs. Pratt was born."

SAMFORD,[3] WILLIAM JAMES, was born September 16, 1844, in Greenville, Meriwether county, Georgia, and was the son of William Flewellen and Susan L. (*Dowdell*) Samford. The father, Wm. F. Samford, son of Rev. Thomas Samford (whose wife was Jane Burleson), considered one of the ablest ministers in Georgia, was a native of Wilkinson county, Ga., graduated at Randolph-Macon College, taught in Emory College, Oxford, admitted to the bar in 1839, was a Polk elector in 1844, removed to Alabama in 1846, resided in Macon and Lee counties, and was a gentleman of fine scholarship and varied attainments. His wife, Susan L., was a sister of the late James Ferguson Dowdell, and the daughter of Louis J. Dowdell and wife, Elizabeth Farley, daughter of Arthur Farley of Powhatan county, Va., and wife, Mrs. Ann B. (*Tinsley*) Farley.

Wm. J. Samford was educated at the classical school of W. F. Slaton in Chambers county, and at other private schools in this and in Macon county. He attended the East Alabama Male College at Auburn for one year, 1861. In 1862 he matriculated at the University of Georgia, Athens, but in a brief time left college to enlist in Co. G, 46th Alabama regiment, infantry, C. S. A. In May, 1863, he was captured at the battle of Baker's Creek, in Mississippi, and was imprisoned for eighteen months at Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. Prior to his imprisonment he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant. There Professor Slaton, his old preceptor, soon arrived, a prisoner of war, and under him Lieutenant Samford resumed his classical studies, pursuing them until his final release in the winter of 1864, when he returned to his regiment, with which he remained until the end of the struggle. In 1865 he entered upon the business of cotton planting; in 1867 he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law at Opelika, where he always thereafter lived, and was recognized as one of the foremost lawyers of the State, being a powerful advocate and close debater. He was alderman of Opelika, 1872-73, a delegate to the State Democratic convention and alternate elector on the Greeley ticket in 1872; in 1874 he was a member of the State executive committee of the Democratic and Conservative

[3] Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 163 and 317; and *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, pp. 737-8. *See infra*, p. 465, for sketch of Wm. F. Samford by Dr. George Petrie.

party in the Houston campaign; he was a member of the Alabama constitutional convention of 1875; in 1876 he was elector for his district on the Tilden ticket; in 1878 he was elected to Congress, declining re-election; in 1882 was representative from Lee county in the general assembly; in 1884 was elected a State senator from Lee county; in 1886 was president of that body, and was again a member, 1892-96; in 1896 he was appointed a trustee of the University of Alabama; in 1900 he was elected governor of the State and died at Tuscaloosa while serving in this office, June 11, 1901. Governor Samford was a licensed preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was twice elected a delegate from the Alabama Conference of his church to the General Conference; he was appointed by the college of bishops of his church a delegate to the Ecumenical Conference of 1901, which convened at London, England, but ill health and official duties forbade his acceptance. He was a regular and active Sunday school teacher. He was a Mason, a Knight of Pythias, and a member of the American Legion of Honor.

Mr. Samford showed his interest in historical, patriotic and literary work in various ways. He delivered many literary addresses and lectures before the leading educational institutions of this and other Southern States; was a contributor to various periodicals and magazines on current topics and literary subjects; and ranked as one of the foremost orators of the State.

Mr. Samford joined the Alabama Historical Society January 2, 1899, and took much interest in promoting its objects. During his gubernatorial service he linked his name forever with the State promotion of historical work and enterprise in aiding in bringing about the establishment by the legislature of the Department of Archives and History, devoted to all of the historical interests of the State.

He was married October 31, 1865, to Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. John H. and Mary (*Williams*) Drake, formerly of North Carolina, and had born to him nine children: (1) William Hodges, (2) Thomas Drake, (3) William James, (4) Richard L., (5) Susan G., (6) Caroline E., (7) Crawford A., (8) Walter R., and (9) Mary Kate Samford.

VAN HOOSE,[4] JAMES MCLESTER, son of Jesse and Ann Eggleston (*Baugh*) VanHoose, was born in Fayette county, Ala., March 25, 1823, and died in Tuscaloosa, Ala., April 16, 1902. The senior Mr. VanHoose was born in Montgomery county, N. C., in 1788, and was the son of a revolutionary soldier; removed to Franklin county, Ala., 1817, and there married; was first clerk of the circuit court of that county in 1819; removed to Fayette county and became its first judge in 1824; and was elected to the State senate from that county in 1825. He was a man of high character. He removed from Fayette county to Northport, Tuscaloosa county, and died March 23, 1852. James M. VanHoose was educated in the common schools, with one year (1842) at the University of Alabama. In 1847 he entered the law office of Elisha W. Peck, and in 1848 was admitted to the bar. He at once became the law partner of his preceptor, the relation continuing until 1854. He continued the practice at Tuscaloosa until 1885, in which year he removed to Birmingham. Although a staunch Democrat, he never entered the political arena. As early as 1854 he was a member of the Alabama Historical Society, and at the annual meeting of 1854 he became secretary, serving until the work of the Society was discontinued owing to the approach of war. Mr. VanHoose's interesting reminiscences appear in this volume, forming a part of the proceedings of the semi-centennial meeting, June 18, 1900. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was twice married: (1) June 20, 1849, to Susan Alexander, of Campbell county, Va., and (2) in 1879, to Mrs. Annie (*Hill*) Sorsby, widow of Dr. N. T. Sorsby. Rev. James A. VanHoose, of Birmingham, and G. W. VanHoose, Esq., of Tuscaloosa, are sons of the first marriage; and Mrs. Susan Alexander Ross and Mrs. Mary Lee Crutchfield, both of Birmingham, are children of the second marriage.

WHITE, REV. GREENOUGH, son of John Gardner and Mary (*Beach*) White, was born in Cambridge, Mass., July 26, 1863. His maternal grandparents were George and Maria (*Nickols*) Beach, of Hartford, Conn. On the paternal side he was in the

[4] Nelson Smith's *History of Pickens County, Alabama* (1856), pp. 212-17; and Teeple and Smith's *History of Jefferson County, Alabama* (1887), pp. 358, 470.

eighth generation from Edward White and wife, Martha King, who came from Cranbrooke, in Kent, England, in 1635, and settled in Dorchester, Mass. His other ancestors, all early settlers in New England, numbered many men of prominence. His early education was received at Mr. Noble's school in Boston. At Harvard in 1884 he completed his academic studies, receiving the A. B. degree, and in 1885 he completed the course requisite for the master's degree. In the same year he entered the University of the South, at Sewanee, as an instructor, where he continued until 1887. He was professor of English literature at Kenyon College, 1888-89. Entering the Episcopal Theological School, for a thorough preparation in the life work he had chosen, in 1893, he graduated with the degree of bachelor of divinity. He was called to the chair of ecclesiastical history in the University of the South, and he remained one year in 1893. During the year 1893-94 he was on leave of absence and was acting professor of history in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Returning to Sewanee at the end of this year, he took up his labors in the chair of ecclesiastical history, which engaged him continuously until his death there July 2, 1901. He became a member of the Alabama Historical Society Nov. 19, 1898. Mr. White was a scholar and student of much promise. His loss will be keenly felt in every field of high endeavor in the South. He was never married. His literary work was valuable and extensive, and therefore students will find of interest the following partial

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III. THOMAS HILL WATTS, A STATESMAN OF THE OLD REGIME.

By Miss Emma Beall Culver, Auburn, Ala.

PERIOD I, 1819-1861.

With the exception of Senator John T. Morgan, probably no Alabama statesman has lived through so many important years of his State's history as did Thomas Hill Watts. Born in Butler county in 1819, his life began in the same year that the State entered the Union. Like twins, the State and the statesman struggled side by side until his death some ten years ago.[1]

His active public career covers the period from 1853 to 1865—only some ten or twelve years, but these were years more crowded with events of importance than twice their number at any other time. They include the great Know-Nothing movement, the presidential campaign of 1860, the secession question of 1861, the for-

[1] Gov. Watts was born in Butler county, Ala., Jan. 3, 1819; son of John Hughes and Prudence (*Hill*) Watts; grandson of Thomas Watts and Thomas Hill, and a descendant of Welsh and English stock. His paternal grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, who in 1797 removed from Fauquier county, Va. to Greene county, Ga., where he died. His widow became the wife of Gov. Rabun of Ga. Thomas Hill, his maternal grandfather resided in Clarke county, Ga. He attended the country schools, and Mount Airy academy, Dallas county, Ala. He was graduated from the University of Virginia, A. B., 1840, subsequently studying law and beginning practice in Greenville, Ala., in 1841. He was a representative from Butler county in the State legislature, 1842, 1844 and 1845; removed to Montgomery, Ala., 1847; was again a representative in the State legislature, 1849, and a State senator, 1853. He was the unsuccessful "Know-Nothing" candidate from the Montgomery district for the 35th Congress in 1856; an elector at large on the Bell and Everett ticket, 1860, and a delegate from Montgomery county to the State constitutional convention of 1861, signing the ordinance of secession. He recruited the 17th Ala. infantry regiment in Sept., 1861, and was appointed its colonel, but resigned his commission in March, 1862, to become attorney-general of the Confederate States by appointment from Jefferson Davis, serving until October, 1863. He was governor of Alabama, 1863-65, after which he resumed the practice of law, in which he was eminently successful; and he again served as representative in the State Legislature. He was married (1) January 10, 1842, to Eliza Brown, daughter of Wade and Catherine (*Carpenter*) Allen, of Montgomery, Ala., by whom he had several children; and (2) Sept., 1875, to Mrs. Ellen (*Noyes*) Jackson, of Montgomery. Gov. Watts died in Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 16, 1892.—Editor.

mation of the Confederacy, the War between the States and a little of reconstruction—with all of these movements the name of Watts is closely connected, and in all of them he played a prominent part.

One of the most interesting and at the same time puzzling of the numerous political movements that occurred during the decade from 1850 to 1860, was the rapid rise and equally rapid decline of the new political party called by its friends the "American Party," but by its enemies the "Know-Nothings."

During the campaign of 1850, symptoms of a new party had been visible, but no organization is known to have been brought about until the following year when, at a State convention assembled in Louisiana, the Native American party was founded. Its growth immediately began and steadily and rapidly its influence extended. With no public speaking, with no processions, with no campaign attempts to draw out a crowd, this "oathbound, un-American American party had ramified throughout the whole country."[2]

The following were the principles of the party:

(1) Extend the term of naturalization to twenty-one years.

(2) Nominate no man to office who is not a native born.

(3) Guard from corruption and abuse the proceedings necessary to obtain papers of naturalization.

(4) Prevent the union of church and State.

(5) Keep the Bible in the schools.

(6) Resist the encroachment of a foreign civil and spiritual power upon the institutions of our country.[3]

The principles, as understood by the preceding list, have two leading ideas—proscription of all Catholics by excluding them from office, and proscription of all foreigners.

It is a singular fact, however, that the platform of the Know-Nothing party changed according to its position in the various sections of the country. For instance, the South demanded the protection of slavery, while in the West, there was an almost unanimous opposition to it, and in the North a determined and growing hostility to extension—no more slave territory—no more

[2] Macy's *Political Parties in the United States*, p. 179.

[3] McMaster's *With the Fathers*.

slave States. These differences are clearly reflected in the platforms of the party.

Again, no particular hostility to Catholicism was manifested in the South, where some portions even favored it. It was not general in the West, though intense in various parts. On the other hand it was in the North both general and ardent.

In regard to naturalization also a shade of difference is visible. While the South put the term of residence, after which the foreigners could be naturalized, at from ten to twelve years, the North firmly declared that twenty-one years was the proper time. The West, fearing that a restriction upon immigration would retard the settlement of the country, was reluctant to extend the naturalization term.

On no two points did the whole body of Know-Nothingism harmonize. The national platforms did not agree with the State platforms, and no two State platforms agreed together; it was therefore impossible for them to put forth a combined and effective effort in any of their campaigns.

For four years after its organization it carried on its work quietly, peaceably and effectually. Then came the Mexican war, the question of extending slave territory, the Wilmot proviso, the California gold fever, and the compromises of 1850. These dwarfed the issues of Know-Nothingism and it declined both in members and importance.

However, by uniting with the Whigs, who in 1852 experienced a great calamity in the death of Clay and Webster, they succeeded in reorganizing, and entered the field again with renewed courage. The Kansas-Nebraska bill sent many others into the ranks of the secret party, while the charm of its mystery drew still others into its bounds. But its strength proved to be its weakness. Men of every shade of opinion on the political questions of the day had been initiated into the order, so that at the great national convention assembled at Philadelphia, June, 1855, it was impossible to satisfy all, and the result was that the delegates from seven of the free States withdrew. From this time its power at the North began to wane, but it played a conspicuous part in Southern politics for several years.

The American party does not seem to have exerted much influence over the people of Alabama until 1855, though it was stated

positively that a lodge of this kind was organized in Montgomery in July, 1854.

Shunning the light, and shrinking from investigation, lodges were established all over the State, and to the surprise of many, a convention of these lodges was held January, 1855, at the grand wigwam in Mobile. The *Mobile Register* gives the following program of its action and deliberations:

"The Know-Nothing convention has adjourned, and we believe we know pretty well the results of their proceedings—in stating what they are, we promise that we had it from no leaky member. The information has transpired in the most natural and yet in the most accidental manner.

"The convention adjourned to meet again in April.

"It made no nomination for governor.

"It had four names under consideration, J. M. Withers, R. A. Baker, Geo. D. Shortridge and James L. Price.

"The convention was of opinion that it would not do to run a very strong 'State aid man,' as that would be dangerous in the community.

"Whether it shouldered the 'liquor question' or not, we are not advised."[4]

After this assembly many converts were made, and by June the rapid advance of the party is evident from the following statement. "There is next to nothing left of the Democratic party in Alabama. The Whigs are still worse off. The sheer truth is that all the prominent men of both old parties (with very inconsiderable exceptions) are identified with the Know-Nothings, and they seem determined to 'stir things.' "[5]

And their determination was so strong that they did stir things, and all the force that Democrats could summon was sent against them.

A grand council of the Know-Nothing party convened at Montgomery June 12, for the nomination of State officers. Of course the sessions were secret, and as an opponent said: "All that is vouchsafed to an outside barbarian is the poor crumbs dropped at the street corners, and in the social bar-room gatherings."[6] The oath of secrecy, so far as the membership and principles were

[4] *Weekly Alabama Journal,* Montgomery, Jan. 20, 1855.

[5] *Montgomery Mail,* June 9, 1855.

[6] New York *Daily Times,* June 30, 1855.

concerned, was removed, the nominations were made, and the following ideas were endorsed:

(1) Native Americans for office;

(2) Amendment of the naturalization laws;

(3) Opposition to immigration of paupers and criminals;

(4) Opposition to the exercise of political suffrage by foreigners within any territory prior to their naturalization;

(5) Protection to all persons in the inestimable privilege of worshiping God in the manner most agreeable to their own conscience, opposition to the election to office of every man who recognizes the right of any religious denomination to political power, or the authority of any "higher law" than the constitution of the United States;

(6) Non-intervention with slavery by the Federal government except for the protection of our constitutional rights;

(7) The perpetuity of the Union of these States upon the principles of the constitution, and a perfect reservation to them of all the powers which they have not delegated to the Federal government;

(8) The purity of the ballot-box and the enforcement of law and order.[7]

As to the slavery question set forth in these resolutions a careful study will show that there was no real difference between the Democratic and the Know-Nothing platforms. As Wm. L. Yancey said: "They differ only in words and not in ideas."[8]

Geo. D. Shortridge had been nominated for governor. The enthusiasm of the American party reached its climax; people were filled with the glowing accounts of the Philadelphia convention, being deeply impressed with the reports given by the delegates. They put forth every effort, but all to no avail, and John A. Winston was re-elected governor by the Democrats by 12,000 majority.

Things waxed hot during the campaign. In the course of one of Col. Winston's speeches, in speaking of the Know-Nothings, he said that the lodges of the free States were made up of negroes. Judge Shortridge, in his reply, denied the assertion of Gov. Winston. Winston, who was seated in a chair some eight or ten

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[7] New York *Daily Times,* June 22, 1855.

[8] *Tri-Weekly Advertiser and Gazette,* Montgomery, Ala., July 10, 1855.

feet from the speaker, rose very suddenly and addressed the judge thus: "You are a liar." "You are an infamous liar, sir," replied Judge Shortridge, making his way out of the pulpit toward Winston, who drew out his pistol. By this time the whole house was in commotion, and a large crowd surrounded the combatants and a general fight was with difficulty prevented. Proper explanations were made and the opponents brought to a mutual understanding and Judge Shortridge continued his speech.[9]

A few days before the convention held in Montgomery June 12, when Judge Shortridge was nominated, the congressional convention assembled at Auburn, Alabama,[10] and Thos. H. Watts was selected as the candidate for the American party. Being informed by a committee[11] of his nomination, his reply was:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *June 12, 1855.*

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 11th inst., informing me that I was unanimously nominated by a convention of the American party, held at Auburn on the 4th inst., as their candidate for Congress, in this Congressional District, was received yesterday.

To be nominated for Congress in this district under ordinary circumstances I should esteem as a distinguished mark of public approbation, but to be tendered such nomination when I have not only not sought, but have heretofore expressed a determination to decline it, is indeed an honor of which the most eminent might well be proud.

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[9] New York *Daily Times,* July 13, 1855.

[10] *Advertiser and Gazette,* June 13, 1855.

[11] *Montgomery Mail,* June 14, 1855.

To Col. T. H. Watts:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *June 11, 1855.*

SIR: At a convention of the American party of the Third Congressional District of the State of Alabama held at Auburn on the 4th inst., the undersigned were appointed a committee to inform you that you had been unanimously selected by said convention as the candidate of said party in the approaching canvass in said district for Congress.

We tender you our congratulations, and trust that in as much as this honor was unsolicited and unsought upon your part, you will not feel at liberty to disregard the wishes of your friends of the American party in all parts of this district.

With due respect,

We remains yours,

ALLEN EILAND,
DAN. SAYRE,
J. H. ELLSBERRY,
H. PHILLIPS,
S. MIMS,
M. C. LANE,
Committee.

For such evidence of public regard I return the most profoundly grateful acknowledgments. Were I to consult my own interest solely, I should promptly decline to accept the tendered honor, but being advised of the circumstances under which this selection has been made, and of the motives by which it has been prompted, I do not feel at liberty to decline the position assigned me by the convention. I therefore accept the nomination; with the understanding, however, that I shall be able to devote only such time to the canvass as my other engagements will allow.

For the complimentary terms in which you have made known to me the action of the convention, to you personally, gentlemen, I tender my kindest regards. I am very respectfully and truly,

Your humble servant,

T. H. WATTS.[12]

Thomas H. Watts was well known, and the people of his party, regarding him as their standard bearer, were confident that nothing would be lost in his hands. His talent commanded attention, his power of debate strengthened his friends, and it was thought that his intellect, masterly and towering as it was, would "put to flight the weakened supporters of a disorganized administration."

Watts was a determined, unflinching advocate of State rights. "Though," said one of his friends, "he would uphold and defend the Union with zeal, so long as the free States failed to execute their threats against the South, he would never consent to yield one inch to the encroachment of Free Soilism."[13]

He insisted upon the enforcement of the fugitive slave law and endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In regard to the rights of the South in the territories, he claimed that the American party in its platform was more decidedly favorable than any other party had been. The others simply opposed the agitation of the question, the American platform boldly denied that any State could be excluded because of slavery.[14]

He did not oppose Catholicism, but political Catholicism; of

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[12] *Montgomery Mail,* June 9, 1855.

[13] *Ibid,* Mar. 12, 1855.

[14] *Ibid,* July 17, 1855.

He showed beyond a doubt that the platform of the American party was a better one for the South than the platforms of either the Whig or Democrat party of 1844, 1848, or 1852. These platforms simply asserted opposition to the agitation of the slavery question. The American platform went further and denied the constitutional right to Congress to refuse admission into the Union to a State because of slavery in her constitution. No national party had ever assumed this distinct ground before.

course he insisted that no foreigner under the name bishop, pastor, rector, or priest should consider his allegiance to the United States as being inferior to that due the Pope, but he, with others, invited into their organization all men who "profess to owe no temporal allegiance to any foreign power."

He was bitterly opposed to the unrestricted immigration of foreigners. These people came over and for the most part settled in the Northern and Northwestern States, thus giving not a few members to Congress; and their being abolitionists tended to weaken the Southern power in national legislation; and he contended that it was the duty and to the interest of the South to check this current of migration from east to west.[15]

It is said that at Cusseta, in his reply to Dowdell, "T. H. Watts straddled the Alabama platform and reaching forth both hands with extended arms to embrace the Philadelphia platform, exclaimed 'Natives for office.' "[16]

Having sketched the rise of the American party and examined its platforms, having traced its career in Alabama and explained the reasons for Watts' nomination and his views upon the issues involved, we now pass to the campaign of 1855 between the two congressional candidates, Watts and Dowdell.

This campaign was opened at Tuskegee June 27. The effect of the American candidate's speech was most triumphant,[17] so stated the *Journal*, but the *Advertiser* seemed to entertain another view.[18]

They opposed each other at Rome, then at Dadeville, and later at Dudleyville, where a large crowd had assembled. Watt's speech was thus described: "Mr. Watts proceeded in a strain of eloquence, interspersed with sharp wit and rich anecdotes that fully sustained his reputation as an orator and his cause."[19]

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[15] *Montgomery Mail*, July 17, 1855.
Watts showed that 5,000,000 foreigners had already landed on our shores, that representatives in Congress were based on numbers—and that these foreigners had numbers sufficent to entitle them to about fifty members on the floor of Congress, that it was the duty of the South to check this growth and to check it speedily.

[16] *Advertiser and Gazette*, July 10, 1855. The description indicates Watts' earnestness as clearly as the writer's lack of elegance.

[17] *Weekly Alabama Journal*, June 30, 1855.

[18] *Advertiser and Gazette*, June, 1855.

[19] *Ibid*, July 9, 1855.

One of these anecdotes has been preserved and deserves mention, for, if appropriate, it indicates that he did not always have smooth sailing.

"Some years ago," he began, "when Wm. L. Yancey was running for Congress in this district and advocating extreme Southern rights doctrine, his opponent, Dan. E. Watrous, knowing that Mr. Yancey had some years before edited a paper in South Carolina, in which the opposite was advocated, sent off and procured a number of that old paper and in conclusion of one of their discussions drew it upon Mr. Yancey, who, having no answer to make, set up a big shaking laugh and said: 'Well, Watrous, where in the devil did you get that old thing from?' "[20]

They proceeded from Dudleyville to Cusseta and thence to Auburn, where a portion of their constituency was addressed. "The spacious chapel of the Female College," says the reporter,[21] was well filled by an audience eager to hear the discussion of the momentous issues pending between the champions. Mr. Dowdell opened the debate and then Mr. Watts came forward. A thunderous burst of applause greeted him. Taking up each point of his competitor, he brought to bear successively his keen analysis, inexorable logic, irresistible humor, and stirring eloquence. Disposing of every side issue in a most conclusive manner, he proceeded to an examination of the Philadelphia platform of the American party. His masterly exposition of the great national conservative principles embodied in that platform was received with the most enthusiastic demonstration."

The next place of discussion was at Crawford. Dowdell's reply to Watts was a very pretty speech about matters and things in general. Some one spoke of this speech in these terms: "If you had just entered the room, you would have come to the conclusion that he was delivering a 4th of July oration."[22]

The contestants met at Salem, Girard, Villula, and then at Mt. Meigs. The enthusiasm of Watts's partisans is a trifle amusing when we recall the closeness of the contest, but it gives an insight into the temper of the campaign. In comparing the arguments of the two combatants at the last named place, one paper affirmed

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[20] *Advertiser and Gazette,* July 9, 1855.
[21] *Montgomery Mail,* July 7, 1855.
[22] *Ibid,* July 17, 1855.

that Watts was "'a-taking of the fore-hammer to the humble-bee,' and

> 'An uplifting of the club of Hercules—for what?
> To crush a butterfly or brain a gnat.'"[23]

At the discussion at Prattville, "Dowdell was so perfectly unhorsed," said a hearer,[24] "that his friends looked as if they were all chief mourners at a great funeral."

Notwithstanding the self-confidence of the American party, the waves of defeat passed over them. Defeated they were, but not discouraged.

The field was still open to their energies; their hearts vibrated to the glorious sentiment that American liberties are safest in American hands; and they were willing to exert every effort to stem the tide, to drive it back from the shore whence it came.[25]

In spite of their defeat, the American party held a succession of meetings, which were well attended. This spoke well for their patriotism and sincerity, as well as the principles of the party. Au-

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[23] *Ibid*, July 23, 1855.

[24] *Ibid*, July 25, 1855.

[25] The following letter from the *Advertiser and Gazette*, July 12, 1855, will illustrate the decline of the American party in one town.

LA FAYETTE, ALA., *July 8, 1855*.

Messrs. EDITORS: I sit down to give you a short sketch of the rise and progress of Know-Nothingism in this place.

It was introduced here a few months since, under the sacred guise of a holy cause—a Protestant cause—a cause dear to every American citizen, and every professing Christian who loved his God and his country, and the inducements to join were thus urged: "If you are a Christian, enroll your name under the gospel banner and swear to fight the growing influence of the Pope and his Catholic subjects, who are determined to overthrow our republican government and its genuine religious institutions. If you are an American, swear to love your country and give your aid to the government and support of her cherished institutions against all foreign and Catholic influence."

These specious arguments induced many of us to seek its secret powers to intensify our American feelings, and join in a holy crusade against his Catholic majesty. Investigation and calm reflection have followed, and we find the alliance unholy, its objects unconstitutional, and its secret purposes debasing and degrading to free born Americans who value liberty of opinion and conscience.

Its dark lantern operation, secret political caucuses, for the promotion of aspiring demagogues, have disgusted us, and we repent—aye in sack cloth and ashes of our folly.

Of the 67 who were initiated in the "Wigwam" at this place, there are 43 who join me in thus denouncing it, and enter a recantation now and forever.

CHAMBERS.

gust 18 a great rally was held in Montgomery to re-assert their integrity immediately after this unexpected defeat.

"At dark a large crowd began to assemble around a platform which had been erected in front of Montgomery Hall, which continued to increase until hundreds had gathered in the light of large fires blazing up in the middle of the street. The crowd was as large and the enthusiasm higher and the attention to the speakers more intense and delighted than at the great meeting[26] on the Saturday night previous to the election. They claimed, in view of the recent organization of the party in this State, and the difficulties they had to contend with, a right to rejoice over the demonstration of strength they had made in the recent election."[27]

Very able and eloquent speeches were made by Hon. James Abercrombie, B. H. Baker, T. H. Watts, T. J. Judge, Belser, Clanton, McWhorter and others—all breathing the determination to stand by the American party as the true party of the country.

Very soon after this rally, a big barbecue was tendered the candidates and friends of the American cause. "At an early hour, at the ringing of the bell, the citizens proceeded to the Prattville Sunday school, a room sufficiently capacious to contain about 500 persons.

"It was provided with comfortable seats, which being occupied by the ladies, such of the gentlemen as could not be accommodated were compelled to stand in close file, and indeed many were compelled to occupy the vestibules and entries, and catch as they could the faint echoes of the proceedings."[28]

It was remarkable to see the determination of the leaders of this American party. When it was stated that the Know-Nothing platforms and candidates would go to pieces like cornstalk ships on the sea, their leaders did not seem to waver or lag, but expressed new determination. "Macon county shall flow with blood," said Chilton, "before we will give up the right to vote against foreigners."[29]

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[26] *Weekly Alabama Journal*, August 4, 1855.

This great meeting was held in Montgomery, July 24, when 8,000 Americans assembled, and Hilliard, Stewart, Moss, Perham and others made addresses.

[27] *Weekly Alabama Journal*, August 18, 1855.

[28] *Montgomery Mail*, September 5, 1855.

[29] Information obtained from some old scrap books in Mr. Samford's possession.

They suffered ridicule as all political parties do, and many jokes were played upon them. The papers were full of the enthusiastic gatherings of the Americans, and people for some reason could not account for it; so they claimed that they were conducted in this way. A report is noised abroad that there will be a meeting of the Americans at such a time and at such a place. Smith, an extremely large, robust fellow, comes, and then Jones, a very stylish and respectable man, appears. Jones nominates Smith as president, and he is unanimously elected. Then Smith, taking the chair, nominates Jones as secretary, who is elected. Resolutions are formulated and unanimously adopted, and then a motion to adjourn is in order. The next day an article comes out in the daily paper, headed, "A *large* and *respectable* meeting of the Whigs at Smithville, etc." Their opponents stated that this was really the truth of the majority of their enthusiastic gatherings.

In the presidential campaign of 1856 the Americans supported Millard Fillmore and A. J. Donelson, who were nominated by the American convention assembled at Philadelphia. However, a portion of the Americans started a new presidential ticket. They were of the opinion that Fillmore was not for the South because he was in favor of a protective tariff, and endorsed the popular Northern sentiment in its hostility to the Kansas and Nebraska territorial laws.

Public meetings, barbecues, etc., began again, and the people were just as enthusiastic as they had been heretofore.

At a public meeting in Montgomery "Pineknots and tar, all they can ever get from old Autauga, blazed in the streets, and a band of black Republicans played 'Hail Columbia' and 'Oh Susannah,' so touchingly that one might have concluded that Mr. Fillmore was of the heaven-born band who fought in Freedom's Cause, at the Louisville and New Orleans election, and was probably on his way to 'Alabama with his banjo on his knee.' "[30] The meeting was a large one, quiet and orderly. All the energy and force they could muster was summoned, but defeat again overtook them.

Two trials had demonstrated the fact that the Know-Nothings could not win, and every succeeding trial only showed their increasing weakness. Yet encouraged by their standard bearer, they again entered the field more confident of victory than before.

[30] *Advertiser and Gazette*, July 15, 1856.

All eyes turned toward Watts who had so faithfully and earnestly upheld the party in the two preceding campaigns. Though he had lost the district, there was something he had not lost—the confidence and regard of his old associates and friends. However, he refused to become a candidate again, but encouraged them thus:

"Villified and abused as have been the principles of the American party by open enemies and professed friends, they are, in my humble judgment, essential to the preservation of the republic; and in their ultimate triumph remains the only sure hope of constitutional liberty—the only sure guaranty against the prevailing corruption and venality which are destroying the power of public virtue.

"This is not a time to cease our exertions as a party. Whether defeated or victorious, our principles must live. Already there is manifested a disposition to appropriate some of our principles, by the Democracy of the South, whilst they constantly misrepresent our true doctrine.

"One of the principles which we as Americans have battled for is 'That in the territories none but citizens of the United States ought to vote in making laws or in framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union.'

"The Dred Scott case (judging from the extract of the opinion published in the newspaper) has established as the constitutional doctrine the principles of the American party. That the States have no power to make citizens of the United States, and that this power belongs exclusively to Congress.

"A cardinal principle of the American party—and at one time the entire South—was that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty is an unconstitutional political heresy.

"Let us organize our forces, fellow Americans. Let us fight on, fight ever, until our faith has been established in the hearts of the people.

"Thanking you most cordially for the repeated manifestations of your kindness and confidence, and with the renewed assurance that I will support with cheerfulness and hearty good will whomsoever you may select to be your standard-bearer in the coming contest, I subscribe myself

Your obliged and obedient servant,

T. H. WATTS.[31]

Watts was not alone in the hope of victory, but he voiced the sentiment of all of his fellow party-men. "He had fought a

[31] *Montgomery Mail,* May 6, 1857.

good fight," and now, though he gave them his assistance, still he left to them the field and the experience of another defeat.

The days of the American party were numbered, and after the summer of 1857 it experienced a sudden downfall. By 1860 it no longer had any formal existence. Some of its ideas and many of its followers were, however, to be found under another name in the "Constitutional Union Party." In that year there were four political parties in the field.

The Republicans, who nominated Lincoln, were determined to exclude slavery from the territories at any cost.

The convention of the Democratic party, assembled at Charleston, was composed of a Northern and a Southern wing, who entertained different opinions relative to slavery in the territories. The former wished to throw the responsibility of a decision of this question upon the Supreme court, or upon the territories—anywhere but upon the Democratic party.

Their view was embodied in the resolution: "Resolved, that the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law." Douglas was the nominee of this wing. The Southern wing of this party, who supported Breckinridge, avowed a purpose to carry slavery into the territories, as at the time of the formation of the constitution slavery existed in the country, and was recognized by the constitution.

The Constitutional Union party put forward John Bell. This party was composed of the remnants of the old Whigs and Know-Nothings. Its platform is thus expressed: "The Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."[22]

It is seen from this that the Union was its cardinal principle; and the platform adopted by its constituency at Baltimore, May, 1860, bound every citizen to maintain a "more perfect Union, establish justice, insure the domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

They adhered to the principles in the American platform of 1856 in that they distinctly repudiated the Wilmot proviso and squatter sovereignty, regarded the territories as the common

[22]Johnston's *American Politics* (3rd Edition), p. 191.

property of the States, and slavery as civilly, morally and religiously right.

Thomas H. Watts zealously supported the Bell and Everett ticket, and was at once recognized as the leader of that party in Alabama—"the man who towers head and shoulder above all whiners who have heretofore monopolized the stump on that side—the man whose words will mould the policy and creed of the Bell party in Alabama."[33]

This commanding position was easily accounted for. Of all those who had belonged to the old American party and now rallied to its successor, the Bell and Everett party, no one possessed more ability, better judgment, or higher qualities as a political leader than Mr. Watts. He was industrious, courageous and far-seeing.

Moreover, he had not been carried away by those features of Know-Nothingism which had proved disastrous, namely, its secrecy and its meddling with religious matters, but on the other hand, he had taken a strong stand on those features which had shown vitality and were now incorporated in the Bell and Everett platform. He believed in State rights and was loyally devoted to the South.

He stated that his reason for supporting Bell was that he had examined[34] the records of both Breckinridge and Bell thoroughly, and found the former worse than the latter. He writes to Hon. S. J. Bolling: "I shall give my support to the Bell and Everett ticket. I do so because my judgment, after full investigation and with the proper sense of the duties of a citizen, dictates that that ticket can be elected; that the rights of the South can be protected and the constitution and the Union preserved. * * * I do not desire disunion. I am willing to make one more effort to maintain the constitution and the Union. Bell in my judgment is the soundest candidate now before the people. His ability, his

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[33] *Montgomery Daily Mail,* Sept. 15, 1860.

[34] In the *Montgomery Daily Mail* of Aug. 10, and the *Montgomery Weekly Post* of Aug. 1, both of 1860, we read: "Mr. Watts has doubtless fully examined the records of Mr. Bell and he has proclaimed that 'the record of Mr. Bell running through a period of more than a quarter of a century, gives the strongest assurance of his fidelity to the institutions of the South, the land of his birth, and of his fidelity to the Constitution and Union of our fathers.'"

experience, his fidelity, and his enlarged statesmanship make him eminently entitled to the support of the South."[35]

The opponents of Bell spoke of Watts as the "central figure around which the lesser lights revolved," and always termed their gathering the "grand gathering of human cattle who followed the Bell."[36]

Mr. Watts's speech, "The Election of Lincoln is Sufficient Cause for Secession," attracted much attention. One paper said he "unites in a rare and extraordinary degree all the gifts and elements of a perfect orator, the clear thinker, the rigid logician, the ripe scholar, the profound statesman, the accomplished gentleman, and the generous high-hearted Christian."

Col. S. S. Scott, who both admired and loved him, relates a little incident in the latter's history a few years before his death, which shows forcibly the remarkable energy of the man.

Col. Scott was talking with Col. J. W. A. Sanford on the corner of Dexter avenue and Perry street, when Gov. Watts passed them with a sweeping rush, merely taking time to give a hurried nod, and shot diagonally across the avenue with the speed of a miniature cyclone.

"What in the world is the matter with Watts this morning?" asked Col. Scott, looking at the flying figure of the governor.

"He is trying," observed Col. Sanford quietly, "to practice in three courts at the same time—the Federal court, the State supreme court and the city court," and added the Colonel, dropping his head reflectively, "he can come nearer doing the work successfully than any other man living."

But to return to his Lincoln speech at Tuskegee. The editor of the Montgomery *Post*, Daniel Sayre, was unable to attend the meeting, and consequently Watts, at the editor's request, wrote him a letter, giving in detail the substance of his speech. It gives his views about secession.

He was opposed to the policy of secession[37] though a believer in the right to secede. "I have been reared in the school of State

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[35] *Montgomery Weekly Post*, Sept. 12, 1860.

[36] *Montgomery Daily Mail*, Oct. 16, 1860.

[37] Joseph Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 293. Mr. Watts, although a believer in the right of a State to secede from the Union, and an ardent State rights man, was opposed, as has been said, to the policy of secession, and was a most efficient leader of the Union element.

rights, and have ever been a State rights man * * and still recognize the right of secession. * * * The Constitution of the United States was adopted by the sovereign people of each State, acting through its chosen delegates. That each State had separately and independently of the others adopted it for himself; that the right to withdraw from the Federal compact had never been surrendered, and that each State must be the sole judge of the cause and its sufficiency, of its secession; and, therefore, each State, in its sovereign capacity, had the right to act for itself as policy or expediency might dictate."[38]

He did not desire disunion, as he knew it would involve turmoil and strife and the horrors of a civil war; but true to his party, he felt that his duty was to protect the constitution, "stand by it, maintain and preserve it, undefiled and unbroken to the most distant posterity."[39]

When he was attacked by a Bell man of Tennessee who said that Watts insisted that the election of Lincoln would be sufficient cause for the South to secede, while Bell himself did not indorse that doctrine, he answered by referring to the declaration that Bell had made in the United States senate. "The election of Lincoln is a sufficient cause for secession," says Watts, "for with Bell, I say at once, 'give me separation, give me disunion, give me anything in preference to a Union sustained only by power, by constitutional legalities, without confidence. If our future career is to be one eternal discord and angry crimination and recrimination, give me rather separation with all its consequences.' "[40]

The election took place, and Lincoln was chosen president. When Watts received the news of the election, he stated publicly that "the States would not only be justified in seceding, but that each slave-holding State, which declined to do so, would be degraded."[41] He was bitterly opposed to Lincoln, saying that he would rather see the old ship constitution torn in pieces, scattered to the god of storm than see the crew of Lincoln in possession of it. "The black flag of abolition dominion, and Southern subjection

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[38] *Montgomery Daily Mail,* Sept. 27, 1860.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid,* Sept. 24, 1860.
[41] *Ibid,* Nov. 7, 1860.

will soon be hoisted at her mast head, and where Washington commanded, a Lincoln will rule."[42]

He was of the opinion that the States were too slow in seceding. It was no time to quibble about words. "Why longer delay? What folly to talk about 'forms of law and forms of constitutions' and 'overt acts!' The vilest oppressions, the grandest frauds and tyrannies the world ever saw have been perpetrated under the 'forms of law and constitutions.' * * *

"What other 'overt act' do we wait for? Is not the election of such a man advocating such principles, and avowing such purposes as Lincoln and his party—the first grand overt act of those who deny the binding force of compacts and constitutions?

"Look at the platform of the party! Look at the purposes—deliberate purposes—avowed from the stump, from the press, from the pulpit, and proclaimed in their council halls. They all speak *one language* and it is uttered in *one tone—that there is an irrepressible conflict between free and slave labor; between* THEIR *institutions and* OUR *institutions—between* THEM *and* US."

He therefore, by speeches and letters, urged the people not to delay but to accomplish the work peaceably, "without bluster, without bravado, let us act, with the deliberation, the calm determination, and the prudent circumspection of a brave and Christian people. The time for resolves has passed; the time for action has come! Let us do no injustice to others, and permit none with impunity to be done to us."[43]

Watts was a strong advocate of separate State secession, with the purpose of subsequently and ultimately co-operating with the other seceding States. He thought that Alabama could not constitutionally form a league with any of the States in the Union, but her duty was to induce as many of them as possible to go with her, and then after secession co-operation was necessary. Quoting Watts, "The co-operation to be desired is not co-operation before, but co-operation after secession."[44]

The time came for the secession convention to be held, and a meeting convened in Montgomery to nominate delegates to this convention, and Yancey and Watts were secession nominees.

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[42] *Montgomery Daily Mail,* Nov. 14, 1860.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid,* Dec. 18, 1860.

Upon Watts and Yancey most largely rests the responsibility for the action of that convention and for the secession of Alabama.

PERIOD II, 1861-1892.

When at last war became inevitable, the leading men of Alabama forgot their earlier differences of opinion upon political matters and joined in the common defense of the Southern cause. But no other Alabamian had the good fortune to defend his section in three such different and prominent ways as did Thos. H. Watts, who became successively colonel of the 17th Alabama regiment, attorney-general of the Confederate States and governor of the State of Alabama.

Early in the summer of 1861 he raised the 17th Alabama regiment, was chosen its colonel, and with it went into the service of the Confederate States. In the spring of 1862 changes in the cabinet of President Davis left vacant the attorney-generalship, and on March 3, Mr. Davis nominated Mr. Watts for the position.[45] He entered upon the duties of the office on April 9, 1862, and for a year and a half devoted himself with his usual energy to its many laborious duties. Legal matters of all kinds connected with the Confederacy were referred to him for his opinion. Now it was the new conscription act,[46] and his opinion upon it was cited by Mr. Davis in his famous controversy with Governor Brown of Georgia. Now he had to determine the "source from whence the commissions of officers of North Carolina State troops should issue."[47] In short he was the legal adviser of the president and everything of importance from a legal standpoint came before him for his advice and opinion. It was not a showy office but it was an important and difficult one.

While faithfully discharging the duties of this office he was nominated by his friends for governor of Alabama. Two years before he had been nominated against his wishes and had been defeated by John G. Shorter. Now his friends nominated him again in opposition to the same gentleman. He consented to enter the race, but refused to take part in any personal campaign.

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[45] *Official Records Union and Confederate Armies,* Series IV, vol. i, p. 1005.

[46] *Ibid,* Series I, vol. xv, pp. 870-871.

[47] *Ibid,* Series I, vol. xviii, p. 888.

In a public letter he said: "While the thunders of the enemies' cannon are heard in our borders and in our midst, while thousands are mourning the loss of some loved one, whose heart's blood has been freely shed in defense of the sacred cause of liberty and independence; while the necessities of our condition still loudly call for strong arms and stout hearts to repel an insolent and vandal foe; it is not right, it is not patriotic to stir up strife about office or the emoluments of office. I cannot consent to do or say aught to divert your minds from the demands which patriotism makes. Much less can I insult your sensibilities by entering into a canvass or scramble for office. Yet native Alabamian as I am, and owing to her my first love and only allegiance, I cannot refuse to serve the people in any position they choose to place me in. With this declaration, if you make me your chief magistrate, I shall not be unmindful of the high honor conferred and shall serve you to the best of my ability."[48]

He was elected governor by a large majority, and his success was a tribute not only to his recognized ability but to his great personal popularity throughout the State. There was something contagious in his unflagging energy and in his bouyant hopefulness. He made an address to the people of Butler county in the latter part of October. Of this speech the newspapers wrote[49] thus: "His speech was characterized throughout with the loftiest sentiments of patriotism and true devotion to the noble cause in which we are now engaged. He expressed the greatest confidence in our ability to conquer a peace, and dwelt at length upon our resources which he believed to be greater to-day than when the war commenced."[50]

He was inaugurated December 1, 1863. A description of the inauguration ceremony is thus given by an eye witness:

"The hall of the house of representatives was crowded to its utmost on Tuesday last to witness the inaugural services which had been appointed by joint resolution of both houses of the general assembly for that day. The members of the house with a gallantry which is a characteristic trait of that body had generally resigned their seats in favor of the fair daughters of Alabama, whose smiling and agreeable features were not inaptly set

[48] *Alabama Beacon*, Greensboro, July 10, 1863.
[49] *Independent*, Oct. 31, 1863.
[50] *Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 23, 1863.

off by a profusion of feminine decorations in the shape of flowers and gay ribbons that made the halls of the legislature appear as beautiful as a royal conservatory.

"The governor-elect, accompanied by Ex-Governor Shorter and the joint committee and preceded by Adjutant General Watson, as marshal of the day, entered the hall about noon, and proceeded to the desk of the speaker, where they were seated.

"Then the senators entered, preceded by President Walker, after which a fervent and touching prayer was offered by Reverend I. T. Tichenor, at the conclusion of which the governor-elect was introduced to both houses of the legislature by Honorable Mr. Crenshaw, speaker of the house of representatives. The governor-elect then delivered his inaugural address, which was listened to with marked attention, many portions of it being received with the most enthusiastic applause. At the conclusion of the address the oath of office was solemnly and impressively administered by the Honorable Mr. Crenshaw. The governor was evidently much affected by the ceremony, while with his right hand upraised he solemnly pledged himself to perform faithfully the high and responsible duties devolving upon him.

"At the conclusion of his remarks he shook hands with his predecessor and the splendid band of the 17th Alabama regiment made the building fairly echo with melody. The benediction was then pronounced by Rev.. I. T. Tichenor, which closed the inaugural ceremony."[51]

In the evening there was a great reception at the governor's home. Everybody attended and there was of course music and abundant refreshments. The governor wore a plain suit of homespun and was exceedingly courteous and affable. The newspapers said: "The reception was brilliant in the extreme and the delicacies placed before the visitors were so profuse in quantity and so artistically gotten up that none would have imagined hard times to exist in any portion of the Confederacy."[51]

Henceforth Mr. Watts's career was bound up closely with the fortunes of his own particular State. His office brought many difficulties. With small resources he was expected to do everything. Soldiers had to be enlisted. Those off duty had to be urged to return. Slaves were needed to labor on the fortifications at Mobile and he was requested to furnish them. His former relation as an officer in the president's cabinet brought many demands for his influence. The rights of the State had to be care-

[51] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser,* Dec. 9, 1863.

fully guarded against possible encroachment by the Confederate government; and the Confederate authorities had to be sustained and reinforced in spite of awkward State laws. Perhaps the most frequent demand made upon him was for State troops. The following letter is a sample: "I hope you will be able to raise and send to Mobile some State troops at a very early day. Four thousand additional troops should be here as soon as possible."[52] It was a difficult request to comply with. Men were scarce and the State laws were strict. "No authority exists to order the greater portion of the militia out of their own counties, and several weeks ago when it was believed that Mobile was seriously threatened Governor Watts convened the legislature for the purpose of endeavoring to have such alterations and amendments passed as would render the militia available and effective."[53] His efforts failed.

The demand for negro laborers to work on the fortifications at Mobile and elsewhere was another cause of frequent trouble. At the very time that farmers were complaining that their negroes were taken when most needed, earnest requests were pouring in for more laborers on the works. The engineer at Mobile needed five thousand negroes for the erection of defenses. Some misunderstanding arose as to the respective duties of the State and the Confederate authorities. The following letter well indicates the perplexity that beset the war governor:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF ALABAMA,
MONTGOMERY, *August 15, 1864.*

General D. H. Maury, Mobile:

DEAR SIR: I am trying to organize my scanty militia as rapidly as possible. I hope soon to be able to send you some more companies. I had two companies in Dallas organized; telegraphed you that they were there. I received no order for them and they are not gone yet. If you want them let me know. The hands here at work on the fortifications are not gone to Mobile yet. You ought to have sent orders to the officers in charge.. The order for the impressment of negroes here as well as at other places was made by Confederate authorities. You are well aware that the State of Alabama declined to make impressions after Congress

[52] *Official Records Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, vol. xlv, p. 1241.

[53] *Ibid,* Series I, vol. xxxix, p. 856.

gave the Confederate authorities the right to make them. I have not made any of negroes, knowing that you had the right and power to enforce your orders. Yet your chief engineer in Mobile does not seem to understand the relation in which the State of Alabama stands to the Confederate authorities; he seems to think that the governor of Alabama is only a high sheriff to execute the laws of Congress. I have aided, and am now aiding, these impressments all in my power. But as the Confederate authorities have made the orders for impressment, I do not think it right to mix the State authority with the Confederate. The divided responsibility would produce inextricable confusion. I stated to Captain Robinson the substance of your despatch about the works and hands here. As the order was not directed to him, he said he could do nothing without getting some order from Colonel Lockett. In the hurry and turmoil of your business I sympathize with you. I have my own cares which I endeavor to bear with becoming patience. I have not been pleased with the disposition of our people to respond to my orders and appeals; so many try to hatch up some excuse for not obeying the orders. The men who have given bonds as agriculturists—many of them—have used all sorts of shifts to avoid militia duty. The militia laws as they now stand are almost worthless. I would call the Legislature together if I had any assurance that anything good would be done. The present emergency, however, could not be benefited by such a call. I trust you will be able to hold Mobile; if not, let it remain a heap of ashes before the Yankees pollute it with their footsteps. All of my energies have been bent and will continue to be bent to aid in the defense of the city of Mobile and of Alabama.

T. H. WATTS, *Governor of Alabama.*[54]

To add to his perplexity it was reported that he favored coming to terms with the North. This rumor called forth a fiery letter: "I am surprised and mortified," he writes, "that any body in the South should so interpret the Alabama election. * * * I will not forfeit my self-respect by arguing the question of reconstruction. He who is now deliberately or otherwise in favor of reconstruction with the States under Lincoln's dominion is a traitor in his heart to the State of his residence and to the Confederate States and deserves a traitor's doom. If I had the power, I would build up a wall of fire between Yankeedom and the Confederate States. * * * No, Sir! rather than reunite with such a people I would see the Confederate States desolated with fire and sword. * * * If we are true to ourselves, true to the

[54] *Ibid,* Series I, vol. xxxix, p. 780.

memories of the past, true to our homes and our firesides, and true to our God, we cannot, we will not, be conquered. In any and every event let us prefer death to a life of cowardly shame."[58]

But the end was inevitable. On May 4, 1865, General Richard Taylor, who commanded the department of which Alabama was a part, surrendered. The Washington government did not recognize Watts's administration, and his term practically came to a close. Although he took little part afterwards in political life, he did not lose his interest in public affairs, nor in his old friends and their fortunes. Those who remember the reconstruction days recall with pleasure the fact that he often defended free of charge the old Confederate soldiers who got into trouble.

The following letter from William F. Samford gives an excellent estimate of his services as governor: "I have always known you as a fast friend of constitutional liberty, since I have known you at all. Your personal advocacy and influence secured the union and harmony of our people in the State at a time when divided counsels would have exposed us to the worst calamities. You were not slow when the ruthless invader dared to pollute our soil to relinquish the profits of an honorable profession and the charms of refined social life for the hardships, exposures, and perils of the battlefield. When summoned by the president to a place in the cabinet you went cheerfully to the most difficult office in the Confederacy—the attorney-generalship, an office full of labor and responsibility, and one in which honor can result only from the earnest combination of genius, learning and devotion. In that office you sustained the reputation of our State, of its gifted bar, and of its patriots. The free voices of the people of your native State called you, without solicitation on your part, to the chief magistracy of Alabama. I warned you at the time that it was a position full of difficulties and not likely to enhance your reputation or add to your enjoyment. You have met its responsibilities as became you, with a generous trust in the people —a warm-hearted confidence in their representatives. What mortal man could do you have done, urging wise measures for the common defense, and standing ready at all times to lead them to the deadly breach in vindication of their rights. You have not been allowed to control the material resources of the State, the

[58] *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, Sept. 30, 1863.

laws have been devised to defeat your patriotic plans, and those who withheld from you the means of accomplishing them naturally enough raise a clamor that they are 'inefficient.' In the midst of all you have borne yourself with a moderation and magnanimity which defeat any attempt to discredit your abilities or impair your influence. You have met these assaults of adverse fortunes like a skillful pilot does the rude winds and rough waves of the sea and made them bear your bark on to the port of fame and usefulness."

IV. DESCENDANTS OF JOHN PURIFOY WHO WERE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS.[1]

By Francis Marion Purifoy,[2] Birmingham.

John Purifoy was born Sept. 21, 1787, in North Carolina. About 1800 he came to Hancock County, Ga., with his oldest brother, William, his parents having died before he left North Carolina. On Dec. 21, 1809, he married Nancy Williams (b. Mar. 23, 1792), daughter of William Williams and Evelin Mullins. They removed to Barbour county, Ala., then a portion of Pike, about Jan., 1824. After a residence there of a few years, they removed to Dallas county, Ala. He died Aug. 25, 1839, while visiting Shelby Springs, Ala., and is buried there. His wife died at Snow Hill, Wilcox county, Ala., May 9, 1875, and is buried at "Old Snow Hill." Their children were ten in number: I. William Madison; II. Henry Marshall; III. Martha Williams; IV. Leroy; V. Francis Marion; VI. Mary Ellen; VII. John Wesley; VIII. Patience Caroline; IX. Robert A.; and, X. Emily. Of these, Robert A. and Emily died in infancy.

I. William Madison Purifoy was b. Nov. 29, 1810; m. Mary Harrod Apr. 3, 1831; his sons in the Confederate service were: John Harrod, Judge Williams, and William Madison.

(1) John Harrod Purifoy, b. Sept. 9, 1837, at Snow Hill, Ala.; graduated as M. D. in 1859, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia; enlisted as private in Co. C, 44th Ala. Reg., Selma, Ala., in 1862; before any engagement of regiment, commissioned as Asst. Surg. and assigned to field hospital duty; captured at

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[1] The people of the South were practically a unit in support of the Confederacy. In every State there were hundreds of instances of the enlistment and active services of all male members of widely scattered branches of a common family. The compilation of the data embraced in this sketch is valuable as illustrating the record of one family in this particular. It was prepared at the suggestion of the editor, and with no purpose to exploit family history. It is a highly honorable record, and one of which any family should be proud.—Editor.

[2] Son of John and Elizabeth (*Routon*) Purifoy, son of Frances Marion Purifoy, *infra*.

Gettysburg; imprisoned two months in Fort McHenry; escaped; two months furlough; transferred to Fort Gaines; prisoner about two months at Fort Gaines and New Orleans; paroled at Selma, Ala., at end of war; resides at Furman, Ala.

(2) JUDGE WILLIAMS PURIFOY, b. Oct. 29, 1839, at Snow Hill, Ala.; enlisted in Co. B, 1st Ala. Reg.; on duty with regiment at Pensacola, Fla.; re-enlisted in same regiment; captured at Island No. 10, and at Port Hudson; paroled; sergeant; mortally wounded at Atlanta, Ga., July 28, 1864; died in hospital Aug. 14, 1864; buried in Greenwood cemetery, near Forsyth, Ga.

(3) WILLIAM MADISON PURIFOY, b. Oct. 27, 1848, at Snow Hill, Ala.; in militia company under Capt. Henry Milner, sent to guard Hamburg bridge over Pine Barren creek, near Snow Hill, in April, 1865. The enemy had crossed before company reached bridge and the company was captured. W. M. P.'s horse was taken from him by the captors, and, on account of his youth, he was sent home. The company was taken prisoners to Greenville, Ala.; he now resides at Snow Hill.

II. HENRY MARSHALL PURIFOY, b. Nov. 10, 1812; m. Frances Ann Griffin June 1, 1834; enlisted in 15th Ark. Inf.; left Camden, Ark., Jan. 1, 1862, as Capt. Co. F; captured at Fort Donelson Feb. 16, 1862, and carried to Camp Chase, Ohio, then to Johnson's Island; exchanged at Jackson, Miss.; discharged on account of age; died Sept. 8, 1882; buried in family cemetery, Nevada county, Ark.; sons in Confederate service: Henry Harrison and John Griffin.

(1) HENRY HARRISON PURIFOY, b. Aug. 28, 1841, at Snow Hill, Ala.; enlisted in 11th Ark. Inf.; assigned to Co. G, spring 1861; captured at Island No. 10; carried to Camp Douglass, Ill.; remained until Sept. of that year; exchanged; in reorganization at State House, Jackson, Miss.; on duty balance of war; resides at Camden, Ark.

(2) JOHN GRIFFIN PURIFOY, b. Feb. 4, 1847, at ———; orderly for Gen. Price; not in regular army.

III. MARTHA WILLIAMS PURIFOY, b. Sept. 6, 1814; m. Edmund Hobdy Jan. 5, 1829; son in Confederate service: William Madison.

(1) WILLIAM MADISON HOBDY, b. July 11, 1830, in Pike county, Ala. (now Barbour); enlisted 1862 in Co. C, 44th Ala. Reg.; served until end of war; resides at Snow Hill, Ala.

IV. LEROY PURIFOY, b. Dec. 2, 1816; m. Eiizabeth Gulley Aug. 23, 1835; sons in Confederate service: John Gulley, William Leroy, and Thomas Henry.

(1) JOHN GULLEY PURIFOY, b. Dec. 14, 1837, in Wilcox county, Ala.; enlisted Mar. 3, 1862, as 2nd sergeant of Co. H, 19th Ark. Inf.; wounded at Corinth and at Vicksburg siege; promoted to orderly sergeant, then to 2nd lieut.; service ended by parol at Camden, Ark., 1865; resides at Zama, Ark.

(2) WILLIAM LEROY PURIFOY, b. July 10, 1842, in Conecuh county, Ala.; enlisted in Ark. State troops, 1861; went to Oak Hill, Mo.; fought Lyon and Sage; marched back to Ark. and discharged; enlisted in Co. H, 19th Ark. Inf., Mar. 3, 1862; killed at last battle of Corinth, Miss., and buried there.

(3) THOMAS HENRY PURIFOY, b. Sept. 9, 1844, in Conecuh county, Ala.; enlisted as private in Co. F, 15th Ark. Inf.; captured at Fort Donelson, and carried to Alton, Ill.; died in prison and buried there.

V. FRANCIS MARION PURIFOY, b. Oct. 4, 1818; m. Nancy Lucy Thigpen, Apr. 22, 1841; sons in Confederate service: John, James Wesley, William Scott, and Edmund Hobdy.

(1) JOHN PURIFOY (father of the compiler), b. Mar. 21, 1842, in Dallas county, Ala.; attended East Tennessee University 1860-61; enlisted as private in Jeff Davis Artillery, at Selma, Ala., spring 1861; in every battle of company throughout war; at South Mountain Sept. 14, 1862, he and Joe Blankenship fired the gun that saved his battery after the infantry and others were stampeded,—slightly wounded in this engagement; gunner at Chancellorsville May 2, 1863; at Spottsylvania May 12, 1864, commissioned officers, over half the men, and all pieces of artillery except one were captured; J. P. then served in Fry's or Orange Artillery; fought with muskets nine days of war; corporal; resides in Montgomery, Ala.

(2) JAMES WESLEY PURIFOY, b. Sept. 7, 1843, at Snow Hill, Ala.; first enlisted in Miss. Reg., then in Co. B, 1st Ala. Reg.;

on duty at Pensacola; re-enlisted in same regiment at end of year's service; taken prisoner at Island No. 10, and at Port Hudson; paroled; mortally wounded at Atlanta, July 28, 1864; died Aug. 29, 1864, in hospital at Forsyth, Ga.; buried in Greenwood cemetery, near Forsyth, Ga.

(3) WILLIAM SCOTT PURIFOY, b. Nov. 15, 1844, in Wilcox county, Ala.; enlisted Nov., 1862,—corporal in Co. F, 53rd Ala. Reg. (Mounted); regiment joined Roddy's brigade Feb., 1863; on scout duty in Ga. during Sherman's march to the sea; furlough for remount, spring 1865; in Ga. on way to rejoin regiment in N. C. at end of war; promoted to sergeant in 1864, while in camp near Dalton, Ga.; resides at Furman, Ala.

(4) EDMUND HOBDY PURIFOY, b. Jan. 5, 1846, at Snow Hill, Ala.; enlisted March, 1862, as private in Co. C, 44th Ala. Regt.; promoted to 3rd sergeant; wounded and captured at Chicamauga, Ga., and carried to Camp Douglass, Ill., where he remained in prison until June, 1865; resides at Marion, Ala.

VI. MARY ELLEN PURIFOY, b. June 28, 1820; m. James Heywood Gulley, Feb. 28, 1836; son in Confederate service: Henry Calhoun.

(1) HENRY CALHOUN GULLEY, b. Sept. 22, 1843, in Union parish, La.; enlisted in Co. F, 15th Ark. Inf.; was taken prisoner at Fort Donelson; exchanged; reported at Port Hudson; surrendered; exchanged; joined a cavalry company in Gen. Dockery's command; was orderly sergeant; killed by cannon ball at Prairie D'ane, Ark., Apr. 10-13, 1864, and buried at Washington, Ark.

VII. JOHN WESLEY PURIFOY, b. July 22, 1823; married Nancy Warren Carter Mar. 29, 1862; enlisted in 1st Ala. Inf., 1861; sergeant major; at Pensacola until discharged, Feb. 15, 1862; re-enlisted in May, 1862; Capt. Co. C, 44th Ala. Regt.; wounded severely at Sharpsburg, Sept. 17, 1862; retired.

VIII. PATIENCE CAROLINE PURIFOY, b. Jan. 3, 1827; m. John Allen Lee, 1846.

V. JOHN MURRAY FORBES'S HORSEBACK TRIP TO ALABAMA IN 1831.

By Thomas Semmes Forbes, Birmingham.

So much occupied are we in the activities of the present and plans for the future that the past is apt to be neglected, especially the past of another people; and yet there are many for whom every item of information concerning the Indian, even during the last years of his sojourn east of the Mississippi is of the deepest interest. For the benefit of these I take the liberty of recording a few incidents of a trip on horseback from Virginia to Alabama made in the summer of 1831 by my father the late John Murray Forbes of Warrenton, Virginia. He left no written memoranda and I give them merely from my recollection of what he used to tell me.

The son of Murray Forbes, he was born Nov. 17, 1816, in Virginia. Having passed through the local schools of his neighborhood at Fredericksburg, and the age requisite for matriculation at the University of Virginia, being sixteen, his father was persuaded to send him to the University of Alabama then about to open its doors for the first session of its useful career. Two of his uncles resided in this State, one of whom, Colonel James Innes Thornton, was secretary of state and dwelt at Tuscaloosa. At that time Col. Thornton was in Virginia on a visit and it was to his urgent solicitation that my grandfather yielded and permitted his fourteen year old son to make a journey of about one thousand miles on horseback and through an undeveloped country. Col. Thornton purchased a fine pair of carriage horses while in Virginia and brought back with him a negro boy, one of his family slaves, who rode one horse while the Colonel drove the other to a sulky. Their clothing was carried in large saddle-bags and in the sulky box. Occasionally the Colonel and the negro, John, would exchange and he would stretch his legs for a while in the saddle.

They crossed the Tennessee river where Chattanooga now stands, and I have often heard my father say that the only house

in sight of the ferry, which was in the Horseshoe Bend, was that of the ferryman. No city at that place was dreamed of then. What route they took from Chattanooga I never heard but I know that they did not go to Huntsville, where Col. Thornton had lived when he first settled in the State and which my father was anxious to visit.

They passed through Elyton, Jefferson county (near the present Birmingham), and dined there, and the description given me of the place as it was in 1831 would indicate that up to fifteen years ago there had been few changes in the ancient capital of Jefferson. It is natural to suppose that the road taken by them from the site of Chattanooga to Elyton would be down Wills' Valley along the present line of the Alabama Great Southern Railroad. It was between these places that the Indian country was entered. Col. Thornton, who had made the trip several times, knew when to expect them. As their village was approached he ordered Jim, who was on horseback, to go ahead at a brisk trot. This he did to have a little fun at Jim's expense. The boy had already disappeared over the little hill when he was seen returning at full speed, his arms and legs and the puffed out sides of the saddle-bags rising and falling with every leap of the horse. With wide open eyes showing large and white in his black face and panting with fright, followed by a yelling band of Indians, it reminded them of the scene in "Tam O'Shanter" after the alarm was given the dancing witches in "Kirk Alloway."

> "So Maggy runs—the witches follow,
> Wi monie an eldritch screetch and hollow."

Poor Jim was persuaded to stop when he met his master but the Indians had already given up the chase. They were willing to scare the negro for the fun of the thing but they had no laughter for the white man.

As soon as they saw the whites they disappeared, hiding behind the trees and bushes. Nor could they be persuaded to come forth until Col. Thornton had produced a pipe and tobacco and lighting it took a whiff or two and then extended it towards the nearest Indians. Before throwing off their sulky humor or coming from their places of partial concealment one of the Indians asked in characteristic monosyllables, *"Georgians? Georgians?"* "No," said Col. Thornton, *"Virginians.* Going to Tuscaloosa." The

Colonel afterwards explained that the Indians were at enmity with the Georgians thinking that they had been badly treated by them in the sale of their lands and their enforced removal westward. However, when it was learned that they were not Georgians, the Indians came forward and smoked and accepted some beads and other trinkets as presents and gave every indication of friendliness.

By this time, their horses showing considerable signs of weariness, they determined to stop a few days with a Mrs. Pack (or Pacque). She was the widow of a halfbreed chief or headman and was herself a halfbreed. Mrs. Pack must have been a person of considerable prominence. She owned negro slaves and her daughters were at a boarding school in Louisville, Ky. She had quite a number of cattle and lived in a comfortable house. I have been informed by Professor Samuel L. Robertson, of Birmingham, that old Mrs. Barbara Pack kept a tavern at or near Lebanon in DeKalb county and that he has frequently stopped there when a boy accompanying his father who was an Episcopal clergyman. He also tells me that she has left numerous descendants, some of whom live in Jefferson county and are among our worthiest citizens.

It is easy to imagine that an enterprising "young American" after spending his first night with the Indians all around him would be up with the lark. In this instance his energy was fully repaid. He heard Mrs. Pack giving some orders to a group of Indians which he made out as something about "a little blue steer." When she saw him she asked him if he did not want to see the Indians catch and butcher a beef, and being answered in the affirmative, she called to one of the Indians and told him to take this young man with him and that she would look to him for his safety and comfort. He was conducted off some distance to a thicket by the side of a broom-sedge field. Here the firebrand carried by one of the Indians was applied to the dried sedge which was soon ablaze in several places. It was not many minutes before a herd of little cattle came rushing and snorting from the brush. Immediately a dash was made into the herd by one of the Indians and the *"little blue steer"* was singled out and given chase. He ran him for a few minutes, turning him towards the starting point where he was relieved by one of the others. The animal was

thus made to run in a circle. This was kept up until the steer showed signs of fatigue. Then a fresh Indian, who had held himself in reserve, dashed up by his side and catching him by the horn with one hand and the nose with the other threw him heavily upon the ground and like a flash his knife was out and the animal's throat was cut. Five or six Indians set to work to dress him and ripping off the skin, they cut the disemboweled carcass into four quarters, each one of which was shouldered by an Indian, a fifth carrying the skin. The rapidity with which it was all done was marvellous. For several days the party remained at Mrs. Pack's eating the "little blue steer."

They went as far as Demopolis where they visited the Glovers, Col. Thornton having first married a lady of that family. Then they came back to Tuscaloosa where my father matriculated. His roommate was the late Judge Thomas A. Walker, of Calhoun county. Among those who were with him at college and remembered him pleasantly when I had the pleasure of conversing with them were the late Doctors John B. Read and Wm. A. Cochrane of Tuscaloosa. Doctor Read was fond of telling of a fight which he and my father had at college.

Professor Henry Tutwiler was a member of the faculty that year and at the end of the session the Professor, scarcely more than a boy, and his pupil returned to Virginia in the same stage coach and during this long trip was cemented between the travelers a friendship which had commenced at the University and which was maintained through life.

VI. THE MILITARY OPERATIONS OF GENERAL JOHN T. CROXTON IN WEST ALABAMA, 1865.

By Thomas P. Clinton, Tuscaloosa.

It was on Wednesday, March 29, 1865, that General Wilson came from Jasper in Walker county, and arrived at Elyton, then the county seat of Jefferson. Here he issued official orders to Brigadier General John T. Croxton to proceed to Tuscaloosa, on his ever memorable expedition of destruction. Accordingly on Thursday evening, March 30, with a brigade of cavalry of 1,500 strong, Gen. Croxton left Elyton on what was known as the Eastern valley road which ran parallel with the old Huntsville road. That night he encamped eight miles to the south of Elyton. The next morning at daylight the command moved out of the camp. He then dispached a detachment to destroy the stores at Jonesboro, and also at the same time he sent three companies under the command of Capt. Sutherland to destroy Saunders' iron works. It was very close about this time or may be a day or so later that a detachment was sent by General Croxton to destroy the Scottsville factory in Bibb county, the ruins of which can yet be seen from the car window in going over the Blocton branch of the Mobile and Ohio railroad. The destruction of this factory was a most unfortunate affair, for, as I remember, it afforded employment for the poorer class of women and children, whose husbands and fathers were in the army. Women and children went there from near Tuscaloosa, and I suppose as a matter of course from other localities. It was late in the afternoon of Friday, March 31, that Croxton with his command came to what is now known as Vance station in the northern part of Tuscaloosa county. At that time "Squire" John White was living about a quarter of a mile from the present station. He lived south of where the railroad now runs, and it is to the worthy old Squire that I am indebted for an account of the operations of the Federals in his locality. He states that immediately on arrival they helped themselves to his crib and fed away three hundred bushels of his

corn, besides other feed stuffs and a lot of wheat. The squire observing the way things were going and knowing that resistance would be worse than useless, stole away to a field a good way from his house where his sons and some of his slaves were plowing. He instructed them to hide the mules in the swamp until morning; and to remain with them. This they did. It happened that it was very cold for the season of the year and his sons not having their coats with them suffered intensely with cold. The next morning at daybreak the Federals, while yet on the premises of Mr. White, were vigorously attacked by Gen. W. H. Jackson, of Gen. N. B. Forrest's command. Mr. White relates that it was somewhat on the order of a picket fight which lasted all day in the fields around his house. This fight was almost within a stone's throw of the present Vance station, on the south side of the railroad. A number of Confederate soldiers were wounded, but none died that day. There was a Tennesseean who had been badly wounded. He was carried into the Squire's house, and after several days died. He was buried nearby. Mr. White could not tell to what extent the Federals suffered. He only knew that they carried their dead and wounded off on stretchers. General Croxton in his official report says that on this occasion he lost two officers and thirty men. It might as well be observed here as well as anywhere else that Croxton was worsted in all, or at least nearly all, of his engagements with Confederate forces while on his expedition. True, he succeeded in capturing Tuscaloosa and in making a complete wreck of the place; but still there were only two men wounded and one killed of the Tuscaloosa people, while Croxton lost in killed and wounded thirty-two men, according to the official report of his Assistant Adjutant General, W. A. Sutherland. And again he lost quite heavily in his engagement with General Wirt Adams on April 6, the day after he left Tuscaloosa. In this affair he himself says he lost two officers and thirty men. The affair at Squire White's was the only one worthy of the name fought on Tuscaloosa county soil.

Late in the evening of the day of the affair with Jackson, Gen. Croxton left the farm of Squire White and took a westerly course, his idea being to get to the Warrior river and enter Tuscaloosa from the north side of the river, for it became very apparent that

he could not get into the town by the south side so long as Jackson was around. On the next morning the Federals at an early hour commenced a forced march over a mountainous and rugged country, continuing a westerly course. It was either on this march, or in the march of the first day out of Elyton that Croxton's troops came to the farm of Mr. Matthew C. Thomas, and took from him ten head of fine horses and mules. To enumerate all the confiscations of private property by the Federals on this raid would make this article entirely too long. For this reason I only propose to mention a few of the many of which I have knowledge. The day of this forced march, a march of forty miles, was Saturday, April 1, and as the sun was setting the head of his column came to Johnson's ferry, immediately on the line of Tuscaloosa and Walker counties, at a place called Black Rock shoals. The ferry was so situated or arranged that when the boat left the south bank of the river it was leaving a spot embraced within Tuscaloosa county, and on the north side it landed at a point embraced within Walker county. The only means of putting the army over was one flat-boat, and the river was high at the time. For at Tuscaloosa it had risen thirty feet in a day and a night at this very time. The 8th Iowa troops were the first to commence crossing. They filled the boat with men and the horses were forced to swim. Far into the night the boat was kept going, and early on Sunday morning, April 2, the work of crossing was resumed. By sundown all was over. It might seem strange to think of it taking twenty-four hours to make the crossing, but there was in the command a long wagon train and, besides the 1,500 regular troops there was a great number of negroes who had taken up with them, and they had a great many extra mules and horses. At the time I speak of, Mr. A. D. Medlin (now of Tuscaloosa) was living at the ferry on the north bank of the river, and it is to him that I am indebted for a good many of the particulars herein recorded. They took from Mr. Medlin a very fine horse that he had ridden through the war, he having just returned from the Confederate service. They also helped themselves to his corn, bacon and other articles. General Croxton claims that the only loss he sustained in crossing the Warrior at this place was that of two horses. This may be so, but a very short while before he and his army arrived here, several horses

with saddles and bridles on them came floating under the bridge at Tuscaloosa, and not far from the horses came the riders, also floating. The bodies of two of these drowned men landed at what is known as the Leland bend, five miles below Tuscaloosa, about a half mile apart, and they were buried by Jimmie Dodds, the overseer of the plantation. Monday morning, April 3, at an early hour Croxton and his army left Black Rock shoals, and getting on what is known as the "Watermelon" road, wended their way towards Tuscaloosa. On this day and part of the night they traveled forty miles. On this day's march the property of Mr. Sampson McGhee and Mr. McMillan and others suffered at their hands, and the advance guard made it a special duty to capture the people they found traveling towards Tuscaloosa.

As to the information that Croxton had concerning Tuscaloosa before his coming here I mention some of the numerous spies he had in this section. First in this connection I will mention the experience of Mr. Monroe Roycroft. In the early spring of 1865 Mr. Roycroft returned to Tuscaloosa, he having been badly wounded. In this disabled condition he was placed in the Confederate hospital, over "Washington Hall," Matthew Duffee's hotel. As he grew better he volunteered one night to sit up and nurse a sick child. This was a few days before the entrance of the Federals into Tuscaloosa. He met at this house a stranger, who also sat up the entire night and made himself useful and agreeable. Mr. Roycroft saw no more of the stranger until the morning of April 4, when the streets were crowded with the blue-coats. As he (Mr. Roycroft) was standing at the hospital door on this morning, one of the men in blue came up to him and saluting him said, "Ha! ha! Johnnie, don't you know me?"

Mr. Roycroft said that he did not and then the Yankee proceeded to tell him that he was the party who sat up with him nursing the sick child a few nights preceding. He assured Mr. Roycroft that he would not be injured or molested at all, and then disappeared.

And again, Dr. Wm. S. Wyman tells that on Sunday, the day before Croxton's entrance into Tuscaloosa, he saw several men sitting in the front part of the Presbyterian church; the parties were strangers and wore the Confederate gray, and naturally they

passed for some of our soldiers. Tuesday one of them dressed in blue accosted a lady who had sung in the choir on Sunday with the inquiry if she had ever seen him. She replied "No," and he informed her that he was one of the parties that had occupied one of the front seats in the church the Sunday preceding. And to cite one more instance, I mention how three or four spies came to Mr. Stephen Miller's house. Mr. Miller at that time lived on his farm on the Hargrove road, four miles from Tuscaloosa. Two of his sons were at home from the Confederate service on a furlough. This was late in March. The spies were clad in the gray uniform, but the keen eye of one of the Millers discovered under the saddle blankets their suits of blue. He and his brother fired on them, but all except one, however, got away. He was badly wounded, and was captured, and placed in the Confederate hospital at Tuscaloosa. A great many more spies were located at the time, a great many of whom I have knowledge, but the above suffices to show that there were a number of them. Croxton himself said in his report that his spies told him of the location of the two pieces of artillery in the town.

The army pushed its way to Tuscaloosa, or rather towards Northport, which is across the river opposite Tuscaloosa. It was just past midnight when they came to the outskirts of Northport. They were halted in a cedar grove that grew near the old academy which was burned down a few years ago. The command was soon formed into line of battle, but they did not maintain this position long. Col. T. W. Johnson and Gen. Croxton himself, with one hundred and fifty picked men of the Second Michigan cavalry moved down to the bridge. Croxton's ear caught the sound of the home guards tearing up the flooring in the bridge, and this fact decided him in making an immediate attack. So Colonel Johnson with his Michigan troops came up to the center of the bridge and opened a spirited rifle fire on a mere handful of home guards. The home guards were behind some bales of cotton for protection but realizing the superior force opposed to them were compelled to withdraw. In this engagement John Carson, who was then only fourteen or fifteen years of age, was severely wounded. This wound made him an invalid for the rest of his life. Further back and near Northport Captain Benj. Eddins, who had but recently returned home from the Virginia

army, was killed. The bridge floor was relaid by the Federals at once. Having gotten possession of the bridge, a few of Croxton's men came up the streets on the Tuscaloosa side of the river. They then set about destroying the hat factory. This factory stood on the north river bank, or we might say on the Northport side. It was at the left of the bridge as one leaves Tuscaloosa. It manufactured a species of gray wool hats for the Confederate army. The negroes who were with Croxton took numbers of the hats, and the next morning when I visited the Yankee camp I saw numbers with them on.

It happened on this particular night that Pat Kehoe, the supervisor of the Insane Hospital, was in town. He saw the Federal soldiers in the streets, and he realized at once the importance of getting the news of their arrival to the University and also to the hospital. So without delay he made his way in that direction. He aroused nearly all of the professors and officers. Very quickly Col. J. T. Murfee, the military commandant, had the drummer beat the long roll, and all the cadets with Colonel Murfee, his brother, and Dr. L. C. Garland, the president, Dr. W. C. Richardson, professor of geology and chemistry, and C. H. Toy, professor of natural philosophy and astronomy, and perhaps some of the others of the faculty went quickly to town to offer what resistance they could. At this time the State had placed at the disposal of the home guards and the University authorities two pieces of artillery, both six pound cannon. These cannon were stored at the stables of Baird and Hunt, in the middle of the block, east of the present Washington Hotel. The University party stopped at this place to procure these cannon, but Croxton had anticipated them. His spies had reported their location, and he had sent an officer with fifty picked men to get the pieces. This was while the rest of them were destroying the hat factory in Northport. When the Federals got to the stables where the artillery was stored, the greater portion of the fifty men remained near the door. The officer in command, with a negro, Columbus Harris, for a guide came in the door, and made his way to the cannon. Here they found Captain John Perkins, of the prominent Tennessee family of Perkins, harnessing a team of government horses to the front gun. He was stooping over to adjust some of the last buckles, when the Yankee officer laid his hand on his shoulder, and said,

Well, I reckon I've got you." Captain Perkins stood up and ing the situation, said, "Yes, and you have got a damn good ldier." Of course he had to relinquish to the Federals the two ces of artillery, and from this stable they also took a good mber of fine horses, wagons, harness and other supplies. But r the loss of these artillery pieces, I am quite sure that Croxton's id into Tuscaloosa would have been a much more bloody affair, r had they been brought to the brow of the river hill, where the dets and others assembled, they could have from this point of dvantage been used with great effect. This would have forced ite a battle. As it was however, only a few volleys were fired n each side, for it was learned from some of our people who had een taken prisoners and paroled that the Federals far outnumbered the forces brought to bear against them. As stated there were only a few rounds fired by both our forces and the Federals. From the position occupied by the home guards and the cadets, things were more favorable for them than for the Federals. There was but one man wounded on the Confederate side. This was the brother of Colonel Murfee, and he was shot in the foot. Gen. Croxton's adjutant-general says in his official report that the Federals lost twenty-three men killed and wounded.

Dr. Garland learning pretty soon after the fight that the Federals so far outnumbered the cadets, ordered a retreat. Accordingly the cadets moved off to the right, and returned to the University where they destroyed a quantity of their ammunition, but not all they had. Dr. Garland and the other officials now realized their inability to give battle to the Yankee forces, and not wishing to have the cadets made prisoners it was deemed best to leave for a while the country adjacent to Tuscaloosa. They then marched to the spot on the Warrior river now known as River View, but at that time called White's landing. Here they changed their course and went back towards the Huntsville road. When they reached the locality of Hurricane Creek, about nine miles from Tuscaloosa, they halted to rest. When morning dawned Dr. Garland assembled his officers and cadets about him, and all under the leadership of Dr. Garland, knelt in humble prayer before commencing the day's journey. They then went to the large wooden bridge across Big Hurricane creek and barricaded it. Then they pursued their course in a southeasterly direction until

they arrived in the town of Marion, in Perry county. There, learning that the cause of the Confederacy was hopeless, and knowing that the University had been destroyed, they disbanded and made their way to their respective homes as best they could.

I now resume an account of Croxton's movements. At this time I was living about one-third of a mile east of the University, and on this particular morning, Tuesday, April 4, our family were awakened at about daybreak by members of the home guards, giving us information of the state of affairs. These parties had gone but a short distance up the road when they were followed by Yankee cavalrymen, firing upon them. Very soon there was a spirited picket fight across the road, about seventy-five yards from our house. The Southern men were standing in such a position that at times the Yankee minie balls, missing their mark, would strike our house. For safety we closed all doors and windows, and I never did know just how this affair ended.

As the morning wore on, say about nine o'clock, a good portion of the Federal troops came out to the University grounds and destroyed the buildings. Only a few members of the faculty were present. Part of them had accompanied the cadets to Marion and others fully realized that they could do no good by staying. Among those who remained at the buildings that morning was Andrew Delorffe, professor of modern languages. He also acted as librarian, and he exerted himself to save the library. To the commanding officer of the Federals he called attention to the fact of the uselessness and the pity of destroying the valuable library. An account of his interview with the Federal officer is related in the *History of Education in Alabama* (1889), a United States Government publication. In this work (page 93), we find an account of the affair, furnished by Dr. Wyman. It seems that the Yankee officer was a man of culture and of literary tastes. He took the same view of the matter as did Mr. Delorffe, so he wrote a note to General Croxton, telling him of the fine library, and that it would be such a pity to destroy it. Calling a courier, he dispatched him with this note to General Croxton, who had remained at his headquarters in town. I will here digress to remark that his headquarters were in the elegant residence on Market street now owned and occupied by Mrs. W. A. Leland. By the same courier, General Croxton sent a note in answer that his

"orders were imperative," "that he had no discretion in the matter," and intimating that the library could not be spared. When the officer read the note in reply he said it "was a pity." "I will, at any rate, take this as a memento of the occasion," and saying this he took a copy of the Koran, the Mohammedan Bible, for himself, and then ordered the buildings fired. Immediately they proceeded to throw a species of torpedo on the roofs and within the open doors, and as these were of an explosive nature, soon all the fine buildings were wrapt in flames. It was a dry day and I watched the buildings as they gave way to the angry flames, and it made an impression on my youthful mind that was lasting in its effects. When the fire had so far advanced that their destruction was assured, the officer in command gave his attention to a large quantity of powder in the magazine. This magazine was a brick room about sixteen feet from the residence of Professor Richardson and also pretty close to Jefferson college, the large building on the east. For their own safety, in destroying the powder they laid a train from the magazine to a distance of about forty feet, and to this they applied a torch. The explosion that followed was unquestionably the loudest noise ever heard around Tuscaloosa either since or before. For many miles away the sound was heard. Our house, a third of a mile away, was considerably shaken at the time.

In a very short time after this terrific explosion I observed about twenty or more men going in a southerly direction across the field east of the president's mansion. They were on their way to destroy the saltpeter factory, or nitre works. These works were situated about a half mile south of the University, immediately joining the graveyard on the east. They were established by the Confederate government in the early part of 1864 for the purpose of making saltpeter. The saltpeter was used in manufacturing powder for the army. This saltpeter plant was run under the supervision of William S. Foster, who employed at the place about twenty slaves. In a very short time after the squad of Federals left the University the saltpeter buildings were burning and burning rapidly. It was now near twelve o'clock. During that afternoon and the next morning they burned the cotton factory of Baugh, Kennedy & Company, the tan yard of C. M. Foster, the foundry of Leach & Avery, and the large cotton ware-

house on each bank of the river. In all of these establishments there were large stocks of goods. The iron foundry was burned because it had cast cannon for the Confederate army. Beside the destruction of this property, the Federals carried away from different citizens a great number of horses and mules. The only harm they inflicted on the Insane Hospital was the taking of its horses and mules. They were met at the front door of the hospital by Dr. Peter Bryce, Mr. Shed, the first steward of the institution, and Mr. Kehoe, the inside supervisor. Dr. Bryce spoke to them in strictly a business way, and among other things told them to come and go through the buildings if they wished. This they declined to do and seemed afraid to undertake. They seemed to be afraid that in some wise they might be entrapped. All this happened on Tuesday, April 4.

On Wednesday General Croxton began to study and devise plans for rejoining his superior officer, Gen. James H. Wilson. In his official report he speaks at length about the embarrassments under which he labored at that time—high water across different public roads, ignorance of the location of General Wilson, apprehension that the Confederates would overpower him in certain sections, and he stated that the bridge over Big Hurricane creek was destroyed. This, however, was a mistake as the bridge remained unharmed. He appeared not to know which way to leave Tuscaloosa. However, he was hastened to form a conclusion on the subject. The *Tuscaloosa Observer* in giving an account of the Federal raid, the week after its occurrence, mentioned the fact of some young men coming in to town with their horses in a run, and the riders, Messrs. Vaughn, Woodruff and others, waving their hats and yelling in a loud voice, "Hurrah for Jackson! Jackson is coming!" etc. Dr. Wyman informs me of a visit he made to General Croxton's headquarters; and while he was in conversation with the Federal officer an old lady came in from the country and told them that W. H. Jackson, with his command, was on his way to Tuscaloosa, being then only a few miles out of town. On the receipt of this knowledge, the order was immediately given to move, "Boots and Saddles" was sounded through the command, and very soon all was in motion towards the river. Probably from fear of being pursued by Jackson the Federals burned the bridge as they were leaving the town. Before firing the bridge the can-

non that had been captured from Capt. Perkins were rolled to the middle of the bridge that they might be destroyed. Several bales of cotton were torn open and scattered from one end of the structure to the other, and coal-oil or some similar substance was applied, and the destruction was complete. Such haste was used in their departure that one company was left behind. This company not being able to cross on the burning bridge went down the Saunders' ferry road and crossed the ferry, nine miles west of Tuscaloosa. Preceding Croxton on his march out of Tuscaloosa was a courier bearing a dispatch in cipher to Gen. Wilson, informing the latter of his plans, and thus the town, after having been completely ruined, was rid of the enemy.

I have at my command a partial list of the officers who accompanied Gen. Croxton on his mission of destruction to Tuscaloosa and West Alabama. I produce them as follows:

Adjutant-General:—W. A. Sutherland.

Colonels:—O. H. Lagrange, First Wisconsin Cavalry; Doer and Kelley.

Lieutenant-Colonels:—Wm. W. Bradley, 7th Kentucky Cavalry; Henry Harnden, First Wisconsin Cavalry; Thomas P. Johnson, 2nd Michigan Cavalry.

Majors:—W. H. Fielder, 6th Kentucky Cavalry; J. M. Bacon.

Captains:—R. S. Hill, 2nd Indiana Cavalry; James M. McCowan, 6th Kentucky Cavalry; Edmund Penn, 6th Kentucky Cavalry; Walter Whitmore, 2nd Michigan Cavalry.

Lieutenants:—Lusk, Kelly and Prather.

Five days after Croxton's departure from Tuscaloosa Captain Aaron B. Hardcastle, Confederate commander of this post, wrote his official report, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS POST, TUSCALOOSA, ALA.,
April 11th, 1865.

SIR:

Tuscaloosa was captured by the enemy at one o'clock a. m. on the 4th instant. Brigadier General Croxton's brigade, after having been turned by Brigadier General Jackson's division from a direct march upon this place, down the Tuscaloosa and Elyton roads, on the south side of the Warrior, crossed to the north side of the river at Squaw Shoals and moved down the "Watermelon" road. The enemy made a forced march of 35 miles on the 3rd instant, and picked up on the way all persons who might have given information of their approach. An important scout was captured

twelve miles from the post, and the enemy avoided my infantry pickets near the town and in advance of the bridge by dismounting and moving through the fields with negro guides. Their sudden and unexpected appearance at the bridge and overwhelming numbers dispersed the militia guard after but a faint show of resistance. The advance of the enemy then entered the town, opened the government stables, took out and led across the river all of the public animals and officer's horses and rolled away by hand the field pieces of artillery belonging to the State, which were afterwards destroyed by them. All of the public property, with the exception of the tax in kind burned by the Confederates, fell into the hands of the enemy. The post quartermaster and the clothing quartermaster made their escape with their public funds. The enemy destroyed by fire the University buildings, the factory, the foundry, and the bridge, the two large warehouses in Tuscaloosa and Northport (on the opposite bank of the Warrior river), containing several hundred bales of cotton, were unintentionally, it is said, destroyed by fire. Captain Ben Eddins, a retired officer, who had volunteered his services, was mortally wounded at the bridge in the faithful and gallant discharge of his duty. Mr. John Carson, a lad of 15 years, who had volunteered his services, was also badly wounded there, standing up manfully in the discharge of his duties. Herewith you please find enclosed a list of the captured who had been paroled by General Croxton. The parole was granted by our own request and each individual pledged himself to the obligations imposed until properly exchanged, or until some special arrangement be made by our commanding officers. It is my intention to submit to you at some future time a full report of the management of the defence of Tuscaloosa, and of its capture, and until that time I hope you may believe what I avow, that I did the best I could with the means I had. I am,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
A. B. HARDCASTLE,
Captain C. S. Army.

MAJOR JOHN RAWL,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

In this report no mention is made of the robbery of the office of James H. Fitts, who for two years had held the position of Confederate States Depositor. That is, he was custodian of the government funds in this particular territory. On the night of April 3 he was arrested by the Federals, who also robbed his office of $1,000,000 in Confederate money and also $2,000,000 of vouchers.

In leaving Northport the Federals took the Columbus road, and at the seven mile post, where the road forks, Croxton, with the most of his command, took the lower Columbus road and continued that evening to bear to the left, going through Coker's beat and Romulus. But at the seven mile post he dispatched a company of the 6th Kentucky troops, under Captain Sutherland, to take the upper Columbus road, cross the Sipsey river, turn south and rejoin him again. That night, Thursday, April 6, General Croxton's command camped twenty-five miles from Tuscaloosa on a hill just east of King's store, in the northern part of Greene county. The next morning, Friday, April 7, they took the road to Pleasant Ridge (also in Greene county). After traveling this road twelve miles he came to Lanier's mill on the Sipsey river. Here he received information of a large force of Forrest's men being on the west bank of the Bigby river, and also of Selma being taken. Thus he had two incentives to retrace his steps, for he knew he was not needed in Selma, and he also did not want to be uncomfortably close to three thousand of Forrest's men. So orders were issued accordingly.

Before starting back they burned this mill. When it was nearly burned out, about eleven o'clock (my informant being an eye-witness), Croxton's command was vigorously attacked by Gen. Wirt Adams. The Confederates came upon Croxton's rear guard, the 6th Kentucky cavalry. Soon the Kentucky troops were aided by the Michigan men. As the fight was getting somewhat brisk a heavy rain started and the engagement lasted until complete darkness set in, the rain falling all the time. In this fight the Federals had the novel experience of strengthening their hasty fortifications with quantities of bacon. They had taken this bacon, with a considerable amount of flour and meal, from Lanier's mill, which they had burned early in the forenoon. In this affair Croxton does not admit in his official report that he was worsted, but from every other source of information it seems that he was. He admits having lost two officers and thirty-two men, also some of his ambulances were broken up. From one who walked over the ground the next morning, I learn that there were quantities of muskets and other arms scattered about and abandoned. I suppose these arms were left by both contending parties. When the rain and darkness put an end to the fight, General Croxton

with his command marched probably not less than ten miles. They stopped at Romulus in Tuscaloosa county, about thirteen miles from the town of Tuscaloosa. It should be here stated that a small portion of his command did not reach camp that night. In the fight with General Adams a few were separated from the command, and they wandered through the swamps and fields and woods, not knowing which way to go. One of the men lost was Major W. H. Fielder, an officer connected with the Kentucky troops, one of Croxton's principal officers. It so happened that they wandered into the locality where lived John D. Horton, a well-to-do farmer. His sons were in the Confederate service, and he was an ardent Southern sympathizer. He had a fine pack of trained hounds and with these dogs he followed and captured this Major Fielder and two privates. Mr. Horton carried the three prisoners to Eutaw and there placed them in jail. They remained in this jail until Eutaw was taken by the Federals, who liberated them. A detachment sent back by General Croxton to look for these men heard of their fate. They were so incensed at Mr. Horton that the latter, in order to save his life, had to remain away from his home for about a month. My informant was Mr. Horton's son. On Friday, April 7, the Federals broke camp and moved to Northport. Here they remained one night, vainly attempting to hear from General Wilson. The next day, Saturday, April 8, on account of the scarcity of horse feed in Northport, the troops moved up the Byler road. They encamped at the last branch crossing the road before reaching the twelve mile post. Here they remained Saturday, Sunday and Monday. While encamped here, Mr. Norhor, Mr. Richard Palmer and Captain Sam Palmer were heavy losers by their presence. But the greatest individual loser from these troops while in this section of the country, or probably in all Alabama, was John Prewet. Mr. Prewet, so my informant says, had for some time been suspicious that the "Yankees" would not come around that part of the country. He had in his house $26,000 in gold. It must be understood that in those days we didn't have any banks in Tuscaloosa, so of necessity he kept the money in his house. His anxiety for the safety of his money induced him to hide it in a cave near by. This was a short while before the Croxton party came to this section. At the time of hiding the money he was

in ill health and was quite feeble, in consequence of this he took with him to help him, one of his slaves, an old darky in whom he reposed implicit confidence. But by some means or other it became known to others that he had the money. But where it was hid remained a secret to himself and his old negro. The fact of the money being hid was told by some one to the Federals. They immediately repaired to Mr. Prewett's house, which was near their camp, and finding him at home, they demanded of him to tell where the money was hid. This he refused to do. They resorted to brutal violence by hanging him up, and still he refused to tell. Finding it impossible to get the desired information from him, they then secured the old negro that had helped him hide the cash. The old fellow when subjected to punishment became talkative, and to save himself told of the location of the money. They were not slow in securing it. All of the command were not participants in this brutal robbery, but only a small party of about a half dozen. One of their number divided the money out. As a bit of retributive justice I take pleasure in stating it became known to Mr. Prewett's family from reliable authority, more than thirty years after the war, that this particular fellow who had divided the money among his companions and himself was then driving a wagon in one of the northern cities for fifty cents a day.

On Tuesday morning, April 11, this community was finally rid of the presence of these unwelcome visitors, for on this day they marched to Windham springs, by way of the Jasper road, and traveled to Wolfe creek in Walker county. For fear of making this article too lengthy, I will not follow in detail the further movements of Croxton's army in West Alabama, simply saying that he spent much time in Walker and Jefferson counties, in this State, and was not able to locate or reach General Wilson until some time in May, when he joined him in Georgia.

VII. WILLIAM F. SAMFORD, STATESMAN AND MAN OF LETTERS.

By George Petrie, Ph. D., Auburn, Ala.

William F. Samford was a remarkable man. Few Alabamians have exerted a stronger influence upon the political history of their State, or have enjoyed in their day a wider reputation. Yet he held no important office; he seldom spoke in public; and he had neither money, nor health. Indeed, the manner in which he exercised this influence makes it the more striking. At a time when oratory was a passion in the South and speakers ruled supreme, he boldly matched his pen against their tongues.

It was cool reflection and cold type against the magnetic influence of personal speech. It was the modern press against the old style rostrum. Each had its advantages. What he lost in dramatic power, he gained in precision and completeness. No collection of speeches could possibly cover so completely the political issues of the day as did his open letters and editorials. They were copied from paper to paper until his name, or pen names, "Warwick," "Zeno," etc., were known not only through the South, but wherever the New York *Day Book* circulated. The orators reached the masses more directly; but I doubt whether, with the possible exception of Yancey, any man in Alabama did more to mould the opinion of the thinking class. He was the complement of Yancey. One spoke, the other wrote. They recall Luther and Melancthon. One was the orator of Southern rights, the other the penman. But while older men link his name with that of Yancey in the great drama that led up to the Civil War, the younger generation will probably recall him oftenest as the author of the widely copied "Warwick" letters on reconstruction.

But these were only two great epochs in a life that covered more than seventy years and reflected history in all of them. He was born in Georgia in 1818, and educated at Randolph Macon College. After graduation he was "twice elected to the professorship of English literature in Emory College, Georgia." "The first time when only 19 years old," the "second time," as he

himself says, "it was upon the nomination of Hon. A. B. Longstreet, the president of Emory. I delivered the commencement oration and he assembled the trustees and had me elected in two hours afterwards." But his heart was set on the law. At the age of 21 he was admitted to the bar and practiced for six years in Georgia. When still only 26 years old he was chosen a presidential elector by the Georgia Democrats and stumped the State for Polk. It was a hot time. But he says, "I was successful as a debater against such men as Judge Floyd, Toombs, Stephens & Co. The people shouted their applause whenever I appeared and my friends proclaimed me a miracle of eloquence. I had doubts of it, but acted on their theory, won the approbation of everybody and the friendship of the first men in the State. The U. S. senate was thought not to be too high for my aspirations. Indeed, it was urged upon me by W. F. Colquitt and his friends at a time when their influence was very prevailing. I 'awoke one morning and found myself famous' and found myself a life-long invalid besides. I had thoroughly prostrated my nervous system by overwork. * * * * I abandoned the law, was compelled to abandon public speaking * * * * and retired to a farm in Alabama."

He tried the presidency of Oak Bowery Collegiate Institute, but bad health at once drove him back to his farm. "I had," he says, "built a house in the meantime in the woods and thither I dragged myself. A restless, nervous temperament, saddened by disease, sought consolation in religious hopes and exercises * * * * * I thought it my duty to preach. * * * * * I went to Montgomery to the Methodist Conference, made my views known, was accepted and appointed by Bishop Paine * * * * to the station at that place."

Before he actually took charge his health again broke down and he withdrew permanently to his farm. One good brother, who had no nerves and could not understand the "circumstances" that necessitated the withdrawal, publicly thanked the Lord that he himself had "no circumstances,"—which recalls the two men who went up to the temple to pray.

"For years," he says, "I knew nothing of the great world—allowed myself to hear nothing—was confined to my chair, my carriage, doctor, nurse and wife.* * * * vertigo, dyspepsia, with

what Bulwer calls its 'grisly train of horrors,' nervous prostration * * * * conspired to render life a burden."

It was peculiarly sad that he should be shut off from public life just then; for at that moment Yancey was having his great fight for the once famous "Alabama Platform," and demanding of parties and candidates that Southern rights in the territories should be explicitly recognized. It was a bold demand that the South should no longer be the tail of party kites. It was a desperate fight and Yancey stood practically alone. It was the irony of fate that at this moment the one who would have helped him most, the ablest writer in the State, the man who most clearly understood and most heartily sympathized with his views and policy, should be stricken down and helpless. Years after he wrote to Yancey regretfully that it was "the only period in the history of American politics for the last quarter of a century of which I have no personal knowledge." And Yancey replied: "The sympathy expressed by you for the position occupied by me in 1848, and the principles upon which I assumed it, is most grateful to my heart. It is one of the rich fruits that I expected to gather from that sober second thought to which I appealed, and I appreciate it accordingly."

As strength returned he wrote for the press—at first occasionally, then more frequently, at length regularly. Thus was written, sometimes from his bed, sometimes from his chair, perhaps oftenest of all from his well known carriage, that really remarkable series of public letters which gives us so keen an analysis and so clear a picture of the politics of a quarter of a century.

It may prove interesting to show by a few extracts what his views were on some of these questions.

First, then, in regard to the famous "Compromises of 1850." Few men realize to-day, what every man recognized then, that we came very near having the Civil War in 1850 instead of ten years later. These compromises aimed to avert it. They were the last work of Henry Clay, the "Great Pacificator." John C. Calhoun advocated them in his last great argument. Webster urged them in his famous 7th of March speech. Thus they bore the endorsement of the great triumvirate. But they raised a storm throughout the country, North and South. Webster, the idol of Massachusetts, was denied the use of Faneuil Hall by the angry Bos-

tonians. Clay was denounced in many quarters throughout the South. South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi all threatened to secede and there was vigorous opposition to the compromises in Alabama.

Samford was not by nature a compromiser, and in this case he thought that vital principles were concerned. "I cannot see," said he, "any mutuality in this so-called compromise; principles were clearly involved; the constitution of the country was upon its trial; rights, valuable and vital, clear and admitted were sacrificed * * * * To the North all was lost that she could from the nature of the controversy lose. Her character for a sense of justice, a love of the Union, a respect for the constitution, a law-abiding habit, were all sacrificed. * * * * The South, on the other hand, had everything at stake; her character, her property, her political equality, all were lost. * * * * This day ruin hangs like an avalanche over our heads; a brief hour of stillness and sunshine is to be succeeded by an earthquake. * * * * What shall we do? This is the right question. * * * Have faith in God, have faith in justice. * * * * Rend the last ties of party association and stand for the right."

He was never content with mere theory and sentiment. He wanted vigorous action, and advocated the formation of a Southern Rights party, and the holding of a Southern convention, which should, amongst other things, arrange for "the establishment of presses, the employment of lecturers, the organization of associations, political and commercial, all having for their object justice to the South as a condition of the perpetuity of the Union."

"Mr. Editor," he wrote, "help us to talk and write more and to do something." His pen was never idle. With a keenness which I have seldom seen equalled he analyzed and fought the compromise measures. Now it was a constitutional argument against the admission of California, now it was a stinging comment on the futility of the fugitive slave bill. But on whatever point he touched, he was always to be found insisting, like Yancey, boldly on the full legal rights of the South under the constitution. "If," he said, "these reasonable demands cannot be met in a spirit of kindness, purity and fidelity, then no plan can save the Union. * * * It must be, nay it is already, dissolved."

But the South was not yet ready for so decided a stand. And

after a warm campaign the compromises were accepted. Samford was far from discouraged. He was fond of quoting an old Saxon maxim: "Victory is a doubtful advantage, but courage is a certain good." Like Yancey, he foresaw that the tempest would return, and quietly waited for it.

Here let us pause for a moment and before entering with him the final storm that ended in Civil War, let us hear what he thinks about the much discussed institution that was in one way or another involved in all discussions of those days—slavery.

"I do not," he says, "intend a defense of African slavery or any other slavery in the abstract; slavery in the abstract is simply impossible, the conception is an absurdity." But he added, "That all the essential ideas of slavery exist in every state of organized society there can be no question. It is equally manifest that this must continue to be so as long as the world stands." * * * * * "In whatever modification slavery may exist at the South or at the North, on the continents or islands, every good man desires that the justice and mercy of the gospel, the gentleness of good manners, and the sympathy of common humanity may alleviate its hardships and reward its fidelity. Labor is the condition of our existence, and to be effective must be regular. This regulation will necessarily consist in part of public and general laws, and in part must be left to the vigilance, the interest and the discretion of private enterprise. All this is unavoidable. That those who labor should suffer from the abuse of this discretion, from the oppression of avarice, the tyranny and lust of evil men, is not to be wondered at, when laws themselves are not free from the malign influences. Here is the proper field of philanthropy—to educate, to elevate, to refine, to christianize this and every other home relation. Who does not feel and acknowledge the evils of sin in all the walks of human life? The slave suffers unjustly at the hand of his cruel master or selfish mistress; the wife suffers at the hand of the profligate and abandoned husband; the poor, ragged, starving children shiver and perish from the vices of the unprincipled parent. Sin has despoiled Paradise of its flowers and scattered its mildew world-wide upon the hopes and happiness of our race. I have looked into the face of smitten humanity as it fixed its hard and withered muscles and strong eye against the Northern blast, and surrounded by opulence and luxury, in the

great city of New York, vainly imploring the pittance of a dime. There, in the sight of Broadway, perishes the outcast orphan girl; there goes the poor neglected boy, with the images of wealth and fashion before his dazzled eyes, and the sound of church bells and the voices of revelry ringing in his ears—there he goes from his houseless sleep in the doorway to the watch-house, to the State prison, to the gallows. I have seen the shameless exhibitions of the bar-room, at the theater, at the Hook, at the Five Points. I have seen the vicious, naked, lashed, half-starved slaves of a cotton plantation. I have seen the pale, spiritless, decently clad, overworked, well-watched, often seduced girls of the cotton mills. It is all sin and slavery."

He did not hesitate with the same pen that denounced Northern abolitionists to plead earnestly with Southern masters for kindly treatment of their negroes.

"How much land have you put in to the hand? Twenty acres to the hand, counting old, young, men, women, sick, lame and lazy, is too much. We ought to consider the claims of humanity. Look at that swarthy face, that is bathed in sweat, as it turns from one hill of corn to another. It is the dial plate of a human heart that beats with human hopes and immortal aspirations. That old man was the playmate of your father. That old woman nursed your wife. That boy has no higher earthly ambition than the smile of your son. That girl hopes to go with your daughter to her new home, and participate at an humble distance in the joys and sorrows of her life. Twenty acres of land—ten in corn and ten in cotton,—is it not too much for that old man to cultivate? Too much for his wife? Too much, a little too much, for his son just in the gristle? Too much, a great deal too much, for his daughter, not yet entered into womanhood? Much depends upon the quality of your land and the character of your culture. You doubtless need a large crop, my good Christian master; but I pray you do not injustice, and remember that in proportion as you require labor at the hands of your slaves, ought to be the provision you make for their comfort."

A brief period of political quiet followed the adoption of the compromise measures. Men fondly hoped that trouble was over, and that, all tempests past, the ship of state would sail peacefully on its destined course. It was a pretty dream. Perhaps some

such thought may have appealed to Samford's fancy and given us the following lines of delicate poetry which I find just here in his scrap book.

"The raging winds are calmed. The
Mid-day sun is overspread no more
With Winter clouds. The thunder's wing,
Trembling, waves no longer in the
Distant east. The sullen storm far
Off into the bosom of the
West, retires, with sunbeam playing
On his scowling brow, and Spring, fair
Maiden of the year, spreads forth her
Fairy scenes; bright vision feasts on
The blue sky's canvas, limned in
Burning tints by nature's pliant
Hand. Come forth, O man, whose soul is
Fired with gratitude, and with me
Gaze upon those spirit-stirring
Scenes. The bright moon in her vestments
Borrow'd, riding queen within her
Own appropriate sphere. Come forth,
And look abroad upon the Heavens,—
The silver stars, as hymning
Praises to the King of glory
They do obedience to His
Will, in unvarying ceaseless
Whirl through space to airy blue
Illimitable—"

In passing I might mention that his talent for poetry was not limited to the serious or lofty kind. Witness these lines which are written on a Valentine's Day and are suggested by Darby's Prophylactic Fluid, to illustrate, as he remarked, that, as of old, the Muses still take an interest in liberal arts and sciences:

"This day to Love we dedicate.
Bright beauty is sweet Cupid's mate.
And Beauty's most attractive wiles
Are teeth of pearls midst dimpled smiles,
With hands whose whiteness doth compare
With snowdrops and with lilies fair,
And breath as fragrant as the breeze
O'er Hybla's vale, aswarm with bees.
Now Darby's Fluid, thou shouldst know,
These winning graces can bestow.
With this thy matchless charms refine,
And thou shalt be my Valentine."

He had a keen wit and during the lull in public affairs it illumined many a page on other topics. Not unnaturally he had much to say about eating. He believed in feeding slaves well. "If a man will not labor neither shall he eat, according to Apos-

tolic teaching, and the converse of the proposition is at least as just and beneficent a doctrine." But he did not like to see college boys too particular about it. "Immortality," he said, "is not warming its fingers at a cooking stove;" and "a saucepan is not the breast-plate of Genius." "Eating is an old habit, and I do not expect to render it unfashionable. Our boarding people ought to be satisfied if their children get as good always as at home, and I have often observed that those who fare roughly at home are the most difficult to be satisfied with a tavern or boarding house; as indeed is reasonable, seeing that hungry people when they pay for a dinner naturally expect better than they are used to, and plenty of it."

The lull in the political tempest soon came to an end. It was inevitable that it should. The compromises which Henry Clay hoped would last thirty years, barely kept the peace for three or four. The half a decade from 1855 to 1860 was a period of continued storm and turmoil. Every phase of the slavery question, the territorial expansion issue, and State rights was fought over inch by inch with an ability, and often with a bitterness, rarely seen since, save possibly in the days of reconstruction.

In Alabama the contest centered about three great issues:—Know-Nothingism, the struggle for Kansas, and the proposed revival of the African slave trade. In each of these struggles Samford played a leading part.

It is difficult at this remote day to realize the excitement produced by the rise and spread of the American, or Know-Nothing, party. It was secret; it had mysterious lodges and pass-words; its members were oath-bound; for a time it had no platform, but made a general crusade against foreigners and Roman Catholics. It grew up like Jonah's gourd in the night, and swept the elections in State after State. In fact its very mystery, when added to the novelty of the issues it made, drew men to it.

Many old Whigs and others who despaired of solving the slavery problems, in desperation welcomed the new party as a possible means of side-tracking trouble.

But Samford had no fondness for side tracks. Once more, as in 1850, he refused to evade the issue, and to his pen more than to any other agency was due the overthrow of the movement in

Alabama, as to his friend, Henry A. Wise, was due its defeat in Virginia.

First of all he objected to the new party's un-American secrecy. With keen irony he wrote:

"Magna Charta is nothing; our declaration of independence is nothing; our republican constitutions are nothing; a free press, inviolable universal suffrage, trial by jury, the right of speech—these are all the empty, antiquated dreams of the past. A new era has dawned—a new power has arisen—a secret, despotic power—a power that decides upon all political questions without appealing to the people, who are previously bound by slavish oaths to execute the decision—a power that aspires to determine questions of State policy and constitutional law, which involve my rights, properties, liberties, and franchises, without even allowing me to know when the question is decided, or how decided, until the moment I am summoned to obey the decision."

He objects with equal earnestness to the persecution of any religious sect. He was not a Roman Catholic and openly avowed that he had no sympathy with Romanism.

"But," said he, "it wears the badge of a Christian profession, and it is to be met and overthrown, not by persecution and political proscription—not by secret councils of banded conspirators—not by out-jesuiting Jesuitism. 'Fighting the devil with fire' may be very good rhetoric, but it is miserable policy and worse religion. I do not make the declaration to irritate you, but that you may profit by it. Your immaculate, humble, divine Master did nothing in secret but pray. 'I spake openly to the world,' said Jesus to the high priest; 'I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.'"

But perhaps his strongest blows were struck in behalf of the large class of poor but worthy foreigners whom the Know-Nothing party wished to exclude from the privileges of America.

"I am sorry for the poor people of Europe. These Know-Nothings have found out a new crime—the crime of poverty. If the Saviour of the world were alive, and as poor as he was when he said, 'The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head,' these people would not let him come from the East and dwell among us. In-

telligence, honesty, virtue, are of no account to the foreigner. He must not be a state 'criminal.' He must not be 'poor.' We have got land a plenty, and God made it all. There are people in Ireland and other parts of Europe whose fathers were honest for generations—who slept on straw pallets in rude huts. These people eat potatoes or anything they can get. If a famine comes, they are to starve, they and their wives and little ones—and the prospect for all their generations to come is work and starve, and starve and work.

"Now, fellow-citizens, suppose you could be in Ireland and hear the father and mother of one of these perishing families talking over their gloomy condition: 'And sure, Biddy, if we were in blissid America, we should have a better house altogether; and they say we should have land of our own; and there is no famine there for honest folks that are willing to work like you and I, Biddy; and there would be no rint to pay and little taxes, and free schools and no lords and king, and you pay to the church just what ye're a mind to.' 'And Patrick, why can't we go? We have now six children, and I can't live long to work for them; and when they grow up here, what shall become of them?' 'Bless yer dear heart, and will ye go with me then to America, and leave yer mither, and brothers, and sisters, and all?'

"Fellow-citizens, you can imagine the rest of the consultation—the sighs—the remembrance of dear friends buried in the last famine—the heroic resolution to venture 3,000 miles over the deep sea to a strange land in quest of bread and security. They find passage in an emigrant ship. The great sea is overpast. They land at Mobile, in Alabama. They have spent every shilling in making their way to these peaceful, prosperous shores. They have honest, stout hearts, and strong arms and hard hands. They are on the way to Kansas or Nebraska—all they want is a welcome and a place to work. They are 'paupers.' What sort of a reception will you give them? Will you send them back to perish in the next famine, and then go home and get down on your knees and look up towards God, the Father of us all, and say 'Give me this day my daily bread'—and because they are poor? The Know-Nothings may do it, but the Democrats wont. Is it justice you talk about? Then it aint justice. It aint mercy; it aint religion. The man who would do it has not got religion enough to save one

of the nine lives of a cat. Why the Bible teaches everything else. 'But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord thy God.' "

But aside from these objections to the details of Know-Nothingism, he was fundamentally opposed to it because it tried to obscure the real issues of the day. At its door he laid the failure of the South to secure Kansas. And Kansas was, he thought, the key to the political situation. "We cannot overrate," said he, "the Kansas issue; everything is bound up in it." Buford and Clayton and Baker, who were leading the Southern settlers to Kansas, must be helped. Once more "men of action" were needed. The State Legislature must appropriate $100,000,—$500,000 —"whatever may be necessary, to put Alabama in the lead in the matter of Kansas emigration."

He wanted real bona fide settlers and drew a distinction, that is sometimes rather hard to follow, between the Southern parties and those sent out by Northern emigrant aid societies.

As to whether Kansas should be a free or a slave State, "We are willing," he wrote, that "the people" should settle the question—but who are the people and when shall they settle it? Is a horde of Northern operatives, small farmers and abolition emissaries, without titles to land or other substantial interest in the soil of a territory, when the Southern planter is excluded by the 160 acre arrangement—imported into the territory by emigrant aid societies of New England—is such a horde "the people?" Are they, as soon as landed from New England or Old England, or anywhere else, without electoral qualifications and before the formation of a State constitution, to settle the question? If so, I protest against 'popular sovereignty.' "

Yet while he denounced the Northern emigrant aid societies, he also denounced with equal strength the attempt to smuggle in Kansas as a slave State under the Lecompton constitution. And he did it in spite of the fact that the plan was endorsed by President Buchanan and nearly all the Southern leaders. He considered it a farce, and opposed it because he believed it a fraud. He was for fair play. Principle he would not compromise.

The more the Kansas question was debated, the more hopeless its solution grew. Finally he wrote, "The time has come for a

convention of the States. It will be wise to meet our Northern friends now, and on the strength of the favorable reaction of Northern sentiment, talk over with them in a calm and fraternal spirit the dangers which beset our Union, and appealing to the memories of the past and the controlling interests of the present, desire, if we may, an addition to the constitution in the spirit of its original adoption, by which the rights of the South in the territories shall be defined and secured. If this could be supplied, all might yet be well." This was what Calhoun had urged in his last great speech. But the people could not be persuaded to try it until too late. In 1860 at the call of Virginia the peace conference did meet, but both sides were then committed. Historians may well speculate whether some such movement if tried earlier might not have averted a disastrous and bloody war.

No man could write such public letters and editorials without becoming famous. The Atlanta *Intelligencer* said of him, "As a writer, the emanations of his pen have been the subject of admiration not only by the people of Alabama, but those of the Southern States. He belongs to the ultra Southern rights wing of the Democracy. We had the pleasure, a few days since, of sitting by his own hospitable fireside, and listening to his exposition of the political opinions which he entertains. We feel no hesitation in saying that he is the best 'posted up' man in the nation in reference to the present state of political affairs of the country, and while we sat for hours and listened to his graphic description of the state of public affairs, we acknowledged a feeling sense of our inferiority as a member of the editorial fraternity."

Political honors and office threatened to come his way. In 1857 he was prominently mentioned for governor. A little electioneering on his part might have secured the Democratic nomination, but he refused to seek it, and published a card so stating. In spite of this he received a flattering vote in the convention. A. B. Moore was nominated and elected.

Two years later when Governor Moore was a candidate for re-election, Samford published the following card:

"To the Voters of Alabama.

"I hereby announce myself an Independent SOUTHERN RIGHTS Candidate for the office of Governor of Alabama, at the next elec-

tion. I shall hereafter address you in a way to satisfy every candid man of my principles and objects. My appeal is to the people against the politicians—in favor of principles against mere partyism—and all for the South.

"WM. F. SAMFORD.

"Auburn, Ala., May 6, 1859."

It was a bombshell in the party camp. One newspaper, after roasting Samford, thus stated its case, "It has been customary since the Democracy has ruled and directed the affairs of the State, to allow each Democratic governor a second term of office without serious opposition from his political friends, unless he has during his administration proposed measures utterly obnoxious to the feelings and interests of the people of the State."

Samford replied: "I do not deny, but am opposed to, the custom. * * * Re-election ought to be the reward of signal services—the practical plaudit of a grateful people, for the more than common zeal, intelligence and energy in the conduct of public affairs.

"What quarrel have I with Governor Moore? Personally none whatever. He is a good man, and so peaceful and patient that even the enemies of the South have no cause to fear him. My complaint is that the Southern cause has not received the earnest, active, outspoken sympathy of our governor. Greater events outside of actual revolution can never transpire than those which have been transpiring at Washington, in Alabama, in Kansas, Cuba, Central America and Mexico, and yet the people of Alabama do not know what their governor thinks about them, and precisely so far Alabama is without moral power in the Union and in the world."

With great skill he proceeded to point out how Governor Moore had failed. The party press pitched into him with gloves off. Even some friends urged him to withdraw and suggested that his position was "awkward." He replied: "My position might be awkward to a man who expects to live by the favor of politicians,—who desires office, whose heart and brain are alike strangers to the freedom of an enfranchised manhood that glories in the attributes of truth and justice, and exalts its individual conscience and hopes above the claims and power of partyism. To me, thank God, it is not 'awkward.' "

He then proceeded to state why he had decided to announce his candidacy.

"I have thought it a good time to bring all of the Southern rights men of all parties together, in an organization, looking to the perils of 1860. We might at once rebuke the spirit of selfish partyism and rebuke this faithless Federal administration and take a step towards the Union of the South * * * It seemed to me important to make these issues, and I did not perceive that any body else was likely to make them, and I saw no way to do it so practical as to become a candidate, and ask the people to sustain me."

His boldness and his obvious sincerity made him friends rapidly. One man wrote to the papers: "Samford is the first man in the South who has boldly and patriotically lifted the banner of a 'United South,' and called all true friends of the South to rally together to save the South. Many have been valiant Southern rights men in profession, and many in reality; but Samford is the first man who has risked his all upon the question—who has had the boldness to take issue with his party, and stand up a tribune of his own people against party despotism."

He polled a good vote, but Moore was elected. Was it a failure? Not from his standpoint. The issue had been fairly made in a State campaign for Southern rights. "Victotry is a doubtful advantage, but courage is a certain good."

Perhaps some may think his whole idea was wrong, that slavery and State rights were both doomed, and the best thing in the world was to yield them gradually by compromise after compromise and to accept the inevitable gracefully. But those who on the other hand believe that a brave defeat in defense of what one deems his legal rights is better than any victory that surrenders them will agree with Samford's attitude.

When in 1860 the final test came, he regarded secession as a last resort. Like Wise, he was at first for fighting in the Union, and expelling the Northern States because they nullified the constitution. But "since the election of Lincoln," he wrote, "I have yielded my opposition to secession, as it appears to me that there is little hope of uniting the South in my former policy. * * * I am now willing to secede." He wanted, however, some agreement between Southern States. Some "co-operation" that would

assure the secession not only of the cotton States but of Virginia, Maryland and the border States, so "that we can carry out of the Union with us enough States to give us the power requisite to maintain a respectable nationality," adding with a keenness unusual at that time, "I have no faith in a British alliance or in French fraternity."

I wish that space permitted me to trace his course in the war that followed, to explain his views as to financial matters, to follow his public letters to President Davis and to Governor Brown of Georgia, to read his bugle calls to the South to rally around the failing cause. Jefferson Davis was not his choice for the presidency, and he heartily condemned the secrecy with which the Confederate government was conducted. On matters of public policy he often differed from Mr. Davis, but he did not fail to appreciate both his ability and his character, and nothing could be finer than the manly indignation with which both he and Mr. Yancey denounced the suggestion of overthrowing him and establishing a military dictatorship.

When the war was over and the horrors of reconstruction followed, his pen still responded to the call of the South. Over the pen name of "Warwick" he contributed almost weekly to the New York *Day-Book.* These letters were read far and wide and are perhaps the best known of all his writings. Certainly no more instructive portrayal of those dark days can be found. All his resources of wit, sarcasm and argument are used in defense of an outraged people. With the realism of contemporary documents they set forth the desolation, the corruption, the injustice of that terrible period.

He describes vividly the hardships which sudden and wholesale emancipation brought not only on the white men, but also on the negro.

"Emancipation is a fact. I have sworn to support it, and I shall keep my oath. Sambo is a freeman by force of presidential proclamation. But it is not unlawful to see certain evils of emancipation which call for the active interposition of the philanthropists. Sambo will flog his child unmercifully, and Sally will neglect it in sickness, and so between paternal action and maternal non-action little Cuffy has a 'hard road to travel' for

twenty-one years of his infancy—a terrible preparatory training for the bliss of being 'free to starve.'

"The stupendous wrong and folly consists in taking a poor, ignorant, childlike race from under the fostering care of a patriarchal government and withdrawing from it the protection of interest."

The question of negro labor soon became a very serious one. In December, 1866, he writes:

"The Christmas holidays here are cold, rainy, cheerless. The heart of the South is beginning to sink in despair. The streets are full of negroes, who refuse to make contracts to labor the next year. The short crop of 1866 causes much dissatisfaction. They will not engage to work for anything but wages, and few are able to pay wages. They are penniless, but resolute in their demands. They expect to see the land all divided out equally between them and their old masters, in time to make the next crop. One of the most intelligent black men I know told me this day that in a neighboring village where several hundred negroes were congregated, he does not think that as many as three made contracts, although the planters are urgent in their solicitations, and offering the highest prices for labor they can possibly afford to pay. The same man informed me that the impression widely prevails that Congress is about to divide out the lands, and that this impression is given out by Federal soldiers at the nearest military station. It cannot be disguised that in spite of the most earnest efforts of their old masters to conciliate and satisfy them, the estrangement between the races increases in its extent and bitterness. Nearly all the negro men are armed with repeaters and many of them carry them openly, day and night. The status is most unsatisfactory, and really full of just apprehensions of the direst results. The negro children are growing up in ignorance and vice. The older ones, men and women, abandon themselves to dissipation of the lowest sort. Their schools, 'so-called,' are simply a farce."

The absence of white control showed its effect in the degeneracy of the negro churches and the increase of superstition.

"Here, in a mile of me, is a negro woman dying, who says an old African hag put a snake in her four years ago, and the Obi doctor has gone to deliver her. 'Civilization' is 'marching two

steps backwards' like the truant boy went to school, 'to one forward' in our 'Africa' down here. The negroes here spend their time in going to 'funerals,' religious howlings, promiscuous sexual intercourse, thieving and 'conjuring.' At their 'funerals' they bellow like cattle when one of their number is slaughtered."

These occasions, serious as they were, were not always free from humor.

"The other day, at the African Zion, 'Sister Mary' was puffing, and blowing, and tossing her arms about and rolling her eyes in hysterical agonies of 'happy.' She began to 'shout.' 'Whew-oo,' she says—'Glory.' Just then Sister Kiz creeps softly up to her, and whispers, 'Don't you shout, Sister Mary, in dat muslin dress, you tear em all to pieces.' 'Dat's so.' 'Dat's so, Sister Kiz,' replied Mary, 'I won't shout dis Sunday.' So in consideration of the 'muslin dress,' Sister Mary 'kept the peace.' "

Under the conditions that prevailed, lawlessness was to be expected on the part both of the whites and of the blacks. It was by no means easy to get at the real facts, much less punish properly the guilty parties. This is well illustrated by an incident which he cites:

"You will hear of 'Alexander's Case.' I do not know its merits. Nobody seems to know. It is the case of a negro preacher who went to Auburn from North Carolina—went in the interests of a Northern African Methodist Church organization. He remained, preaching at his boarding house on Sundays and week nights, for some months, and teaching during the week. Four or five men in disguise went to his room one night last week, took him out to the woods, and gave him a severe whipping. The community was shocked to see him next morning in his bloody clothes, at the railroad depot, en route to Washington City. The town council held a meeting to investigate the 'outrage' with only this result: No trace could be found of the perpetrators of the deed. Suspicion points to certain persons. They each protest innocence. It is certain that the resident colored preachers of the Methodist Church South were greatly 'disgruntled' by the appearance of Brother Alexander in the midst of their unsuspecting flock, pouncing like a hawk upon their chickens (to change the figure) and taking off particularly the young pullets, or (to return to the first and more appropriate figure) appropriating

the young ewe lambs. They denounced him in public and private, and seemed determined to 'hamsnoggle' him. It was a complaint that he held meetings late o' nights, invited the rural laborers and created an excitement, which took them away from their duties, interfering with the prosperity of the neighboring crops, already bad enough. * * * When he left here a delegation of his gentle disciples escorted the martyr to the railroad—not a man among them. It was brought to light that a countryman, who lived some miles out of town, had threatened to cane the Evangelist for not giving his daughter the sidewalk, and here the evidence closed, leaving it in doubt whether his assailants were negroes or white men, for what offense, if any, he was subjected to this violent wrong, whether he is a simple zealot, a good devoted Christian, or an imposter. The colored people do not espouse his cause. All men of all colors deplore the occurrence, and denounce the violence by which he has been wronged, by whomsoever perpetrated. One of the first citizens of the town council informed me that the investigation left the impression on his mind that the whipping of the Rev. Mr. Alexander was done by negroes. I doubt it, but can find no evidence to settle the question."

The whole situation of the South was a bad one. No one saw it more clearly than Samford, but he was not the man to despair. President Johnson's plan of reconstruction had objectionable features; but it was incomparably more acceptable than the Congressional plan, and its main idea of frankly recognizing the Southern States as members of the Union seemed to him to suggest the proper remedy.

"A prompt restoration of the Southern States to their constitutional rights of representation, opening the old channels of business intercourse, restoring old social influences and the power of public opinion, as well as the fearless administration of law, unshackling the arm of the old order, re-establishing the supremacy of gentlemen of intellect and character, stirring up men's minds by an interchange of right ideas, awakening the public heart to a sense of its interests and responsibilities—in short, the adoption of the President's wise policy of trusting the people, and making them feel that they have a country, and are responsible for its character would soon render any Federal agency whatever un-

necessary for the protection of the poorest freedman of the South."

Unfortunately the Congressional plan prevailed, and the horrors of negro and carpet bag rule were prolonged and intensified. One of these negro rulers is vividly portrayed in the following language:

"The Rev. J—— is an interesting animal of the genus homo, about six feet three inches long and about sixty years old. * * * His apish head and snaky eyes and bulbous lips and testaceous cheeks and horny nose are perched upon his broad square shoulders, presenting in the facial expression the tout ensemble of a logger-head turtle. The neck, large and long and lean, is flexible as if made of india rubber, and the head, with its furniture, bobs up and down like a cork upon the water, ever and anon sinking below the collar bones almost out of sight, and then springing out like the head of a snapping turtle. * * * A thick, tough, withered, ebony hide envelopes the huge and angular corporiety of the Rev. J——, and it 'smells loud'—without trespassing, in the least degree, upon 'the smell of Lebanon.' * * * He is a representative man of the reconstruction policy of your party, and is your party candidate in this intelligent, virtuous, patriotic county of Lee for a seat in the Alabama Legislature."

When such men were put in control in the South upon the theory of race equality, is it surprising that Samford cried out indignantly: "Why don't General Grant send a nigger to England and France? * * * I want to see Fred Douglass minister to England."

But after all, it is doubtful whether negro legislators did as much damage as the unprincipled white men who used them merely to gratify their own personal ambition. Samford did not spare the men whom he believed to belong to this class. Referring to one of them who was at that time a member of the State Legislature and whom he had just seen on his way to Montgomery, he wrote: "I say nothing of his poverty, his want of social position, his ignorance of the commonest political affairs, his defective education, or destitution of cultivated manners. * * * I restrained the natural indignation which stirred in my heart at the vulgar ambition, and the more vulgar despot-

ism which have borne into the highest offices ignorant and incompetent men by negro votes. * * * The representative, for the most part, is as ignorant as the constituency, prejudiced, conscious of his despicable treason to his section, his race, virtue, social order and liberty, fraternizing with negroes, full of the insolence of power—what is to be the fate of Alabama? * * * I said: 'So Mr. ———, you are a radical?' 'Not a bit, Colonel,' said he. 'I deny that. I am no radical, but a Republican.' 'You elected a negro in your county to the Legislature, I believe, Mr. ———?' 'Yes, Colonel; yes, sir—one negro.' 'And so,' I continued, 'You are going to take your seat, Mr. ———, in the Alabama Legislature by the side of a negro?' As quick as he could get his breath, he replied with much evident satisfaction: 'Oh, no, Colonel; I don't sit by a nigger. The nigger was elected to the other house. I am a senator.' "

Under such rule the State rapidly drifted toward bankruptcy.

"We are to-day," he writes, "poorer than we were on the day of the surrender of the Southern armies. Our carpetbaggers and nigger scallawags have imposed intolerable taxation upon a people already crushed to the earth. A deep and sullen gloom is settling upon the Southern heart. Twelve cents for cotton and twenty-five cents for bacon and one hundred and fifty dollars and rations for a negro idler—for laborer he will not be—winds up the plantation business. Why don't we raise hogs and make our own bacon? Why a hog has no more chance to live among these thieving negro farmers than a juney bug in a gang of puddle ducks. * * * All this great staple producing region is essentially upon the sheriff's block."

Yet amid the ruins of their fortunes and under the shadow of this gloom Southern men and women did not despair. It was a wonderful exhibition of courage.

"There was never before such energy and zeal, such industry and resolute heroism manifested by any people in the great work of material progress as the subjugated people of the South are now exhibiting. * * * The whole spirit of 'the rebellion' is animating the white people of the South, who are working as they fought. All we ask is that the government shall not crush us. What a prayer to go up from a laborious, peaceful people to a 'free, republican government!' "

There is scarcely a phase of reconstruction that is not touched upon by the Warwick letters. Constitutional and legal questions, race problems, economic conditions, the price of cotton and the wages of laborers, suggestions for farming, notices of important books, religious questions, elections and political methods, delightful reminiscences of famous men—these and a hundred other topics make up the matter discussed by Warwick's pen.

On the fourth of July, 1894, William F. Samford died. His life was a long one, and his writings reflect the history of Alabama probably more fully than do those of any other man. It is a history in which he played a conspicuous part, or to use the classic phrase, as he so loved to do and did so aptly, "magna pars fuit." I do not know how better to sum up the career of one who so long, so ably, and so boldly and honestly defended his own South as he saw its welfare, than to apply to him his own oft quoted maxim: "Victory is a doubtful advantage, but courage is a certain good."[1]

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[1]This paper is based largely on Mr. Samford's scrap-books, which contain a large number of newspaper clippings. They are invaluable for the history of the times; but as the precise date of the clipping is often uncertain, it is impossible to refer to them systematically in foot-notes throughout the body of the paper. This does not however in any way affect the accuracy of the quotation.

VIII. Dr. WILLIAM LEROY BROUN.

By Charles Coleman Thach, President of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.

In the death of Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun it may be said without any exaggeration the South lost one of her foremost educators. He was indeed a great master and pioneer of the teaching profession and it is but fit to enter upon the records of a Society devoted to the interest of history in his State, a fleeting tribute to his modest but worthy name. The development of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute during the last twenty years stands as his most conspicuous achievement and his fame is most generally associated with his great work in technical education; but the life of Dr. Bróun was not merely a series of broken segments; it was a completed circle; and the last two decades of his great achievements in industrial education were only the logical sequence of all of his previous training and educational work.

"Technical education," says Dr. Broun, "in order to be of value must be founded on a knowledge of principles, on a liberal education. And the broader and more extended the base of liberal education which constitutes the foundation, the more symmetrical will be the column of a technical education which forms the superstructure. And," he continues, "by the term liberal education we do not necessarily include or exclude the classics." In his broad ripe scholarship and in his comprehensive knowledge of the principles of physical science, Dr. Broun himself was a signal embodiment of his own dictum. For he was primarily a man of spendid mental endowment, indeed his was the intellect of the rarest qualities, and his high faculties had been brought into perfect development and control by a long, rigid, and far-reaching educational discipline. An accurate and critical scholar in Latin and Greek, thoroughly at home in the literature of modern languages, he was also one of the foremost mathematicians of the country and a recognized authority in physics and astronomy. There was not a chair in the college that he was not able to fill.

Dr. Broun was descended[1] from a sturdy self-reliant stock of Scotch origin that was marked by all the energy, thrift, and love of learning proverbially characteristic of the Scotch people. He was born in Loudoun county, Virginia, Oct. 1, 1827, and at an early date evinced that strong intellectuality which ultimately distinguished him. He attended the academies of Winchester and of his immediate neighborhood, and was held in high esteem by his teachers as a youth of rich endowment and of high promise. One of his old teachers, who is still living in Washington, D. C., William Carr, recently remarked in the presence of a stranger who happened to be a recent pupil of Dr. Broun that there had been perhaps only one person in Loudoun county who could equal himself in reading Latin and Greek and that person was young LeRoy Broun. The youth at an early age lost both his parents, but filled with an unconquerable love for learning he was nothing daunted in his determination to secure the highest education. By the liberal help of a generous brother, by teaching, by clerking for merchants of his country neighborhood he pushed his way forward until he reached the coveted goal and was in the end one of the finest products of that splendid civilization which characterized the old commonwealth of Virginia. At the age of nineteen he entered the University of Virginia and within two years graduated as a distinguished master of arts of that famous institution. At the University he was the fellow student and intimate friend of a group of eminent Southerners, including such men as Dr. J. A. Broadus, the great Baptist divine, William Wirt Henry, Prof. Frank Smith, of the University of Virginia, and others equally distinguished. At that time the culture and training given by that great seat of learning, the University of Virginia, was not excelled, and perhaps not equalled, in thoroughness and extent by Harvard or Yale, or any other of the great universities of the

[1] Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun was the son of Edwin Conway and Elizabeth (*Channell*) Broun, grandson of William and Jeanette (*McAdam*) Broun, and of Dr. James and Susanna (*Pickett*) Channell, great-grandson of George and Margaret Broun, of North Britain, and of William Sanford and Elizabeth (*Metcalfe*) Pickett, of Virginia. William Broun, "gent," the emigrant, settled in Lancaster county, Va., where he married; was a lawyer and was prominent in local affairs. His son Edwin Conway Broun resided at Middleburg, Loudoun county, Va., where his son, William LeRoy Broun, was born. The Channells and Picketts resided in Fauquier county, Va. The Brouns constitute an old and prominent family in Scotland. Maj. Thomas LeRoy Broun of Charleston, West Va., an attorney of that place, has extensive records of the several family lines above noted.—EDITOR.

country. And among the distinguished sons of that distinguished university there was no better example of her best traditions of genuine scholarship and broad catholicity of culture than Dr. Broun.

Prof. Francis H. Smith, of the University of Virginia, says of his old associate, "He stands preëminent among all his compeers who were here fifty years ago. He grew more strong and faithful as he grew old, and he was still moving up when he was called hence. Alabama will indeed feel smitten by this blow. Virginia and the South may well join her in her sorrow.

"This University has ever been proud of him. He has brought honor to his alma mater. She will doubtless express in her publications her appreciation of him and his work."

While thoroughly appreciative of the linguistic work of Prof. Gessner Harrison, and the metaphyics of McGuffey, the heart of the ardent young student was largely won by the inspiring influence of the great mathematician, Courtenay, and the eloquent lecturer on geology, Wm. B. Rogers. The latter ultimately moved to Boston, and through his untiring labors in behalf of original research and the diffusion of popular knowledge eventually effected the establishment of the Massachusetts School of Technology. Of this institution he was the first president, and by his advice and influence, Dr. Broun was largely guided in shaping the early policies of the institution at Auburn.

In 1859 he married Miss Sallie J. Fleming, of a prominent family of Virginia. In 1852 he was elected to a chair in a college in Mississippi, and entered upon that high educational career which embraced precisely one-half a century, which touched many of the institutions for higher education in the South, and which gained for Dr. Broun a secure reputation as one of the leaders of educational thought and practice in America. In 1854-6 he was professor of mathematics in the University of Georgia; a year subsequent he founded Bloomfield academy, perhaps the most successful fitting school in Virginia, and conducted that institution until the beginning of the Civil War.

It is to be especially noted that the course of studies at the academy embraced a large number of technical and scientific subjects, such as civil engineering, with the application of the calculus to physical astronomy, practical exercise in Vernier

compass, the leveling instrument, and the engineer's transit, chemistry, and natural philosophy. In his prospectus of the academy we see the foreshadowing of the young professor's later scientific work. We also further read the characteristic statement that it would be his object to foster a love of knowledge and to secure the mental discipline important in school instruction.

At the outbreak of hostilities, he quickly responded to the call of his State. One could never forget his graphic account of the impassioned oration delivered before the students of the University by the eloquent Professor Holcombe, and how under its magic spell he felt that there was nothing quite so sweet as to march to the front and to die for old Virginia.

In the Confederate army he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Ordnance Department, and on account of his high mathematical and scientific attainments was made commandant of the arsenal at Richmond, one of the most important positions in the Confederate service. No Southern officer, perhaps, possessed a greater technical knowledge of artillery and ordnance. It was while engaged in this work that he first became impressed with the fatal deficiency of Southern youth in technical and industrial training, a deficiency which was no insignificant factor in the determining of the conflict with the industrial and scientific North. In this connection, he himself relates the following interesting incident: "Having reported to the Chief of Ordnance of Richmond, Va., I was assigned to duty connected with the Ordnance Department.

"The Confederate Congress had authorized the appointment of fifty new ordnance officers—and the applications to the War Department became so numerous that the Secretary of War, Colonel Randolph, ordered that all applicants should submit to an examination, and that appointments would be made in order of merit, as reported by the board of examiners, thus, what we are now familiar with as civil service examinations, were introduced by the Confederate War Department in 1862 in the appointment of ordnance officers.

"I was made lieutenant colonel of ordnance, and as president of the board, with two other officers, constituted the Board of Examiners. By direction of Gen. J. Gorgas, the Chief of Ordnance, I prepared a field ordnance manual by abridging the old

United States manual and adapting it to our service when necessary. This was published and distributed in the army.

"The examination embraced field ordnance manual as contained in the abridged addition, the elements of algebra, chemistry and physics with some knowledge of trigonometry. The first examinations were held in Richmond. Of course, the fact of the examinations greatly diminished the number of applicants. Of those recommended by the Board, so many were from Virginia that the President declined to appoint them until an equal opportunity was given to the young men of the different armies of the Confederacy in other States.

"Hence, I was directed to report to and conduct examinations in the armies of Generals Lee and Jackson in Virginia, Gen. Bragg of Tennessee and Gen. Pemberton of Mississippi. Under other officers examinations were conducted in Alabama and Florida.

"The result of this sifting process was that the army was supplied with capable and efficient ordnance officers."

Dr. Broun, perhaps, gave the last order in Richmond in directing the blowing up of the Confederate arsenal. It is a matter of great regret, says Senator Morgan, that the modesty of Dr. Broun restrained him from putting on record his intimate and accurate knowledge of many phases of the history of the Confederacy, which, with his death, have been irretrievably lost. When a full estimate shall be made of the life of Dr. Broun, a prominent position must be assigned to his career as a brave and capable officer.

"You know," writes a friend, "that he kept our army fit to meet the best equipped army the world has ever seen, though on our side everything had to be made from the egg. From mining the iron and coal to growing peas on rented land and making lubricating oil for his machinery, he did it all."

Dr. Broun translated for the use of the Confederate service "The Movement of Projectiles from Rifled Cannon," a valuable treatise by Count Paul De Saint Robert. "How the Confederates Procured Ordnance," an article published by Dr. Broun in the *United States Artillery Journal,* is a valuable contribution to Confederate States history.

After the war Dr. Broun again entered upon the work of education as the professor of physics in the University of Georgia,

and later became president of the Georgia Agricultural and Mechanical College. At the University, Henry W. Grady, W. B. Hill, now Chancellor of the University, and many other distinguished Georgians came under his instruction, and nowhere is his name more venerated than throughout that State. By Grady he was held in the highest esteem and perhaps the tenderest tribute paid to his memory was the memorial service held at the time of his death by the students of the University of Georgia and presided over by their scholarly Chancellor, W. B. Hill.

In 1875 he was elected professor of mathematics in the newly established Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tennessee. In 1881-2, together with such distinguished educators as Mallett, of the University of Virginia, Humphreys, of Vanderbilt, and Tallichet, of Sewanee, he was called to assist in organizing the University of Texas. He filled there the chair of mathematics, and was made the chairman of the faculty. In regard to his work at Vanderbilt and the University of Texas, we have the following interesting statement from the distinguished educator, Professor Humphreys, who now fills the chair of Greek in the University of Virginia: "I suppose that I was better acquainted with Dr. Broun as an educator, and possibly as a mature man, even than his own brother. He, Joynes, and myself, drew up the whole course of study and formulated the details of administration for Vanderbilt University. There we worked together for seven years. At Austin it devolved upon me to break to him the news of the death of his wife. What you say of him as an educator, and what the articles you send say of him as a man and educator, are true beyond the possibility of question. I have never known a man to whom I was more devoted as a friend, nor as an educator whose genius and efficiency I more admired."

The eminent scholar, Dr. Joynes, now of South Carolina College, writes of Dr. Broun as follows: "He was the friend of my youth—of my maturer life, and of our common old age. When I entered the University of Virginia in 1850, LeRoy Broun was already an advanced student. Our intimacy of friendship and sympathy, then begun, has never ceased.

"For a few years we were colleagues in the Vanderbilt University, which drew us still more closely together. Among the friends of our youth he and I remained, almost alone, survivors until

now. His death severs one of the last bonds that yet bound me to the days of my student life, and younger manhood and work as a professor; and in him I feel a personal loss which cannot be repaired.

"In all these years—more than half a century—I have loved, admired and honored him. For many years I have regarded him as the foremost representative among all the survivors of his generation of the ideal type of the Southern gentleman, scholar and teacher.

"In my long career I have been privileged to know many men, in my own opinion, of high gifts and commanding character and influence. At the head of them all—along with one other, who was a pupil of his—I have placed LeRoy Broun. Able, wise, and good, brave as a lion, yet gentle as a woman; modest as he was great, generous friend and wise counsellor, patriotic and far-sighted, progressive yet prudent, utterly incapable of any narrow or selfish thought, and personally as sympathetic and tender as he was strong and self-reliant—he lives in my heart and memory as the man, the teacher, the leader and most worthy to be loved and trusted and followed. No eulogy, no monument can portray his services. He will live in what he has done, yet, most of all in what he was. Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Alabama owe him incalculable debts. And all of us who have known him, and his thousands of pupils all over the South will ever cherish his memory and his example."

In 1882 Dr. Broun returned to Auburn, where he continued until the close of his life as president of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and after the age of fifty became conspicuous for the great work he accomplished as a pioneer in the field of technical education in the South.

Under his wise and progressive guidance this institution developed into a college of applied science of wide repute and in its growth and development under his wise and able administration it will stand as his most conspicuous achievement and his lasting monument. It will not be misunderstood when it is stated that in the opinion of all friends of the institution and of all intelligent educators throughout the South, the prosperity of the Institute within the two last decades has been largely the result of the sagacity and able oversight of this distinguished president. He

planned with the wisdom of the trained educator, the master of the principles of education, boldly yet not rashly, and with the distinct sight of the point aimed at, carried forward his ideas without being required ever to retrace his steps.

Dr. Broun was, indeed, a forerunner in the establishment at Auburn of several scientific departments hitherto unattempted in the South. He established here the first manual training laboratory in the South, having thoroughly studied the Russian theory of mechanic art instruction as displayed at the Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. He also first introduced into a Southern college a well equipped electrical engineering plant and a first class biological laboratory. He was the first to introduce the principle of co-education of the sexes into a college of higher education in Alabama.

Of the purposes and aims of this institution, and of those of similar character throughout the United States, Dr. Broun had high conceptions, which he set forth on various occasions, notably in a compact, luminous inaugural address delivered before the Association of Land Grant Colleges, of which body he was president. This address was so highly regarded by Dr. W. T. Harris, the distinguished United States Commissioner of Education, that it was printed in full in the annual report of his department.

The aim of all educational effort Dr. Broun regarded to be the education of the mind and heart. He rejected the theory disastrously exploited by some, that the purpose of scientific colleges was merely to teach a trade. The European trade school idea, the caste school, the school for the common people, he held as absolutely foreign to the American tradition and to the American spirit. Scientific and practical subjects were to be taught in a broadening and inspiring manner. The workshops were to be educational laboratories and not mere commercial factories. The college was not to turn out mere rule-of-thumb artisans, but leaders of science and captains of industry. He had a profound regard for the true study of the natural sciences and the application of their principles to the industrial arts.

As to the worth of science as an educational subject he says: "But some contend, though at present the tendency is to a more liberal view, that education in science is inferior in character and in discipline to the old form of education of the classical colleges.

Were this the proper place for controversy, we might assume the aggressive, and challenge comparison of results of the centuries of educational work under the classical curriculum, with the achievements of the scientific schools of recent times. If fruits are the test of merit the decision would not be doubtful.

"In defense of the discipline that is the result of the study of science, we may briefly say that the study gives thought and tone to the mind, cultivates accuracy of perception, discrimination of judgment, closeness of observation, correctness of reasoning, and imparts a love of truth rather than of victory, and further by its study of the concrete rather than of the abstract, by its constant looking for the relation of cause and effect, the mind is familiarized with the true spirit of inductive philosophy, the philosophy of daily life, and thus in its educational effect is demonstrated the truth of the definition that science at last is only

'Refined Common Sense.'

"Our contention is for all that gives an educated man power in practical life, that gives self-reliance and trains executive ability, that gives true manhood, that looks to life in its wider aspects and not to self for culture's sake, that that education given by the scientific and technical schools holds no inferior, but for many vocations a superior rank.

"Culture is a luxury in education, but science is a necessity; a necessity for all the people."

The hand and the eye must be cultivated, but in order to develop mind. Moreover, he insistently emphasizes the fact that even intellect and learning, and technical skill are not the last elements in the education of a youth; that behind the profession is the man, and that above all acumen and skill, character reigns the supreme factor of life. Though absolutely free from cant, this was the burden of many of his Saturday morning lectures to the students; lectures which were terse, often epigrammatic lay sermons, models of pointed wisdom and sound counsel that will long live in the lives of thousands of Auburn men. Dr. Broun was a warm friend of the Young Men's Christian Association, and took a keen interest in every movement and every agency that looked toward developing a healthy, religious life, and ideals of high thinking and noble living. In many of his views and in his general attitude to the student he recalled in many respects

the work and character of the famous English educator, Arnold of Rugby, for whom he cherished the highest veneration. Aspiration and high ideals rather than fear were the motives to which he preferred to appeal. Even with wayward spirits he ever sought regeneration and only in extreme cases appealed, as a last resort, to stern measures. He never requested the testimony of one's fellow student, but sought to stimulate the finest sense of college honor, and the love of implicit truthfulness.

Dr. Broun was unobstrusive with his religious convictions, was entirely tolerant of all dissent from his own views, never indulging in theological controversy; yet he had a child-like trust in the doctrines of the Christian religion. Deeply learned and profoundly versed in the theories of latter day science, not averse to inquiring into the boldest, even the most radical speculations of higher criticism, and polemical controversy, he was a devoted churchman, a loyal friend of the clergy, with many of the most distinguished of whom he had enjoyed warm friendship, and regarded the church as the greatest of all agencies for the spiritual and social uplift of mankind. He was a man of deep personal piety, and conducted family services with punctilious regularity. The late Bishop Barnwell, Bishop Wilmer of blessed memory, Bishop Beckwith, Bishop Thompson of Mississippi, were all among his friends. With Bishop Wilmer he sustained the most intimate and tender relations.

A short while before his own death Bishop Barnwell in announcing the death of Dr. Broun used these beautiful words: "A classical scholar, who loved science, a scientist who believed implicity in Revelation; an executive officer who was full of sympathy for the young and tenderness for the wayward; it would be difficult to say for which he was the more noted, his intellectual vigor and scholastic attainments, or his well rounded Christian character and innate modesty."

Says Bishop T. N. Dudley of Kentucky, a friend of his young manhood: "He was truly a noble man of mighty power for good in this country. God be praised for what he was, and what he was enabled to do."

"The debt of the South to Dr. Broun is very great," writes Rev. Edgar Gardner Murphy of Montgomery, Alabama, "and will appear the more significant as time goes on. He represented the

very best in the educational heroism of our people. Auburn will always possess in him the memory of a great good man.

"He was touching the educational situation at the point of the greatest need, and I trust that his faith in the value of the industrial equipment of our people will be continued in those who are to succeed him."

Duty was the word upon which Dr. Broun laid strong accent. He was a man of untiring physical energy and had that mastery of detail, the capacity for taking infinite pains, which is called genius. It is not what you wish to do, but rather what you ought to do, he preached in many a Saturday morning discourse as the gospel of successful life. The sun was scarcely more prompt or more regular; and for twenty years I do not remember his being absent from chapel service. Says a friend speaking of him when at the University of Virginia: "I can recall him now as I used to see him walking across the University lawn with that manly step —so well marked and so determined. It always seemed to say 'I am here with a purpose, and I am at it and I am going to accomplish it.'"

"Fear God and work! Take it home to your bosoms, write it on your hearts, make it the rule of your life—fear God and work." This was the motto with which Dr. Broun closed his last public address, delivered to a class in 1894. And nobly did he illustrate that motto in his life.

Primarily Dr. Broun was a man of splendid intellect. Of low but compact, sturdy stature, it has been aptly said, that his body was made only to carry about his massive, beetling head,—such a head as one sees in the portraits of Napoleon and Shakespeare, beneath whose shaggy and dome-like brow great thoughts could move without jostling. As a writer, he was not fluent, nor could he elaborate and spin fine words, having rather a scorn for mere phrases. The rigorous condensation of mathematical formulae, he often said, was destructive of verbal grace, and indeed he held that mathematics above trigonometry was a fit study only for specialists. In speech Dr. Broun was vigorous and often impressive. His versatile and accurate information gave him a catholic sympathy with all shades of thought and made him a charming companion in any company of intellectual men.

To the last he was an omniverous reader, and his memory was

tenacious and precise to the minutest details. At the time of his death he was greatly interested in Roosevelt's *Winning of the West,* a fact strikingly illustrative of his unabated mental vigor. He found keen delight to the last in all the strenuous activities of life. Fiction, poetry and all forms of pure literature, these also appealed to his liberal mind and tastes. Scott he regarded with especial favor; and the wit of Holmes he thought delightful. Absolutely accurate, full of refinement and delicacy, appreciative of the finest shades of culture, yet vigorous, robust, constructive, bold to plan and mark out new lines of work, and capable of carrying those plans to the most successful issue,—such was his intellect.

As a teacher and professor he was possessed of rare accomplishments. He was the last survivor of that splendid corps of Southern educators of whom Minor, Venable, and he were chief representatives. And of these he seems to me in many essentials *facile princeps.* He published but little, deeming it the better part to make men rather than books, and it is a pleasing thought that the influence of such a man does not perish with his death, nor is shut up on the printed page, but serves as a vital and vitalizing influence in the hearts of men, expanding with the years in ever widening circles.

True courtesy and affability marked Dr. Broun's intercourse with his colleagues. And with the most intimate friends, in regard to official affairs he preserved entire aloofness. Never within twenty years' acquaintanceship was he ever heard to discuss an official of the institution, save on one occasion when he remarked that in considering the value of a professor he tried to be guided not by what the professor thought of him but what he thought of the professor,—for most men a rather difficult code of conduct. Reserve characterized his every utterance. No man could more completely keep his own counsel; and no man was ever marked more completely by the quality of serene, imperturbable self-reliance.

As an administrator of college affairs he was in every way successful. His one aim was the welfare of the institution. He enjoyed the entire confidence of his board of trustees, and his policies were uniformly adopted without material modification. In considering any question of public interest he had an immense

power of detachment, and was able to think through it, around it, and all about it without reference to self.

And then there was a softer and gentler side to his character. In all his conversation he was as refined and modest as a woman. I never heard a word fall from his lips that might not have been spoken in the company of ladies. He was shrinking in his disposition and often said that he dreaded to address an audience. His discipline always sought to reform,—salvation rather than damnation. Nothing was more painful to him than to inflict the last penalty of justice. Yet in a crisis that involved principles, no one was more unflinching and more uncompromising. His fondness for little children was notable to a marked degree. He had the keenest sense for delicate humor. In his home he was the embodiment of dignified courtesy and generous hospitality; the ideal, it seemed to me, of the old Virginia gentleman, a type of which our section once could widely boast, but now, alas! rapidly disappearing before the changing order of things. Scholar, scientist, citizen, educator, soldier, patriot, and unassuming gentleman, who devoted his great talent to the education of the youth of the land,—in his character we have a rich legacy, we have indeed, an example that should be preciously cherished and that is worthy of careful study and close imitation by those of us who came within the sphere of his influence. It was one of the bravest and most steadying influences that has come to my own experience. High appreciation of this uplifting influence, it is to be hoped, has not betrayed my pen into an idle panegyric.

IX. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN ALABAMA, 1848-1860.

By J. E. D. Yonge, Pensacola, Fla.

The secession of Alabama in 1860 was the culmination of a struggle that had lasted more than a decade. During this period, extending from the end of the Mexican war to the beginning of the War between the States, the concrete political issue upon which this struggle chiefly turned was the question of Southern rights in the national territory. Upon it the national parties differed; upon it the Democratic party was divided within itself; and upon it turned every political controversy and every election.

Since the adoption of the constitution there had been discussion on this point whenever new territory was acquired by the United States, and each time Congress had more or less satisfactorily settled the question. When the Federal government was formed, the only national territory was that region lying between the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes, called the Northwestern Territory. The Ordinance of 1787, providing a government for this territory, prohibited slavery from it forever. The next acquisition to the United States was Louisiana. The status of slavery there was finally decided in 1820 by the Missouri compromise, which prohibited slavery north of the line 36° 30′, except in Missouri. This compromise remained in force for thirty years. It was respected by all parties and came to be regarded as the final settlement of a difficult problem. But the acquisition of New Mexico and California as a result of the Mexican war re-opened the whole question. The compromise line applied only to the Louisiana purchase so some new arrangement had to be made for the newly acquired Mexican territories. The Free-soil party of the North proposed the Wilmot proviso, which prohibited slavery in them. The South claimed them for slavery, since they had been acquired principally by Southern men.

With this question before them, the people faced the presidential election of 1848. Both national parties failed to take advanced

ground upon it in their platforms, but a Democratic primary convention in Alabama, which sent delegates to the National Democratic convention, took an advanced Southern position. Through the efforts of Wm. L. Yancey, this convention adopted the famous "Alabama platform."[1] It declared that neither Congress nor the territorial legislature had any right to prohibit slavery in a territory and went further by demanding congressional protection for slavery there. It instructed the Alabama delegates to vote for no nominee who did not accept this view. The national convention refused to accept this platform, but in spite of this fact the majority of the Alabama Democrats voted for Cass, the nominee of the national convention. The Alabama Whigs supported Taylor, the regular party nominee, on his military reputation, without taking any stand on the slavery question.

Immediately after the election of Taylor, the attention of the country was turned to the measures then pending in Congress for the organization of the new territory. A convention of delegates from the Southern States met in Nashville, June 3, 1850, to consider the situation and to take such steps as might seem necessary

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[1] A full report of the proceedings of this convention is to be found in the Montgomery *Weekly Flag and Advertiser*, Feb. 18, 1848. It contains in full the resolutions adopted, which are known as the "Alabama platform." A preamble before the ninth resolution states that

"WHEREAS, Opinions have been expressed by eminent members of the Democratic party that the municipal laws of the Mexican territories would not be changed in the ceded territory, by cession to the United States, and that slavery could not be re-established except by the authority of the United States, or of the legislature of the territorial government—that no doubts should be allowed to exist on a subject so important and at the same time so exciting. Be it further

9. *Resolved*, That the treaty of cession should contain a clause securing an entry into those territories to all citizens of the United States together with their property of every description and that the same should remain protected by the United States while the territories are under its authority."

The eleventh resolution declared that intervention with slavery in the territories by Congress or the territorial legislature was "indefensible in principle" and "dangerous in practice."

Three things were demanded by these resolutions: (1) Non-intervention by Congress, (2) non-intervention by a territorial legislature, (3) protection. Only the first two of these were brought into prominence at this time. The first, non-intervention by Congress, was in opposition to the demand for the Wilmot proviso. The second, non-intervention by a territorial legislature, was in opposition to the demand for squatter sovereignty, and was brought into still greater prominence after the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The third, the demand for protection, was not of great importance until brought out in opposition to Douglas's theory of excluding slavery by unfriendly territorial legislation.

to protect their rights and interests. Conservative resolutions were adopted, condemning extreme measures like the Wilmot proviso and urging the extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific. But they were accompanied by an address which went further and denounced the compromise bills then under discussion in Congress and afterwards known as the Compromises of 1850.[2] Thomas J. Judge, a Whig of Alabama, moved to strike out the clause condemnatory of the compromise. The Alabama delegation sustained Mr. Judge, but the motion failed.

These compromise measures, which passed soon after the adjournment of this convention, contained the following provisions: that California be admitted as a free State; that Texas be paid for part of the territory claimed by it; that New Mexico and Utah decide the slavery question for themselves when they should apply for admission as States; that the slave trade be abolished in the District of Columbia; that fugitive slaves be more promptly returned. In Alabama these measures were at first violently opposed by the Southern-Rights associations. A convention of these associations was held in Montgomery on Feb. 10, 1851, and denounced the compromise.[3] The conservative sentiment of the State, however, was in favor of it, and, though slower in making itself known, it was stronger. At a Union convention held in Montgomery on Jan. 19, 1851, not only was the compromise accepted, but the right of secession was denied.[4] The relative strength of the State Rights and the Conservative parties was shown by the State elections in 1851. The Conservative or Union party, composed chiefly of Whigs, elected the governor, five out of seven congressmen and a majority of the State legislature. These results show a decided majority against disunion in 1851. Even the right of secession was denied by many of the leading men.

That conservatism was dominant in Alabama, was manifested again by the presidential election of 1852. The Whigs were strongly opposed to disunion and favored the compromise of 1850. They polled a third of the State vote for Scott.

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[2] Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 279.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 289-290.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 294.

The Democrats were divided. The larger wing favored the compromises as endorsed in the national platform, and polled for Pierce nearly a majority of the popular vote. The State rights wing denounced the compromise and cast a very small vote for Troup. Thus Alabama supported the compromise almost unanimously.[5]

For four years following 1850, the compromise was regarded as final and the question of slavery in the territories was not discussed in Congress. But in 1854 this calm was broken and the controversy was re-opened by the introduction of a bill in Congress by Stephen A. Douglas for establishing territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska. It provided that these territories should decide the slavery question for themselves, and repealed the Missouri compromise. Just two years before this the Whigs of Alabama had held that the compromise of 1850 was the final settlement of the slavery question. Still holding these views, they opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill because it reopened the old question in repealing the Missouri compromise. An event which took place in the North about this time, however, drove the Whigs from their conservative position and made them vie with the Democrats in demanding Southern rights. This event was the formation of the "Emigrant Aid Society" in Massachusetts, which sent armed parties of immigrants to Kansas to assist in making it a free State. This aroused the sectional animosity of even the conservatives of Alabama and of the whole South, and led them to adopt similar tactics to meet force with force. The Democrats also favored this policy and parties of immigrants were sent from Alabama to Kansas by Buford[6] and others. Though these events tended to turn many men in Alabama from a conservative position, a strong party still remained. This element was composed not only of old Whigs, whose party had been destroyed by the continued agitation of the slavery question, but also of many Democrats who did not believe in forcing the slavery question to an issue.

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[5] The vote of Alabama in the presidential election of 1852 was, for Pierce, 26,881; for Scott, 15,038; for Troup, 2,174.—*Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 337.

[6] "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," by Walter L. Fleming in *American Historical Review*, October, 1900; and also *supra*. *See also* Clayton's expedition as described by his wife, Victoria V. Clayton, in *White and Black under the Old Regime*, chapter iv.

In 1855 a new party under the name American was coming rapidly to the front in national politics. It had gained great strength chiefly from the disorganized Whigs, but also from the Democrats. The fundamental principles were opposition to foreigners and Roman Catholics, and the suppression of the slavery question. This position on the slavery question gained for it many supporters, as there was a large number of men throughout the Union who strongly opposed any further agitation of this question.

While the national policy of the party was to ignore the slavery question, many of the State platforms took well defined positions on it. A State convention of the American party in Alabama on Feb. 4, 1856, affirmed the doctrine of congressional protection for slavery in the territories.[7] But in spite of this extreme Southern position, this party contained most of the conservative men, who had been driven by squatter sovereignty and the emigrant aid society to a declaration of abstract constitutional rights. In the presidential election of 1856, the Alabama Democrats supported Buchanan on the Cincinnati platform, which declared for non-intervention and for popular sovereignty.[8] They interpreted it to mean that the people of a territory could decide

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[7] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 357. The first of the resolutions adopted at this convention states "that Congress has no right to legislate slavery into, nor exclude it from a territory, and that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, has any right or power to legislate on the subject, except so far as may be necessary to protect the citizens of a territory in the possession and enjoyment of their slave property."

[8] The Cincinnati platform contained the following:

"*Resolved*, (1) That * * * the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic law establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories or in the District of Columbia;

"*Resolved*, (3) That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of territories and the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all States will be preserved intact....."

The first of these resolutions deals with the first demand of the Alabama platform of 1848, non-intervention by Congress, and clearly supports that demand. The second resolution deals with the second demand of the Alabama platform, non-intervention by a territorial legislature, and is so ambiguous that each wing of the Democrats easily interpreted it to support its own view. The third demand of the Alabama platform, protection, is not yet brought into question by the Democrats.

for or against slavery in forming a State constitution.[9] The vote for Governor in 1855 shows to some extent the relative strength of the Democratic and the American parties at that time. The vote for the American candidate was three-fourths of that cast for his opponent.[10]

The American party practically passed out of existence after the election of Buchanan, so during the next four years there was no regularly organized party as an opponent to the Democrats in Alabama. The former Whigs and Americans, however, still opposed the Democrats, because of the supposed disunion sentiment of their leaders and because of old party animosity. So strong was their opposition that in the congressional election in the Montgomery district in 1859, Thomas J. Judge was defeated by the Democratic candidate by only a very small majority.[11] Judge declared himself the candidate of the people and the representative of no party, but received the votes of that element united in opposition to the Democrats. Though supported by the more conservative element, his own position was conservative only in regard to secession. He did not regard the election of a "Black Republican" president in 1860 as sufficient cause for secession, but advocated calling a State convention in that contingency to decide what Alabama should do. On the territorial question he took a strong Southern position, standing on the American State platform of 1856, which demanded protection.[12]

Before the beginning of 1860, the question as to who would be the candidates, and who the final choice in the next presidential election, had begun to be discussed. The Free-soil party, representing the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, would in all probability nominate Seward, upon the principle of prohibiting slavery in the territories. The triumph of this principle and the election of

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[9] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 362, 363. J. W. DuBose's *Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey*, pp. 324, 325.

[10] For Winston, the Democratic candidate for governor, the vote was 42,238; for Judge George D. Shortridge, his American opponent, 30,639.—*Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 361.

[11] The vote for Judge was 6,666 against 6,880 for Clopton, the Democratic candidate.—*Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 370.

[12] See platform adopted by Judge, *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, May 11, 1859. See also speech by Judge, *Ibid*, June 22, 1859.

Seward were regarded by all Southerners as a serious menace to to their constitutional rights and by some as sufficient ground for secession.

In 1856 the Democratic party had sustained the principles of non-intervention and popular sovereignty. This had satisfied both the Northern and Southern wings, because its language was ambiguous and each had interpreted it as it pleased. The Douglas wing understood it as a declaration of squatter sovereignty, that is, that a territorial legislature could at any time decide for or against slavery. The Southern wing denied this power of the legislature and thought that this question could be decided only by a convention of the people of a territory, met for the purpose of forming a State constitution. During Buchanan's administration this wing had taken the more advanced position of demanding that Congress pass laws to protect slaves in the territories. This was asking more than the Northern wing would grant and this difference threatened to disrupt the party. There was no question that Douglas was the choice of his wing; and in the South, though many names were mentioned, that of Henry A. Wise of Virginia was most prominent.

There were many men in the South who viewed with disfavor the demand that the Democratic party declare for protection. They did not deny the constitutional right of the principle but considered it a mere abstract question which, even if decided in favor of the South, would be of no material advantage. They thought that to force this abstraction would be to disrupt the Democracy, and thus destroy the chances of the only party which could defeat the Black Republicans, whose victory might mean disunion. They were willing to waive a useless right in order to save the Union. Some of these conservatives favored the nomination of Douglas, and others, though they opposed him, were willing to support any man who might be nominated by the Charleston convention.

Out of the American and Whig parties grew the Constitutional Union party. Its platform is stated in a single line: "The Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." This was simply taking general ground and avoiding all specific questions, and therefore afforded an ideal platform for conservatives. It was especially suited to the conservatives of the South, since the slavery question was not to be

agitated, and consequently the majority of them gave their support to this party.

In Alabama the Constitutional Union party and both branches of the Democrats found supporters. The majority of the conservative men of the State were found in the first of these, as it was the natural successor to the American and the Whig parties. In accordance with their national platform they opposed any agitation of the slavery question and were strongly in favor of preserving the Union, believing that neither past aggressions nor the election of a Black Republican president was sufficient cause for secession.[13]

The protection wing of the Democracy was the strongest of the three parties in Alabama. Under the leadership of Yancey this party was in favor of demanding that the Charleston convention adopt a protection platform, and in case their demand was refused they advocated seceding from the convention and nominating an independent Southern Rights ticket. They were strongly opposed to Douglas because of his statement that a territorial legislature might exclude slavery by "unfriendly legislation." Many of this party were in favor of secession on the election of a Black Republican president.

The conservative Democratic wing were united in opposing the demand for a protection platform at Charleston. Different reasons, however, led them to take this position. Some doubted the soundness of the protection theory and endorsed Douglas' views on squatter sovereignty. Others, though they believed the principle of protection was constitutionally sound, were unwilling to insist upon it, either because they thought it a useless abstraction, or because they thought the South had committed itself to squatter sovereignty. To the first class belonged John Forsyth of Mobile. In a speech in the Alabama general assembly on Feb. 2, 1860, he said: "Judge Douglas holds, and I hold with him, that slavery under an organized territorial government, is a rightful subject of municipal regulation subordinate to the organic law of the territory and to the Constitution of the United States."[14] In a letter dated Sept. 13, 1859, he wrote to Wm. F. Samford: "But to come to your ultimatum, for your inability to grasp this

[13] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 418, 419.

[14] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Feb. 25, 1860.

bit of moonshine, you will go out of the Union! Break up the government!—Sir, the Union cannot be dissolved on such issue, and the sin of your course and that of those who, with you, are agitating this firebrand of abstraction in the Democratic party on the eve of the vital conflict with the combined hosts of Black Republicanism, is, that in the pursuit of a fallacious hope and an impossibility, you are paving the way for the defeat of the South; for bringing it to the footstool of an abolition president. I charge that you propose to break up the Democratic party, and sweep from existence the only obstacle that stands between the Constitution and the Federal ravisher. * * And for what? For a vague theory of constitutional right, as devoid of value, form and substance as the baseless fabric of a vision."[15] To the party which believed that protection should not be demanded because the South had become committed to the doctrine of squatter sovereignty belonged Ex-Gov. John A. Winston. In a letter written Sept. 10, 1859, he said: "I then (50-51) insisted that, as it was contended by some that the Constitution did not carry or protect slavery in the territories, and that the *lex loci* and municipal regulations excluded slavery, we had a right to insist on a recognition by Congress of our rights. But the people of the whole South decided against those who assumed that position. The doctrine of non-intervention was presented and accepted by Southern men connected with Federal affairs; and notwithstanding our Southern men do not appear now to have understood the question alike, it seems to me they did settle it. 'That Congress was to let the question alone,' 'hands off,' was the conclusion and the demand of the Southern statesmen. It does appear to me now, too late to re-open that issue; right or wrong, we cannot now correct the errors and blunders of the past." Continuing, he says that to insist on protection would be to break up the Democratic party, the only party left to preserve Southern rights. But if protection were demanded and Congress refused it, the only honorable course left would be secession. "But every intelligent man knows that on an abstraction about our territorial rights the people are not prepared for that last resort in defense of constitutional rights. For me, then, I shall abide by the Democratic party as at present the only hope left. And when the evil day shall be upon us, when that

[15] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 406.

party is unable or unwilling to protect us, I shall not one moment hesitate to seek out of the present Federal government the enjoyment of all rights that belong to American free-men. When the enemies of constitutional law have elected a president * there should be no delay in dissolving all further connection with such States."[16]

In a letter written February, 1860, Alexander White,[17] a former Whig Congressman, took a position against protection. He said: "The *Mercury* and Black Republicans agree as to the power of Congress to legislate upon the question of slavery in the territories; the one saying that it should be exercised for the protection of slavery, and the other for its prohibition. I say that Congress has no right to legislate after the organization of a territorial government upon the subject."[18] In a letter to a Mr. Hudgins, Ex-Gov. Benj. Fitzpatrick says he considers it the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the territories when necessary, but he does not believe that such protection will be necessary during the next administration.[19]

These extracts from the opinions of leading men show the reasons why the conservatives did not wish to force the protection issue upon the Charleston convention. They wished to preserve the Union and thought that this could be done only by a united Democracy. They were, therefore, unwilling to disrupt the Democracy on a principle which they considered at best but a barren abstraction.

The two wings of the Democracy with these conflicting views, met together in convention at Montgomery on Jan. 11, 1860, for the purpose of sending delegates to Charleston.[20] The county meetings which elected delegates to this convention adopted resolutions stating their views. Many of them demanded a protection platform and some of these opposed specifically the nomination of Douglas. Many others expressed confidence in the Democratic party and declared that its unity was the only hope for the Union. Some of these agreed to support any candidate nominated at Charleston. Because of incomplete reports it is impossible to tell

[16] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 5, 1859.
[17] W. G. Brown's *History of Alabama*, p. 210.
[18] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, April 7, 1860.
[19] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Nov. 2, 1859.
[20] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 401.

the strength of the parties in the convention from these county meetings. By an almost unanimous vote the convention adopted resolutions instructing the delegates to demand a protection platform at Charleston and to withdraw from the convention if this was refused. In this contingency the State executive committee was to call a second convention to decide what the next step should be. The almost unanimous vote on these resolutions is somewhat deceptive. Not all who voted for the resolution were in favor of withdrawal. Some regarded it merely as a threat to rule or ruin which would intimidate enough northern votes to give the South control of the convention. Of those who were willing to withdraw, many were honestly of the opinion that such withdrawal would not disrupt the party or the Union. They thought that enough might withdraw to nominate a successful candidate, or that with so many candidates, there might be no choice by the people, in which case the election would rest with Congress, where they considered their chances good.

On Feb. 24, 1860, the Alabama legislature with but two dissenting voices adopted resolutions instructing the Governor to call a convention, in case the Republicans elected a President, to do whatever might be required for the protection of the State.[21] This nearly unanimous vote does not mean that the whole of the legislature was for secession on the election of a Black Republican. They voted simply for a convention and it was by no means certain that the convention would withdraw Alabama from the Union.

Some conservative men repudiated the action of the State Democratic convention. They thought that the safety of the Union lay only in the unity of the Democratic party, and that the action of the convention had made this almost impossible. Their position is well stated in a letter signed "Hampden" in the *Montgomery Weekly Confederation* for March 3, 1860. He says: "This is the only material and tangible issue. Shall we unite to prevent the election of an abolitionist, or shall we aid his election by our supineness? Shall we waste our strength in squabbles over mere abstractions, or suspend our bickering until the public enemy is disarmed and defeated? I wish to unite the whole Democracy of the country

[21] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 402.

and consequently object to putting in the lead men whose avowals show them to be, to some extent at least, inimical to this object."

In a lengthy speech in the general assembly on Feb. 2, 1860, Forsyth stated the conservative position, especially in opposition to the action of the convention. He said: "I will tell you why I think that no friend of the Democracy can go with the late convention. It has sent delegates to Charleston to meet—not political opponents and Black Republican enemies—but party friends and constitutional brethren, and of them to demand a platform, which it is known beforehand cannot be granted without scattering the Democracy of the Union to the winds. If they do not get it, then they are to return to Alabama and tender an issue which will blow up the Democracy of the State. Without the aid of the northern Democracy we can elect no President. The result then must be submission to a Black Republican administration, or dissolution of the Union. Are we prepared for either? And if we choose the latter, can we go before the world and say: we have broken up the most magnificent empire in the world because, after having agreed that a territorial people shall decide their domestic institutions for themselves, we fell out on the question whether it should be done through a territorial government lawfully instituted by the proper authority, or through a convention for the formation of a constitution. I deny the inequality and oppression. I maintain that our rights are secure in the territories; that the status of those rights there has been fixed by ourselves, and that the ingenuity of man could not plant them more securely than has been done on the solid basis of the constitution, of State rights (which is but another name for popular sovereignty), and the eternal law of soil, climate, and productive adaptability. I affirm that a majority of the partners is not against us, that the Federal government is in our hands, and that we can keep it so unless the insane efforts of the gentlemen joined to those disunion Democrats shall be successful in breaking up the Democratic party of the Union."[22]

The conservative sentiment against secession was strongest among the people of North Alabama. A "Letter from an Old Man in the Country" written to his nephew in the State Democratic convention, published in the Huntsville *Advocate*, gives a clear insight into the conservatism engendered by a love of the

[22] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Feb. 25, 1860.

Union and a hatred of any innovation. He writes: "You must think that there is but one class of men in Alabama, a wild, reckless body of revolutionists. In this you are mistaken. The true men of this country and of this age, the true supporters of State rights and natural rights, of Unions and of constitutions are not the men who mix in political brawls or throw up their hats in the hustings. There is a sober thought among the people which is not thus developed. There is a conservative common sense that executes politics in a calm, silent but most effective manner. Now it is the opinion of these men which makes public sentiment and if you think you can easily persuade such to rush headlong into a disunion of these States, you are making the most egregious error of your life. Your resolutions about the rights to slave property in the territories did well enough as a mere assertion of principles. But what in the name of Jupiter tempted you to the folly of passing that tenth resolution? Are you not aware that if this Union continues to be saved from destruction it will be by the continued union of the Democratic party, of the whole Union? * *But what, let me ask you, will be the practical effect of your resolutions? Suppose the convention refuses to accede to your demand, you go home. Do you suppose the people of Alabama will refuse to vote for whomever the convention will nominate? No, my dear fellow. The people will say if we tear up the old platform we will all be at sea again. They will say if we cannot get all we claim let us take all we can get rather than destroy the Democratic party. A few new converts among your party men will piously turn up their noses at a conservative man, but the majority of the people will vote for him cheerfully. * * If the rights of the South are invaded, repel the invasion; but do it in the Union under the broad protection of the constitution, which wiser heads than yours have created, and I hope will be preserved forever."[23]

The National Democratic convention met at Charleston April 23, 1860. Majority and minority reports on the platform were made and the latter adopted.[24] It was an evasion of the whole

[23] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Mar. 10, 1860.

[24] The only reference to slavery in the minority platform was the following:

"2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on questions of constitutional law." Even this resolution was defeated and was not incorporated in the

territorial question, and clearly did not affirm the protection principle demanded by the Alabama convention, so the delegates from that State withdrew in accordance with their instructions. In this delegation Yancey represented the extremists and Winston the conservatives. In his book, "Destruction and Reconstruction," Mr. Richard Taylor, a delegate from Louisiana, in writing of the convention, relates the following incident: "Several days after its organization the national convention reached a point which made the withdrawal of Alabama imminent. Filled with anxious forebodings, I sought after nightfall the lodgings of Messrs. Slidell, Bayard and Bright, United States Senators, who had come to Charleston, not as delegates, but under the impulse of hostility to the principles and candidacy of Mr. Douglas. There, after pointing out certain consequences of Alabama's impending action, I made an earnest appeal for peace and harmony, and with success. Mr. Yancey was sent for, came into our views after some discussion, and undertook to call his people together at that late hour and secure their consent to disregard instructions. We waited until near dawn for Yancey's return, but his efforts failed of success. Governor Winston, originally opposed to instructions as unwise and dangerous, now insisted that they should be obeyed to the letter, and carried a majority of the Alabama delegates with him. Thus the last hope of preserving the unity of the National Democracy was destroyed and by one who was its earnest advocate:"[25]

Governor Winston's policy of adhering strictly to his instruc-

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resolutions as finally adopted. In a private letter written from Charleston on May 1, 1860, by John Forsyth, the failure of this resolution is explained. He writes, "The second, declaring territorial disputes to be a question of judicial character, belonging to the Supreme Court, and that the Democracy would abide by its decisions, received the full vote of the friends of Douglas. The ultras of the South began at first to vote for it, but afterwards changed their minds and their votes and went almost *en masse* against it. The Douglas men said, 'very well, gentlemen, this plank is of no importance to us. We put it there for you. If you do not want it, we'll be unanimous, and therefore change our votes and vote with you.' This was done and a resolution declaring the territorial dispute to be a judicial question was voted down with well-nigh unanimity."

"The platform as adopted, therefore, was the Cincinnati platform, 'pure and simple.' The South had rejected the addition which the North had offered to append to it."—Mobile *Weekly Register*, May 12, 1860.

[25] *Destruction and Reconstruction*, by Richard Taylor, p. 12. *See also* letters written to *Montgomery Weekly Confederation* from Col. J. J. Siebels, from Charleston, in confirmation of the same idea.

tions is shown again by his denunciation of the majority platform as not being strongly enough in favor of protection. He claimed that in demanding protection only "when necessary," the report had left the question entirely to the discretion of Congress. On May 18, 1860, he writes: "The whole question of congressional intervention to protect slavery in the territories is surrendered to the discretion of Congress, when they assert it to be the duty of the government to protect 'when necessary'—leaving to Congress to judge of the necessity of intervention."[26]

The worst fears of the conservative Democrats as to the result of Alabama's position had been realized. The Democracy was divided. The last safe-guard of the Union was destroyed. Yancey, they claimed, had at last succeeded in his disunion scheme. But still they did not despair. One hope remained. Without making a nomination, the remnant of the Charleston convention had adjourned to meet at Baltimore on June 18, in order to give an opportunity for the vacant seats of the seceders to be filled. The Douglas Democrats immediately took advantage of this opportunity by calling a State convention to meet at Montgomery on June 4. Their purpose was to send a delegation to Baltimore to attempt to reunite the Democracy. The call was first made by Col. J. J. Siebels, through the columns of the *Montgomery Weekly Confederation,* of which journal he was senior editor. "All Democrats and all other persons who are in favor of Alabama being represented in the Baltimore convention of the Democracy of the United States, which is to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, and who are willing to abide the action of said convention and support its nominees, are requested to hold county meetings and send delegates to a State convention to be held in Montgomery on the fourth day of June next, for the purpose of electing delegates to the national convention, and nominating an electoral ticket for the support of its nominees."[27] At about the same time the following resolutions adopted at a Democratic meeting in Mobile appear in the Mobile *Register,* edited by John Forsyth. "Resolved, That no true Democrat can consent to treat as a debatable question whether or no the Democracy of Alabama shall be represented in the national council

[26] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser,* June 6, 1860.
[27] *Ibid,* June 18, 1860.

of that party. Resolved, That the State of Alabama must be represented in the adjourned national Democratic convention to assemble at Baltimore on June 18."[28] The *Register* then called for a State convention to meet at Selma, June 4, to send delegates to Baltimore.[29] As the Montgomery and Selma conventions were to represent the same people and were for the same purpose, the *Register* consented to a consolidation at Montgomery.

By order of the State Democratic convention of Jan. 11, the executive committee called a convention to meet in Montgomery June 4, to decide what was best to be done. The acknowledged purpose of this convention of the Charleston seceders was to send delegates to the convention proposed by the seceders, to be held at Richmond on June 11.

Thus the two wings of the Democratic party in Alabama were to hold conventions at the same time and place. The one to condemn the secession at Charleston and to elect delegates to the Douglas convention at Baltimore, the other to endorse the secession from Charleston and to elect delegates to the seceders' convention at Richmond. The issue between the two is made by a letter from Gov. Winston. He writes: "Believing as I do that this (Richmond) convention is calculated to precipitate the South into a secession from the Democratic party and from the Union itself —for which there is now no good cause, and for which the South is wholly unprepared, I deprecate and oppose that movement. * * Believing as I do that this (Baltimore convention) is the only mode now to save the country from the mad rule of Black Republicanism, I favor and advocate the proposition to send delegates to that convention."[30]

The conservative Democrats now accused the opposite wing of attempting disunion by failing to support the regular nominee of the only party which could defeat a Black Republican, whose election would probably cause secession. A letter in the *Montgomery Weekly Confederation* of June 1, signed "Hampden," states this position. "Has any man shown you why the South should go out of the Union because a party platform did not contain the assertion of a right, which the chosen friends of that right nowhere

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[28] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, May 19, 1860.
[29] *Ibid*, May 19, 1860.
[30] *Ibid*, June 8, 1860, and June 22, 1860.

pretend to be needed at present. * * * It is our policy to prevent the Federal government from falling into the hands of abolitionists and leave time—the great curer of error—to satisfy the North of our right to slave property in the territories. I ask the people of Alabama if it is not the wiser and better course to defeat the Black Republicans in November, and to trust to the returning good sense of the Northern people for a recognition of our rights, than to insure the triumph of that pestilent faction by our ill-timed and foolish divisions about mere abstractions? * * The only issue that now divides the Democracy is whether the Southern Democracy shall repudiate and spurn any further alliance with the North, because a party platform does not assert the right and duty of Congress to protect slave property in the territories, should it ever go there and need protection after it reaches the territories. * * I submit to your calm judgment and incorruptible patriotism if it would not be risking too much,—putting in jeopardy too many interests, for us to abandon the Democratic party in this crisis, in consequence of its failure to assert an abstract right in its platform, when this party is the only one able to grapple with and throttle abolitionism."

The conventions of the two Democratic wings met in Montgomery on June 4, and carried out their intended purposes. The Douglas convention with representatives from thirty counties sent a full delegation to Baltimore.[31] The seceders' convention sent delegates to Richmond, but authorized them also to meet with the convention at Baltimore, governing themselves by the instructions given the delegates to Charleston.

On June 11, one week after the Montgomery conventions, the seceders from Charleston met at Richmond but after a few days adjourned to meet on June 28 at Baltimore. During this recess of their own convention the Alabama delegates with those of other Southern States applied for admission to the Douglas convention then sitting in Baltimore. The claims of the Alabama delegates were argued by Yancey, but they were refused seats.[32]

[31] See proceedings of the convention, *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, June 8, 1860.

[32] Immediately after the Charleston Convention Yancey had opposed all attempts at harmony with the Douglas wing, but now under pressure from the opinions of the conservatives and from resolutions by the Southern members of Congress advising it, he favored an attempt at reconciliation. In a speech before the Democratic State convention held in

On the re-assembling of the adjourned Richmond convention, the Charleston majority platform was adopted and Breckinridge and Lane were nominated. Meanwhile the regular Democratic convention had met at Baltimore on June 18, and after deciding contested seats had nominated Douglas. The whole vote of Alabama was cast for him.

Besides the two wings of the Democrats there were in Alabama two others parties whose members were chiefly former Whigs and Americans. The larger of these two was the Constitutional Union party which contained the majority of the Alabama conservatives. This party had met in Baltimore on May 9 and had nominated Bell and Everett. On June 21, a State convention of this party met in Selma and ratified the action of the national convention. It endorsed the principles of the Dred Scott decision and accepted the candidates on their records.[33]

The second and smaller of these two was the State Rights Opposition party, which was a direct successor to the American party. An "Opposition" meeting was held in Montgomery on June 18. Resolutions were passed, taking strong protection ground, and calling a State convention to meet in Montgomery on July 2.[34] On that day delegates from but seven counties assembled, but among them were many leading men of the State; such as Thos. J. Judge, W. P. Chilton, S. F. Rice, J. G. Gilchrist and Thos. H. Watts.[35] Mr. Judge presented the report of the committee on resolutions which was in part, "Resolved: That this convention hereby avows and reaffirms the principles laid down in the American party platform of Alabama, adopted on the 6th day of Feb., 1856, at Montgomery, without change or abatement." The resolutions then laid down a strong platform demanding congressional protection in the territories, and continuing, declared it their duty, "not as Democrats, but merely as determined friends of Southern equality and Southern institutions and as allies of those who by placing their nominees upon a platform, substantially asserting our own long-cherished principles of protection to slave

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Montgomery on June 4, 1860, he sustained the instructions sending delegates to Richmond with the power to apply for seats at Baltimore also. For this speech see the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, June 13, 1860.

[33] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 419.

[34] *Ibid*, p. 419. See also *Montgomery Daily Mail*, June 19, 1860.

[35] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 419-422. See also *Montgomery Daily Mail*, July 3, 1860, and July 5, 1860.

property in the territories, have given signal proof of their devotion to a Southern equality and Southern institutions, to support Breckinridge and Lane, if in letters of acceptance of their nomination, or otherwise, they give their unqualified sanction to the platform upon which they have been nominated." Watts presented a minority report in favor of asking Bell and Everett their opinions on the territorial question, and withholding the support of the party until they should answer. These resolutions were defeated. Though more nearly allied to the Constitutional Union party in associations and traditions, the "Opposition" supported Breckinridge because he was the only candidate who clearly took their view of the territorial question. Watts gave his support to Bell, and, to show that the position of the latter was sound on the territorial question, he published a letter on July 30, giving Bell's views as shown by his speeches and letters. He wrote: "Mr. Bell thus distinctly announces in my judgment the following propositions:

'1. A distinct repudiation of Wilmot provisoism.

'2. A distinct repudiation of squatter sovereignty as long ago as 1848.

'3. A distinct announcement that the territories are common property of the States composing the Union, and that the citizens of each State have the right to go into such territories with their property of every description, and while there to have protection to property and person.'"

Like Watts, Henry W. Hilliard also gave his support to Bell. Writing of a speech delivered in Buffalo, he says: "It was the evening before the presidential election, when I stood in the presence of a great audience and delivered my speech. It was an earnest appeal to the people to support the candidates of the Constitutional Union party and I urged them in the great contest about to be decided to stand by the constitution and the Union."[36]

The campaign opened in Alabama with three candidates before the people. Breckinridge, supported by the protection Democrats and the Opposition State Rights party; Bell, supported by the Constitutional Unionists; and Douglas, supported by the conservative Democrats. The election of Lincoln effaced all these party lines.

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[36] *Politics and Pen Pictures*, by Henry W. Hilliard, p. 305.

The election returns for Alabama showed the votes for the three candidates as follows:

Breckinridge, ...	48,831	38 counties.
Bell, ...	27,875	5 "
Douglas, ...	13,621	4 "

The nine electoral votes of the State went for Breckinridge. The Southern Rights candidate had a majority of 7,000 over the other two candidates combined, and Bell polled twice the vote of Douglas.[37]

The election of a Republican president had long been looked upon as an event which would seriously menace the rights of the South in regard to slavery. The avowed policy of that party was to prohibit slavery in the territories, and many of its leading men had expressed sentiments looking toward its total abolition. The power to execute their policy they were rapidly acquiring. They controlled already the national house of representatives, and their election of a president would indicate a strength which would soon give them a majority in the then evenly balanced senate. With two branches of the national government in their hands they could prohibit slavery in the territories and continue to increase their majority in Congress by the admission of free States. With slavery thus restricted, the original Southern slave States would be overwhelmed in the Union and there would be no guarantee for their constitutional rights. These considerations led them to look upon Lincoln's election as an event demanding some determined action for the protection of their institutions.

During the campaign in 1860 most of the Breckinridge men in Alabama had declared in favor of secession in case of Lincoln's election, and most of the conservatives had favored action of some sort; they would not submit to a Black Republican administration. This might have meant immediate secession or it might have meant waiting for an overt act of oppression by the administration.

As the campaign drew to a close the secession party grew in strength and the election itself, with its attendant excitement, threw many more into its ranks.

Shortly before the election, Watts had written that in the event

[37] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Nov. 21, 1860.

of Lincoln's election "the South would be justified in the eyes of all enlightened men in resisting to the extremity of sundering every tie which binds us together as one people."[38] Soon after the election Gov. Winston, a conservative Democrat, wrote, "I look upon the position of those who talk about an overt act as a lame and impotent pretext to avoid the issue.....As for co-operation, that is but a device of timidity and cowardice, or a piece of strategy for delay and postponement. My own views are that we should go into the convention and take steps for a separacy."[39]

In accordance with the resolutions of the legislature adopted February 24, 1860, Gov. Moore called a State convention to meet January 7, 1861, "to consider, determine, and do whatever in the opinion of the said convention, the rights, interests, and honor of Alabama may require to be done for her protection." After explaining why he thought Alabama should secede, his proclamation continued, "If a State withdraws from the Union, the Federal government has no power under the constitution, to use the military force against her, for there is no law to enforce the submission of a sovereign State, nor would such a withdrawal be either an insurrection or an invasion.[40]

The Governor's proclamation named December 24 as the day for the elections to the convention. Excitement ran so high that no one was willing to be called a "submissionist" to the Republican administration. There now began a contest between two new parties, the "separate secessionists" and the "co-operationists." The former wished Alabama to secede immediately without consulting any other State. The latter opposed this plan and favored consultation and co-operation with other slave States in opposing the administration. Immediately after the election of Lincoln, Forsyth declared his position as follows, "Co-operation with the slave-holding States, at least with the cotton States, is a vital necessity, but to insist on such co-operation as a *sine qua non* is unionism under a thin disguise." Under date of November 12 Gov. Fitzpatrick wrote, "I would therefore advise that the convention which is soon to meet under the resolutions of the last

[38] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Oct. 5, 1860.

[39] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 5, 1860.

[40] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 12, 1860. See also *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 476, 477.

legislature, should select a number of our best men to meet and confer with commissioners from other slave States to ascertain and recommend what is best to be done." Col. J. J. Siebels through an editorial on November 30 expressed this opinion: "Let us now go to work and adopt some policy, some plan by which the whole South can be made to secede from the Union and present to the world a united front. This can only be effected by consultation and co-operation with these States.....Let us do away with separate State secession and stand squarely upon the platform of consultation and co-operation."[41] In writing of secession in Alabama, Henry W. Hilliard says, "Loyal to the South, of which I was a native, where I had grown up, where I had been educated; all my hopes and interests being identified with its prosperity, happiness and glory; I was still national and hoped that Alabama would await some further action on the part of the general government before taking any steps to withdraw from the Union.....I delivered a speech in Estelle Hall to a crowded house, expressing in strong terms my attachment to Alabama, and my desire that the State should still maintain its relations to the Union, and await the full co-operation of the other slave-holding States before taking any final step to sever its connection with the Federal government."[42] The opposition to secession came chiefly from the Northern part of the State. The following newspaper paragraphs, published immediately after the election, show the sentiment there. The *Marshall County News* says, "As to secession, we feel no disposition on our part to abandon so noble a government as ours and leave all the glory to be shared alone by our enemies." The Huntsville *Advocate* says, "In our opinion, at this particular time, no action is the wisest action." Huntsville *Independent,* "We went into the presidential contest, we were defeated and is it not right for us to abide by the decision?" Tuskaloosa *Monitor,* "As Gen. Lane remarked with reference to Lincoln's election, 'We submit and hope that another four years may bring about better things.' "[43]

These extracts show the different views held by the co-operationists. Some held that there was no cause for any action, others

[41] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation,* Nov. 30, 1860.

[42] *Politics and Pen Pictures,* p. 309.

[43] For these extracts see *Montgomery Weekly Confederation,* Nov. 23, 1860.

that there was no cause for secession; others, that there should be consultation to decide what should be done; and still others, that Alabama should secede if enough others accompanied her to assure protection. They were all united, however, in opposing immediate separate secession.

The convention met on January 7, in the hall of the house of representatives in the capitol at Montgomery.[44] There were one hundred delegates present. The strength of the two parties as computed by the *Confederation*[45] was

Co-operationists, ..53 delegates..33,000 popular votes.
Secessionists, ...47 delegates..24,000 popular votes.

As computed by the *Advertiser*:[46]

Co-operationists, ..41 delegates..27,000 popular votes.
Secessionists, ...59 delegates..36,000 popular votes.

The difference in the estimates is accounted for by the fact that in some counties the delegates were elected without a declaration of principles and were claimed by both parties. It is impossible therefore, to draw conclusions from these returns, but it is certain that the highest number of votes claimed for secession was 36,000 out of a population which had polled a vote of 90,000 at the last presidential election.[47]

The views of the co-operationists in the convention are shown by the following resolutions and remarks. On January 9 Mr. Bulger (Tallapoosa county) offered these resolutions, "That separate State action would be unwise and impolitic on the part of this convention. Second, that Alabama should invite all the Southern States to a convention, to be held at as early a day as practicable, which shall consider and agree upon a statement of our grievances, and manner of obtaining redress, whether in the Union or by independence out of it."[48] These resolutions were referred to the Committee of Thirteen. On the first day of the convention Mr. Posey of Lauderdale said, "It is our purpose to resist. It is not our purpose to submit to the doctrines asserted

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[44] For proceedings of the convention see *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 491-527.

[45] See *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Jan. 4, 1861.

[46] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Jan. 9, 1861.

[47] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 492.

[48] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1861.

at Chicago, but our resistance is based upon consultation, and in unity of action with the other slave States."[49] The resolutions adopted by primary meetings nominating candidates, also indicate the character of co-operation. The following was adopted in Limestone county: "Resolved, that we favor a convention of the fifteen slave-holding States, to consider what is best to be done, trusting that there is reasonable ground for a peaceable solution of all differences between the North and the South inside of the Union and the Constitution."[50] Tuskaloosa county adopted this: "Resolved, That we hold it to be our duty, *first*, to use all honorable exertions to secure our rights in the Union. . . ."[51]

On the third day of the convention Mr. Davis, of Madison, offered a resolution, which was lost, that the action of the convention be submitted to a vote of the people. The co-operationists favored this because they claimed that the majority of the convention did not represent the majority of the people; because the people had not had time before electing delegates to inform themselves on the question; because to submit the action to the people would be to get a correct expression of their wishes; and because it would give great moral force to the movement and would disarm the minority. From a legal standpoint they claimed that neither the legislature nor Gov. Moore had any right to call a convention. This was a sovereign power which the people had retained and hence they alone could rightfully exercise it.

Before the convention assembled this same demand for submission to the people had been made. Immediately after the election of Lincoln, Forsyth wrote, "If the convention should determine to withdraw separately and without co-operation with the other Southern States, then such action shall be referred to a vote of the people at the ballot box."[52] About the same time the *Marshall County News* said, "Should our beloved State decide that this is no Union for Southern men, and act with discretion and submit their action back to the people, and should they so decide, we will ever be ready to go with our country."[53] A letter from J. K.

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[49] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 481.
[50] *Ibid*, p. 486.
[51] *Ibid*, p. 486.
[52] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Nov. 28, 1860.
[53] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Nov. 23, 1860.

Henry, published December 14, says, "I am deeply impressed with the belief that the recommendation of the convention, or its action, should be clearly and unmistakably presented to the people of the State for them by their votes to ratify or reject it."[54] A communication to the *Confederation* signed Lorgnette says, "The submission of the action of the convention to the test of a direct popular vote would obtain a full, clear, and decided expression of the views and wishes of the people, and make the people themselves share in the responsibility of the measures adopted. . . . . The people have an absolute right to have your action submitted for their approval or disapproval."[55]

On the day before the convention met, a caucus of Southern senators had adopted resolutions advising immediate secession. South Carolina had already seceded. Gov. Moore had seized the forts on Mobile Bay. Messages were received from various other States telling of successful moves toward secession. News had been received that the Republicans had scornfully rejected the Crittenden compromise. With all these causes working against conservative action, on January 10 Yancey reported an ordinance of secession. Clemens made a minority report signed by six of the thirteen members of the committee. They thought co-operation more advisable than separate State action, and that the ordinance should be submitted to the people. They recommended a convention of Southern States to consider the wrongs of the South and devise remedies, and suggested "a basis for the settlement of difficulties between the Northern and Southern States." The principal points of this were: 1. A faithful execution of the Fugitive slave law. 2. Slavery not to be abolished in the District of Columbia. 3. Inter-state slave trade not to be interfered with. 4. Protection for slavery in the territories. 5. These conditions were to be irrepealable. This report was defeated by a vote of 54 to 45. After some debate the vote was taken upon the majority report, which was adopted, ayes 61, noes 39. Before recording his vote against the ordinance, each member of the minority expressed his opinion of it. The remarks of Mr. Davis of Madison voice the sentiments of them all. He said, "I shall vote against the ordinance. But if Alabama shall need the strong arms of her valor-

[54] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation.*
[55] *Ibid.*

ous sons to sustain her in any emergency which on account of this ordinance of secession may arise within her borders, by which her honor or the rights of her citizens are likely to be endangered, I say, for myself and for my constituents—and I dare say for all North Alabama—that I and they will be cheerfully ready to take part in the conflict. We may not endorse the wisdom of your resolves, but we will stand by the State of Alabama under all circumstances."[56]

The position of the conservatives after the passage of the ordinance is shown by an editorial in the *Montgomery Weekly Confederation* of January 18. "The question is now asked, what shall be the duty of those who opposed the policy of immediate secession and advised the co-operation of the slave-holding States with a view of making a determined and effective resistance to abolition rule. We answer, unhesitatingly, stand by Alabama, right or wrong, come weal, come woe. Although opposed to what we considered to be a rash and imprudent policy—one that we thought would bring desolation, ruin, anarchy, and lastly, the destruction of slavery, upon us, we, as good citizens should bow to the voice of the convention and at once acquiesce in its decisions."[57]

Of the 39 who voted against the ordinance 24 refused to sign, but all gave it their support. In a letter from Messrs. Clemens and Davis, published January 30, they said, "Every member from North Alabama stands pledged to abide the action of the convention and although there were thirty-nine votes against the ordinance, there is, perhaps, not one who will not submit to it, and counsel submission by his people."[58]

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[56] *Cradle of the Confederacy*, pp. 515, 16.

[57] *Montgomery Weekly Confederation*, Jan. 18, 1861.

[58] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Jan. 30, 1861.

X. REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN ALABAMA.

"Names that adorn and dignify the scroll,
Whose leaves contain the nation's history."
—*Fitz Greene Halleck.*

By Mrs. P. H. Mell, Clemson College, S. C.
Late State Historian, Alabama Division, Daughters of the American Revolution.

The writer offers these brief biographical sketches of Revolutionary soldiers, pioneer settlers of Alabama, with the hope that they may prove of interest to the citizens now living in the State. These soldiers came to Alabama when this country, now so rich and populous, was a wilderness of dense forests and swamps, peopled by savages and wild animals. Trees fell before the sturdy strokes of their axes, lands were cleared and cabins built; so homes were made and bravely defended, and law and order began to reign over the land.

In studying the early history of any country it is of importance to know the characteristics of the settlers; not only the popular leaders, but representatives of all walks of life, for the sum total of individual histories and individual opinions makes up the history and politics of the State. When the majority of the first settlers are law-abiding, patriotic men of good sense and firm principles, then the State will find her growth and prosperity assured.

For a period of years after the Revolution, Alabama was anything but "a land of rest." The French struggle was over, but Spaniards, English, Americans and Indians contended for the mastery of the territory. This is probably the reason why there are no Revolutionary land grants to be found in the State. During the Revolution the white inhabitants of Alabama were loyal to the crown and therefore they were not entitled to bounty lands. The thirteen original States gave liberally to their soldiers. Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee were thickly peopled with old soldiers and their families who settled on bounty lands. But there were no free lands in Alabama, prices were high and in 1819 public lands

sold for as much or more at the sales in Huntsville and St. Stephens as the same land would bring to-day.

We therefore know that only a few hundred Revolutionary soldiers settled in Alabama, while there were thousands in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. In 1840, Alabama has a list of only one hundred and eighty-nine in the United States *Census of Pensioners,* while Kentucky has over nine hundred and other States correspondingly large numbers.

The Alabama Daughters of the American Revolution are endeavoring to locate and mark as many of the graves of these soldiers as possible and also to learn something of the history of each soldier. This is a difficult task, for early histories of the first years of the State are condensed and bare of details, only prominent men and notable events being described. To find out anything about these heroes involves researches in family records, old newspapers, the few local histories which have been published, and inscriptions on tombstones in city cemeteries, country churchyards, and old plantation family burial grounds. This work will be continued from year to year until Alabama has been thoroughly explored for the last resting places of these pioneer heroes.

In preparing these sketches the writer is indebted for valuable information to Hon. Thomas M. Owen, Secretary of the Alabama Historical Society, and Director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama; to the regents and members of the Alabama Daughters of the American Revolution chapters and also to the descendants of some of the soldiers.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM ARMISTEAD.

"Though mixed with earth their perishable clay,
Their names shall live while glory lives to tell
True to their country how they won the day."

The grave of this soldier is described in Ball's *Clarke County, Alabama,* pp. 475-6. We learn that a Capt. William Armistead of Virginia and three sons, Robert, Westwood and John, became citizens of Clarke. The father was a man of strong peculiarities, a gentleman of the old school, wearing knee buckles and retaining English tastes. He was twice married and had three sons and three daughters. One daughter married John Morriss, in North Carolina, and moved to Alabama; another daughter

married Edmund Waddell, in North Carolina; the third married Dr. Neal Smith, a gentleman of prominence in his day.

The grave stands alone, neatly enclosed with rocks and pickets on a hill near Amity church in the family burial ground, on the plantation bequeathed by him to his son-in-law, Dr. Neal Smith, about eight miles from Grove Hill.

The following is a copy from the marble slab:

In
memory of
CAPTAIN WILLIAM ARMISTEAD,
a soldier of the
Revolution, a native
of Virginia,
who departed this life
March 1st, 1842,
aged 80 years.

The following notes on the family and ancestry of Capt. William Armistead are taken from the *William and Mary Quarterly*,[1] vols. vi, vii, viii:

Capt. William Armistead was doubtless a son of Anthony Armistead and brother of Anthony, Robert, Westwood and Alexander Carver. Two of his brothers were killed in the Revolution.

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[1]It is to be regretted that so exhaustive and learned a genealogy as President Tyler has prepared should be marred by so palpable an error as his suggestion that Captain William Armistead was the son of Anthony Armistead[5]; since he gives from the records the names of the latter's children by Mary, his wife, who long survived her husband (as the wife of one Williams), and William is not one of them; the supposition that he married, secondly, Elizabeth Lee, is out of the question.

Tyler's genealogy is so complete that he not only proves Capt. William Armistead *not* to have been a son of Anthony[5], but not even a grandson of Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony[4].

There is no doubt in my mind that our Revolutionary soldier was a grandson of Anthony Armistead, of Warwick, son of William, a brother of Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony[4]—for the locality of his birth, the names of his children (Westwood and Starkey), the ownership of land in North Carolina by that branch of the family and his own removal thither, are strong presumptive reasons for the belief; and they are clinched by the evident impossibility of his having been the grandson of Anthony[4], of Elizabeth City. Note, especially, that while the Westwoods were kinsmen of both the Elizabeth City and Warwick families, the Starkeys were kin to the latter alone.

It must be remembered that Elizabeth City and Warwick counties are adjacent, and together form but a small territory.

I hope to be able, in a short time, to contribute a note clarifying the question: who was Capt. Armistead's father?—W. B. NEWMAN, of Talladega, Ala.

He saw his brother Westwood killed at the battle of Brandywine; and he himself joined the army when only sixteen years of age. We will give his line of descent from this interesting Virginia family.

(1) ANTHONY ARMISTEAD, of Kirk Deighton, Yorkshire, and Frances Thompson, his wife, of the same place, had issue:

(2) WILLIAM ARMISTEAD, baptized Aug. 3, 1610, in "All Saints Church," the only church in the parish of Kirk Deighton. He emigrated to Virginia about 1635, and obtained large grants of land in Elizabeth City county, and subsequently, Gloucester county. He died before 1660. He married Anne ——— and had issue, among others:

(3) ANTHONY ARMISTEAD, ancestor of President Tyler, resided in Elizabeth City county. He was one of Sir William Berkeley's court-martial in 1676 to try the Bacon insurgents, justice of the peace, and captain of horse in 1680, burgess in 1693, 1696, 1699, and one of the committee in 1700 to report a revision of the laws, which was approved by the general assembly in 1705. Capt. Armistead married Hannah, daughter of Dr. Robert Ellyson, of James City county. This Robert Ellyson appears in the Maryland records as early as 1643 as "barber-chirurgeon" and after holding the office of sheriff of St. Mary's, emigrated to Virginia, where he was high sheriff of James City county, sergeant-at-arms of the house of burgesses in 1657-58, and a leading burgess in 1656, 1659-60, 1660-61, 1663, with the rank of captain. The wife of Capt. Anthony Armistead survived him, her will being proved in Elizabeth City court in 1728. They had issue, among others:

(4) ANTHONY ARMISTEAD, lieut.-col. of militia in 1724, justice and high sheriff of Elizabeth City county, married, it is believed twice; first, Anne, who united with Anthony Armistead in a deed in 1717; second, Elizabeth Westwood, sister of William Westwood. Anthony Armistead's will was proved Dec. 18, 1728. He had children; several daughters who were affectionately remembered by their nephew, Capt. William Armistead. One of his sons:

(5) ANTHONY ARMISTEAD married Mary, daughter of Anthony Tucker and Rosea, his wife. It is thought that there was a second marriage to Elizabeth Lee and that Capt. William Armistead was a child of this marriage. A family of Lees has long re-

sided in the neighborhood of Elizabeth City county. Issue, among others:

(6) WILLIAM ARMISTEAD, the subject of this sketch, born 1762, died 1842. We append a copy of his Revolutionary services taken from the archives at Washington and sent to us with other information by his descendant, Mrs. Sallie Jones Featherston, of Rome, Ga. After the Revolution he moved to Warren, thence to Randolph county, North Carolina, and married (1) Rebecca Kimbell, near Warrenton. The family Bible gives authentic information for the births of their children: 1. Westwood, born Aug. 24, 1791; 2. John Kimbell, born Dec. 16, 1792; 3. Elizabeth Lee, born Oct. 13, 1794; 4. Martha, born Sept. 1, 1796. He married (2) Elizabeth, widow of John Morriss and daughter of Mr. Lewis and his wife, Jane Westmoreland, of Halifax county, Va. His second wife had one son by her first husband, John Morriss. Issue by second marriage with Elizabeth Lewis: 5. Robert Starkey, born Nov. 5, 1800; 6. Jane Westmoreland, born April 10, 1802.

Capt. William Armistead moved in 1819 to Clarke county, Ala., and died there in 1842. His son, Westwood, married Elizabeth Boroughs, daughter of Bryan Boroughs and Sally Waddell, in North Carolina, came to Alabama and died in 1845. His children were James W., Bryan, William W., Robert S., Emma, who married ——— Cunningham, Elizabeth, married her second cousin, John Kimbell.

The second son of Capt. William Armistead, John Kimbell, married Julia Gaines. They lived in Wilcox county, Ala., thence he moved with his family to Mississippi about 1840. Issue: William, James, Gen. Charles Armistead, of the Confederate army, John, and Dr. E. R. Armistead, of Prescott, Ala.

The third son of Capt. William Armistead, Robert Starkey, married Ann Carney, moved to Texas in 1835, and died in 1866, without issue.

The oldest daughter of William Armistead, Elizabeth Lee, married his step-son, John Morriss, and lived in Alabama; and his second daughter married Edmund Waddell of North Carolina, an uncle of Westwood Armistead's wife.

The youngest daughter of Capt. Armistead married in Alabama in 1821, Dr. Neal Smith, a native of Moore county, N. C.,

son of Malcolm Smith. Malcolm Smith, and Malcolm Smith, Sr., were soldiers of the Revolution and though of Scotch descent, their worst foes were the "Scotch Tories." (See Ball's *Clarke County, Ala.*, and Brewer's *Alabama* for sketches of Dr. Neal Smith.) Issue: Julia Elizabeth, married (1) David White, a native of Virginia, (2) James M. Jackson; Sarah Louisa married John B. Savage; Margaret A. married (1) Kirkland Harrison, of South Carolina, (2) Asa M. Lewis, of Texas; Robert Neal married Miss Watkins, from Virginia; Jane married James D. Bryant, of Wilcox county, Ala.; Martha Rebecca married (1) Richard Starkey Jones, of Selma, and (2) Mr. Rixey; Catharine Jeanet married Dr. H. G. Davis; Mary Caroline married Thomas Boroughs, Jr.

The Revolutionary services of Capt. William Armistead, copied from archives at Washington, D. C., Record Book E, vol 8, p. 9:

"William Armistead was born in Elizabeth City, Va., about 1762. He entered the U. S. service at Williamsburg, Va., under Captain Spiller Dent, 1777, Virginia State Troops; marched to Valley Forge, joined Muhlenburg Brigade; pursued the British on their retreat through Jersey; was in the battle of Monmouth; afterwards detached from Muhlenburg Brigade and attached to troops under command of General Wayne and Major Llewry; marched to Hudson river; stationed between West Point and Stony Point for some time; was at the storming of Stony Point, 1779. After long service marched to New Brunswick on Raritan river; remained in Philadelphia some time. After serving three years, marched back to Williamsburg, Va., and was there with the other troops regularly discharged."

William Armistead, of Clarke county, Ala., is down on the U. S. Pension List for 1840.

The following additional facts as to his family are supplied by William B. Newman, of Talladega:

John Morriss and his wife, Elizabeth Lee Armistead, had four children:

(1) William Armistead, married Nancy, a sister of the late William J. Hearin, of Mobile.

(2) Rebecca Kimbell, married Thomas Boroughs, brother of Westwood Armistead's wife.

(3) Washington.

(4) Martha Jane, married Samuel Forwood, a Marylander,

who was executor, with Westwood Armistead, of William Armistead's will.

Rebecca Kimbell Morriss had by her husband, Thomas Boroughs, the following children:

(1) Anne Elizabeth, married (1) Henley W. Coate, first judge of probate of Clarke; (2) James Addison Newman, of Orange county, Virginia.

(2) William Morriss, married Laura Jenkins, of Monroe county.

(3) Thomas, married his cousin, Mary Caroline Smith.

(4) Martha Jane, married her cousin, Captain Thomas Isham Kimbell, of Clarke.

(5) Rebecca, married Frank Stallworth, of Falls county, Texas, a native of Conecuh county, Ala.

(6) Mary Louise, died unmarried.

(7) Bryan, married Elizabeth, daughter of James Shelton Dickinson, a member of the second Confederate congress.

REUBEN BLANKENSHIP.

"Simple they were, not savage; and their rifles
Though very true were yet not used for trifles."

Reuben Blankenship is mentioned in the list of Alabama pensioners in the U. S. Census for 1840. His age then was given as seventy-three; so he was born about 1767 and was a youth during the Revolution. In 1840 he was living in Coosa county, and he was buried at Poplar Springs church in that county.

This information was given by D. B. Oden, of Childersburg, Ala.

THOMAS BRADFORD.

"The night dew that falls though in silence it weeps
Shall brighten with verdure the grass where he sleeps."
—*Thomas Moore.*

The following description of the grave of this Revolutionary soldier was copied from Rev. T. H. Ball's *Clarke County, Alabama,* p. 476. The writer has endeavored vainly by correspondence and advertisements to obtain information of the life and descendants of Mr. Bradford. Apparently he is totally forgotten by the world and "in this secluded nook where peace and quiet reign,

this honored soldier sleeps his last long dreamless sleep forever." Ball says:

"Not many miles north of Amity church, on this same Choctaw line, stands the grave and memorial stone of another Revolutionary soldier.

"THOMAS BRADFORD.—A slight enclosure surrounds this lone burial spot, and the headstone, with its few and simple words, reminds every passer-by of man's mortality, and also that the dust is sleeping there of one of the soldiers of '76, the Immortal Band of whom a South Carolina patriot, and eloquent Christian lawyer, asks the touching, the thrilling question, 'Shall they meet again in the amaranthine bowers of spotless purity, of perfect bliss, of eternal glory?'

"Thomas Bradford had two sons, Brasil and Nathan."

JAMES CALDWELL,

"Green be the graves where our heroes are lying."

This Revolutionary soldier is buried in the cemetery at old Davisville, in Calhoun county, Ala., one and one-half miles south of Iron City station, twelve miles east of Anniston, on the Southern railroad. The "oldest inhabitant" could give no information concerning the soldier.

The tomb is built of brick; about 8 feet long, 6½ feet wide, and 5 feet high. The shingles of the roof are badly rotted. A plain marble tablet is let into the wall of the tomb, bearing this inscription:

Sacred
to the memory of
JAMES CALDWELL,
who died October 2nd,
1847;
in the 98th year
of his age.
He was a soldier of the Revolution.

The above account was furnished by W. B. Bowling, of Lafayette, Ala.

Efforts have been made in vain to find the history of this old soldier. It is said that he came from South Carolina. He is another one of those forgotten heroes whose graves are scattered over the State.

"To forget the heroic past, is to introduce the germ of future decay."

JERRY CHANCELLOR.

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

This soldier of the Revolution is buried in a country churchyard at Pine Level Methodist church, in Autauga county, eighteen miles west of Montgomery.

A short sketch of the life of Jerry Chancellor may be found in the *Memorial Record of Alabama,* vol. ii., p. 895. He was born in England and came to America with his father and two brothers, when sixteen years of age. This was during the Revolutionary war. After remaining a short time in Virginia, the father and his two oldest sons, William and Jerry, came to South Carolina, leaving the youngest son, Jackson Chancellor, in Virginia. Tradition says that Chancellorsville, Virginia, was named for the family of this youngest son.

When the Chancellors arrived in South Carolina they found the war raging violently all around them and it became necessary for them to decide what their own course should be. The father, whose loyalty to England could not be shaken, told his sons that he should join the British; the sons declared that they admired the Americans for standing up for their rights and they intended to cast their lots with the people of their adopted country. The father and sons never met again, but fought on opposite sides until the close of the Revolutionary war. We do not know in what regiment Jerry Chancellor served, but Saffell's *Records,* p. 293, states that Nov. 1, 1779, William Chancellor was a private in the South Carolina regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. Francis Marion, Seventh Company, Thomas Dunbar, captain.

Jerry Chancellor married Galatea Gilbert and settled in South Carolina after the Revolution, where he remained until 1818, when he organized a colony in South Carolina and came with them to Alabama. They settled on the Autauga side of the Alabama river. He remained with this colony until his death. Descendants of Jerry Chancellor are now living in Childersburg and in Coosa county. His grandson, William S. Chancellor, was one of the oldest Masons in Alabama.

JAMES COLLIER.

"And who were they our fathers? In their veins
Ran the best blood of England's gentlemen,
Her bravest in the strife on battle plains,
Her wisest in the strife of voice and pen."

—*Halleck.*

James Collier, a Revolutionary soldier, is buried on his plantation near Triana, Madison county, Alabama, about twenty miles from Huntsville.

His wife is buried beside him and their monuments, with inscriptions, are now standing in a full state of preservation in the old family burying ground. The inscriptions are as follows:

To the memory of
JAMES COLLIER,
who was born in Lunenburg Co., Va., Oct. 13th, A. D. 1757, and died the 20th of August, A. D. 1832.
"And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself and my eyes shall behold and not another."

To the memory of
ELIZABETH BOULDIN,
of Charlotte Co., Va., wife of James Collier, who was born the 13th of Feb., A. D. 1763, and died the 23d of Feb., A. D. 1828.
"All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as a flower of the field, for the wind passeth over it and it is gone and the place thereof shall know it no more."

James Collier was the son of Cornelius Collier and Elizabeth Wyatt, of Lunenburg county, Va., He was descended from Charles Collier, of King and Queen county, Va., on his father's side, and his mother was nearly related to Sir Francis Wyatt, Colonial governor of Virginia. It was the old flax wheel of his (James Collier's) cousin, Mary Collier, the ancestor of the late Prof. G. Brown Goode, which suggested the insignia of the Daughters of the American Revolution. James Collier was wounded at the battle of Eutaw Springs by a sabre cut across his cheek, in a hand-to-hand encounter with a British soldier. He killed the soldier and carried the scar on his face to his grave. His brother, Wyatt Collier, was killed at the same battle when only a boy.

James Collier married Elizabeth Bouldin, July 3, 1788, daughter of James Bouldin and Sally Watkins, of Charlotte county, Va. He was a large land owner in Lunenburg county and resided there until 1802, when he, with his little family, followed his father and other relatives to Abbeville District, South Carolina. He was a large planter in that State until 1818, when he followed his sons to the territory of Alabama, his older sons having settled in that part of the Mississippi territory, now Alabama, in 1812. He settled on a large plantation in Madison county, where he lived and died.

His wife, Elizabeth Bouldin, was the daughter of James Bouldin, who was the oldest son of Colonel Thomas Bouldin of Colonial fame, who settled in Lunenburg (now Charlotte) county, Virginia, in 1744, coming from Pennsylvania. His wife was Nancy Clark, niece of Captain Richard Wood of the English navy. This family of Bouldins are noted for their intellect and their love for the legal profession. Virginia boasts there has never been a generation without a judge, even to the present day. This couple left a large family of sons, but there were only four grandsons among the grandchildren. Governor Henry Watkins Collier was a son of James Collier. He was closely connected with the politics of Alabama from 1822 until his death in 1855.

The ancestry of James Collier is as follows:

(1) Charles Collier of King and Queen county, Virginia. One of his children,—

(2) John Collier, Sr., (1680-1735), who was married three times, by his third wife, Nancy Eyres, had issue, among others:

(3) Cornelius Collier, born 1725, married Elizabeth Wyatt in Gloucester county, Va., about 1750, lived in Lunenburg county, Va., was a soldier in the Revolution and moved to Abbeville District, South Carolina in 1788; he had four sons and one of them was—

(4) James Collier, the subject of this sketch.

The facts of this article were furnished by his great-granddaughter, Miss Elizabeth R. Benagh. James Collier is mentioned in the *Memorial Record of Alabama,* vol. ii, p. 415.

REV. ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

"Soldier of Christ, well done!"

Rev. Robert Cunningham lies buried near the central part of the old cemetery in Tuscaloosa. A stately marble shaft marks

his grave; the epitaph which covers the four sides of the shaft is in Latin, showing among other things that he had been a soldier of the Revolution, and pastor of Presbyterian churches in Georgia and in Lexington, Kentucky.

These inscriptions are as follows:

On the west face:

Hic Sepultus Jacet
Vir ille
Admodum reverendus
ROBERTUS M. CUNNINGHAM, D. D.
Belli Revolutionis,
Americanae miles fidelis.
etiamque
Crucis Domini Jesu Christi:

On the east face:

Ecclesiae Presb.
in Republica Georgiae
Pastor
Multos annos.
Et in urbe Lexingtonia
Rep. Kentuckiensis
Eundem honorem tulit.

On the south face:

Qui
De Religione, de Patria
Optime meritus:
Maximo suorum
et bonorum omnium
Desiderio
Mortem obiit,
Die Jul. XI: Anno Domini:
MDCCCXXXIX:
Aetatis suae
LXXX.

On the north face:

Uxor dilectissima
Hoc monumentum
ponendum
Curavit.

The facts concerning the life of this distinguished man are mostly taken from Saunders' *Early Settlers of Alabama*, p. 197. The author says that the importance of historical societies is shown from the fact that very little information could be obtained for this biography from any source until he wrote to the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, when he promptly received a circumstantial account of the events of his life.

Robert M. Cunningham, a son of Roger and Mary Cunningham, was born in York county, Pennsylvania, September 10, 1760. In 1775 his parents removed to North Carolina. Query 293 of the Historical and Genealogical Department of the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser* states that "Roger Cunningham and wife, —— Sturgeon, removed from near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, just previous to the Revolutionary war. They had six children,—Robert, William, James, Nelly, Mary and Margaret." There is little room to doubt that this is the same family as that of the subject of this sketch, and that his mother's name was Mary Sturgeon.

Robert served as a youthful soldier in the North Carolina contingent during the Revolutionary war, but it is not known to what regiment he was attached. At the close of the war he went to school to the Rev. Robert Finley, Mr. Robert McCulloch and the Rev. Joseph Alexander. In 1787, being 26 years of age, he entered the junior class in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., and graduated in 1789.

On leaving college he returned to his parents and taught school while he studied theology. He was licensed to preach by the First Presbytery of South Carolina in 1792. Here he married his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles and Mary Moore, of Spartanburg District. A sketch of the life of Charles Moore is given in J. B. Landrum's *History of Spartanburg*, p. 189. He was a brave and faithful old patriot. Elizabeth died November 3, 1794, leaving a daughter who died young.

In the autumn of 1792 he went to Georgia and organized a church called Ebenezer, in Hancock county; he also preached at Bethany church. October 15, 1795, he married Betsy Ann, daughter of Joseph Parks, of Prince Edward county, Virginia, and by this marriage he had five sons, one of whom was the Rev. Joseph Cunningham, a minister of ability. October 14, 1805, he married

as a third wife, Emily, daughter of Col. William Bird, of Warren county, Georgia, originally from Pennsylvania, who survived him. Hers was a family of distinction.—See Dubose's *Life of Yancey*. Three of her aunts on her father's side married signers of the Declaration of Independence, James Wilson and George Ross, of Pennsylvania, and George Read, of Delaware. Her sister, Caroline Bird, married Benjamin Cudworth Yancey, and was the mother of the great Southern orator, William Lowndes Yancey. Another sister, Louisa Bird, married Capt. Robert Cunningham of "Rosemont," South Carolina, a gentleman of great wealth, liberality and high culture, and an officer in the war of 1812. Their daughter, Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, was the founder of the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Memorial Association and was its first regent. Another sister married Jesse Beene, of Cahaba, Alabama, a distinguished lawyer and politician. A brother, Will E. Bird, was county judge of Dallas county, Alabama, 1836. It is a singular coincidence that Emily Bird married Rev. Robert Cunningham, of Georgia, and another sister, Louisa Bird, married Capt. Robert Cunningham, of South Carolina. Rev. Robert Cunningham at the time of this marriage must have won much distinction in a ministerial and social respect. By this last marriage he had a son, Robert, a physician, who died in Sumter county, Alabama, and three daughters,—Mrs. Maltby, Mrs. Wilson and Louisa.

In 1807 he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, and was installed pastor of the First Presbyterian church. This town was even then celebrated for its wealth and intellectual culture and this pulpit required a minister of learning and eloquence. He remained in Lexington until 1822, when he removed to Moulton, in North Alabama. He had been laboring as a minister for thirty years, and, requiring some relaxation, he bought a plantation but preached in Moulton and surrounding villages. In 1826 he bought a farm eleven miles from Tuscaloosa and removed there. He built up churches in Tuscaloosa and at Carthage; he also preached occasionally at Greensboro, where his son, Joseph, was pastor. For eight years he preached a free gospel at Tuscaloosa. He preached his last sermon in 1838. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from Franklin College, Georgia (now the University), in 1827. In 1836 he removed to Tuscaloosa, and he died there on the 11th of July, 1839, 80 years of age. Dr. Cunningham was a man

of impressive appearance; his height was more than six feet and his form was well developed; his features were good with expressive eyes; he was a man of learning, eloquence and power in preaching; a man of charity, beloved by Christians of all denominations, and his tenderness in preaching opened many hearts. This old saint was called in Alabama "Father Cunningham"; and he is thus described in Nall's *Dead of the Synod of Alabama*: "Very few men ever exhibited more of clear and sound intellect—of tender, melting pathos—and of bold and manly eloquence—than did this patriarch of the church."

GEN. JOHN ARCHER ELMORE.

"America shall not perish but endure while the spirit of our fathers animates the sons."

Elmore county was named in honor of Gen. Elmore. He was deservedly popular for his "candor, good sense and sociability."

He was buried in the old family burying ground at the old homestead, "Huntington," in Elmore county. The following inscription is upon his tombstone:

In
Memory of
GEN. JOHN ARCHER ELMORE,
who was born in
Prince Edward County, Va.,
August the 21st, 1762,
and died in
Autauga County, Ala.,
April the 24th, 1834,
aged 71 yrs. 8 mos. & 3 days.
He was a soldier of the Revolution
in the Virginia line
and afterwards a member of the Legislature of So. Ca., and a General in
the militia.
He was a member of the Legislature of
Alabama
and filled various other offices of Honor
and Trust in both States.
He was an affectionate husband,
a kind and indulgent father,
a humane master,
a devoted friend, and
a patriot citizen.

Gen. John Archer Elmore was born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, Aug. 21, 1762, and died in Autauga county, Alabama, April 24, 1834. He entered the Revolutionary service, a mere lad, in Greene's command in the Virginia line; was with him in his tour through the Carolinas, and with him at the surrender at Yorktown. This is shown by the archives in Washington; O'Neal's *Bench and Bar of South Carolina,* vol. ii, pp. 85, 88, and Brewer's *Alabama,* p. 109. After the Revolution he settled in Laurens district, South Carolina, and resided there many years, during which time he was often a member of the legislature. He moved to Autauga county, Alabama, in 1819 and served one term in the house of representatives from this county.

His first wife was Miss Saxon, by whom he had two sons: Hon. Franklin H. Elmore, of South Carolina, who succeeded Mr. Calhoun in the United States senate, and Benjamin F. Elmore, treasurer of South Carolina. His second wife, Miss Ann Martin, was a member of the famous Martin family of South Carolina, and descended also from the Marshall family of Virginia, and from Lieutenant Nathaniel Terry, of Virginia. By this second marriage there were five sons and several daughters. One of the daughters married Gov. Benj. Fitzpatrick, another married Hon. Dixon H. Lewis of Lowndes; another married Dr. J. T. Hearne, of Lowndes, and she is still (1904) living in Montgomery. The sons were Hon. John A. Elmore, a distinguished lawyer in Montgomery; William A. Elmore, a lawyer in New Orleans since 1835, superintendent of the mint until the outbreak of the war, and who died in Philadelphia in 1891; Capt. Rush Elmore, who commanded a company in the Mexican war and was territorial judge of Kansas; Henry Elmore, who was probate judge of Macon county prior to the war, and who afterwards moved to Texas; Albert Elmore, of Montgomery, secretary of State in 1865 and collector of customs in Mobile under President Johnson.—*Memorial Record of Alabama,* vol. ii, p. 427.

THOMAS HAMILTON.

"Nor while the grass grows on the hill, and streams flow through the vale
May we forget our father's deeds or in their covenant fail."

Thomas Hamilton, one of the five children of David Hamilton and Margaret Carlisle, was born in Belfast, Ireland, April 9,

1758. Their family emigrated to America about 1762, landing in Virginia after a voyage of nearly three months. Upon their arrival, David Hamilton settled in Culpeper county, where he lived with one of his sons. Thomas Hamilton was married on the 28th of May, 1782, to Temperance Arnold, daughter of Benjamin Arnold and Ann Hendrick of South Carolina. During the Revolution, Benjamin Arnold, an old man, left South Carolina on account of the troubles resulting from the war, and carried his family for greater safety to Culpeper county, Va., where they became acquainted with Thomas Hamilton. After their marriage in 1782, they returned to the old home of Benjamin Arnold in South Carolina, where they settled upon a place between Andy creek on the east and Horse creek on the west in Greenville district. Here they lived until 1821, when they moved to Butler county, Ala., near Greenville, and remained there until 1826, when they moved to Lowndes county, ten miles south of Benton, where they both died. They are buried in Watkins cemetery, near Collirene, Lowndes county. Thomas died in August, 1844, aged 86, and his wife July 22, 1849, aged 87. The spot is marked by a marble obelisk, erected to the memory of the family. The following inscription, with no dates, is among others: "Thomas and Temperance Hamilton rest here." Thomas Hamilton was with Sumter but not in the regular army. He was at the battles of the Cowpens, Eutaw Springs and King's Mountain. He was in the brigade commanded by Colonel Campbell at the latter place. After his death in 1844, over sixty years after the Revolutionary war, few of the participants of that mighty struggle were left on earth. The citizens of Lowndes county asked permission to bury him with military honors.

This account was prepared by a descendant, Gordon Rives Catts, now a cadet at West Point. The name of Thomas Hamilton of Lowndes county, Ala., may be found in the *Census of Pensioners for 1840.*

WILLIAM HEARNE.

"There be of them that have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported."—*Ecclesiasticus.*

In the *Memorial Record of Alabama,* vol. ii, p. 426, mention is made of William Hearne from North Carolina, a Revolutionary

soldier, and it states that he died in Lowndes county, Ala. The grave is in a private burying ground which is now on the plantation belonging to I. D. Hauser of Opelika. It is on that part of the plantation that he bought of the Mickle estate, and very near Manack Station. It is surrounded by a brick wall and apparently contains three or four graves.

William Hearne was a great-grandson of William Hearne of Maryland (1630), a wealthy merchant and planter. Thomas Hearne, a son of this colonist, married Sally Wingate; he had twelve children, one of them, Nehemiah, married Betty ——— and lived in Somerset county, Md. A son of Nehemiah, William Hearne, was born in Somerset county, Md., in 1746; he married his cousin, Tabitha Hearne, and moved to North Carolina, when it was a new country. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war he enlisted and served during the seven years and only missed being at General Gates' defeat at Camden by being left behind with smallpox. He came to Alabama in 1819; he died September 21, 1832, in Lowndes county, Ala. These facts are obtained from the *Hearne History*, p. 383.

He left many descendants, among them may be mentioned the late Dr. Joseph T. Hearne, physician and extensive planter of St. Clair, Lowndes county.

JACOB HOLLAND.

"Not honor they sought, nor life's shallow fame,
Nor glory, nor hope of renown."

Very little is known of this Revolutionary soldier, who came from South Carolina and is buried at Hebron churchyard, in Greene county.

The following inscription is upon his tombstone:

Sacred to the
memory of
JACOB & SARAH HOLLAND
Jacob
departed this life
Oct. 1st, 1852,
Aged 91 years.
Sarah
May 13th, 1851,
Aged 87 years.

CHARLES HOOKS.

"O few and weak their numbers were—
A handful of brave men
But to their God they gave their prayer
And rushed to battle then."

Charles Hooks is buried in Montgomery county, about twenty miles from the city of Montgomery, in a family burial ground on his plantation. It is now known as the "Old Moulton Place." His services in the Revolution in North Carolina are mentioned in Wheeler's *History of North Carolina,* and Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution.* There is an interesting chapter in the latter book, called "Mary Slocumb," which gives a delightful account of the beautiful home and patriotic deeds of Mary Hooks Slocumb, elder sister of Charles Hooks. Her husband was Lieutenant Ezekiel Slocumb, who raised a troop of light horse to watch the enemy and punish the Tories. In April, 1781, just after the battle of Guilford Court House, the British colonel, Tarleton, made his headquarters at the Slocumb home in Wayne county. Charles Hooks, a lad of thirteen at the time, was away with his brother-in-law, Lieut. Slocumb, in hot pursuit of some Tory marauders. They narrowly escaped being captured upon their return, as they were ignorant of the fact that a thousand men were in possession of their home, but the warning of a faithful slave enabled them to retreat with safety.

Charles Hooks was born in Bertie county, North Carolina, February 20th, 1768, and died in Montgomery county, Alabama, on the 18th of October, 1843. After the Revolution he married Mary Ann Hunter; she was the daughter of Isaac Hunter and Priscilla ———, and granddaughter of Isaac Hunter of Chowan, N. C., who died in 1752, and whose will is on file among the records at Edenton, N. C.

Charles Hooks became a man of distinction. He went to the legislature from Duplin county in 1802-03-04 and again in 1810-11. He served seven years as a member of Congress in 1816-17 and again from 1819 to 1825. He moved to Alabama in 1826.

The descent of Charles Hooks is as follows:

(1) William Hooks, of Chowan county, North Carolina, who died in 1751 at an advanced age. Issue: William and John.

(2) John Hooks died in 1732; his wife was Ruth ———; several children, among others,

(3) Thomas Hooks, who married (1) Anna ———, and had children Mary, Charles and one other; married (2) Mrs. John Charles Slocumb.

Many descendants of Charles Hooks are living in Alabama.

COL. JOSEPH HUGHES.

"Give them the meed they have won in the past,
Give them the honors their merits forecast."

Col. Joseph Hughes came from Union district, South Carolina, to Greene county, Alabama, in 1825. He was buried at Hebron cemetery in that county.

The inscription upon his tomb is as follows:

In memory of
COL. JOSEPH HUGHES,
who departed this life
September 4th, 1834.
Aged 85 years.

He was twice married; the name of his first wife has not been ascertained. She left seven children; their names were William, Wright, Joseph, Mary, Martha, Sarah and Jane. Col. Joseph Hughes married for a second wife, Annie Brown of South Carolina; they had three children, Stewart, James and Annie. She was an aunt of Governor Albert G. Brown, of Mississippi. Her brother, John Brown, was killed at the battle of Cowpens. All of the children of Col. Hughes came to Alabama except William, who married and settled in South Carolina, and Wright, who was captain of a steamboat on Broad river in South Carolina. Mary married ——— Kennedy; Martha, ——— Morris; Sarah, ——— Maberry; Jane, ——— Bruner; Annie, ——— White.

Col. Hughes was a consistent member of the Presbyterian church. He is well remembered by Mrs. Jay, of Benevola, Ala., who is now (1904) in her ninetieth year. She has often heard him speak of his experiences in the Revolutionary war and she has seen and handled his sword and pistol which were sacredly preserved because of their Revolutionary associations.

Some of the brave exploits of Lieut. Joseph Hughes are described in Saye's *Memoir of McJunkin;* an interesting biographical sketch of him may be found in a pamphlet entitled *The Life of Col. James D. Williams* (1898), by Rev. J. D. Bailey; and

several notices of Capt. Joseph Hughes occur in Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes,* from which the following brief account of his life is taken, pp. 122, 129, 131-33, 277.

"He was born in what is now Chester county, South Carolina, in 1761, his parents having retired there temporarily from the present region of Union county, on account of Indian troubles. He served in 1776 on Williamson's Cherokee expedition and subsequently in Georgia. Governor Rutledge, early in 1780, commissioned him as a lieutenant and he fought under Sumter at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock; and then shared in the heroic action of Musgrove's Mill. His dare-devil character and adventurous services in the up-country region of South Carolina during the summer and autumn of 1780 have already been related.

"Then we find him taking part in the memorable engagements at King's Mountain, Hammond's Store and Cowpens. Though yet a lieutenant, he commanded his company in this latter action. He was not only a man of great personal strength, but of remarkable fleetness on foot. As his men with others broke at the Cowpens and fled before Tarleton's cavalry; and though receiving a sabre cut across his right hand, yet with his drawn sword, he would out-run his men, and passing them, face about and command them to stand, striking right and left to enforce obedience to orders; often repeating with a loud voice: 'You d—d cowards, halt and fight,—there is more danger in running than in fighting, and if you don't stop and fight you will all be killed.'

"But most of them were for a while too demoralized to realize the situation or to obey their officers. As they would scamper off, Hughes would renewedly pursue and once more gaining their front would repeat his tactics to bring them to their duty. At length the company was induced to make a stand on the brow of a slope, some distance from the battle line behind a clump of young pines that partially concealed and protected them from Tarleton's cavalry. Others now joined them for self-protection. Their guns were loaded quickly and they were themselves again. Morgan galloped up and spoke words of encouragement to them. The next moment the British cavalry were at them; but the Whigs reserved their fire till the enemy were so near that it was terribly effective, emptying many a British saddle, when the survivors recoiled. Now Colonel Washington gave them a charge,—the bat-

tle was restored when Howard with his Marylanders with the bayonet, swept the field. Tarleton acknowledges that 'an unexpected fire from the Americans, who came about as they were retreating, stopped the British and threw them into confusion' when a panic ensued and then a general flight. It was a high and worthy compliment from his old commander, Colonel Brandon, who declared that at the Cowpens 'Hughes saved the fate of the day.'

"As a deserved recognition of these meritorious services he was promoted to a captaincy early in 1781, when he was scarcely twenty years of age and led his company with characteristic valor at the battle of Eutaw Springs. The Tories had killed his father during the war and many a dear friend, and his animosity against the whole race was alike bitter and unrelenting. In 1825 he removed to Alabama, first to Greene county and then to Pickens, where he died in September, 1834, in his seventy-fourth year. For more than twenty of the closing years of his life he was an elder in the Presbyterian church and the rough and almost tiger-like partisan became as humble and submissive as a lamb. He rose to the rank of colonel in the militia. He was tall and commanding in his appearance, jovial and affable in conversation; yet his early military training rendered him to the last stern and rigid in discipline. In all that makes up the man he was a noble specimen of the Revolutionary hero."

JOHN WADE KEYES.

"No lack is in your parent stock
No weakling founders builded here;
They were the men of Plymouth Rock—
The Puritan and Cavalier."

The last resting place of this Revolutionary soldier is in an old family burial ground upon his plantation, three miles from Athens on the Huntsville road. His lovely rural home was situated upon a hill about half a mile from Swan creek. His wife, Louisa Talbot Keyes, lies beside him. John Wade Keyes was born in Mystic, near Boston, Mass., Sept. 25, 1752, and died near Athens, Ala., Feb. 13, 1839. His ancestry and many acts of his life are told in a book of the Keyes family called *Solomon Keyes and His Descendants,* by Judge Asa Keyes, of Vermont, published in Battleboro. We find from this that he was the son of Capt. Humphrey Keyes and Marcella Wade. His father was a sea captain of

Boston. After many successful voyages he was wrecked and taken captive by the Algerines. He was a prisoner for years, but finally made his escape. Upon his return to Boston he took John, his oldest son, and went down into Virginia. An old family record in Tennessee shows that Capt. Humphrey Keyes in 1775 was proprietor of "Keyes Ferry" on the Shenandoah river. A member of the family has now in his possession a letter written by General Washington relative to the survey of the Keyes Ferry tract on the Shenandoah near Charleston, Jefferson county, Virginia. John Wade Keyes married January 27, 1773, in Virginia, Louisa Talbot, niece of President Monroe. She was born near Alexandria, Va., April 20, 1756, and died near Athens, Nov. 6, 1836. This happy couple lived together for sixty-three years.

Early in the Revolutionary war there was a call made for volunteers under Gen. John Thomas in the Shenandoah Valley. John Wade Keyes was the second man to enlist; he was engaged in the battles of Bunker Hill, Lexington, Trenton, White Plains, Princeton, Brandywine and King's Mountain. Capt. John Keyes settled near Alexandria, Virginia, moved thence to the vicinity of Blountsville, Sullivan county, East Tennessee, and finally to Athens, Limestone county, Alabama, where he was one of the pioneer settlers. It is said that he would never consent to apply for a pension and when asked for his reasons he would reply, "I fought for patriotism, not pensions." He greatly honored and loved George Washington and he showed his admiration by naming his twin sons for him; one was called George and the other Washington. George Keyes commanded a company under Gen. Jackson and was afterwards made a brigadier-general of militia. Among the descendants of John Wade Keyes were Chancellor Wade Keyes, one of the most prominent jurists that Alabama has produced; George P. Keyes, a noted journalist; Col. John B. Richardson, of New Orleans, commander of the famous "Washington Artillery" during the war, and others of distinction at the present day.

EPHRAIM KIRBY.

"They battled for God, their country's fair name
And the flag that never came down."

Ephraim Kirby was the first Superior Court judge in what is now Alabama. He was also the first General Grand High Priest

of the Royal Arch Masons of the United States, 1798-1804, and he is probably the highest ranking Mason ever buried in Alabama. Judge Kirby was the grandfather of Edmund Kirby Smith, the distinguished Confederate general. The following sketch of his life is condensed from a paper[2] read by Hon. Thomas M. Owen before the Alabama State Bar Association, June 29, 1901:

"Mr. Kirby was born Feb. 23, 1757, in Judea Society, Ancient Woodbury, Conn., and was the son of Abraham Kirby, a farmer. The house in which he was born has long since been destroyed, but the land on which it stood is still known as 'the Kirby farm.' About 1763 his parents removed to Litchfield, Conn. His boyhood days were spent in the occupation usually engaging a farmer's lad, but incidents of these years, and of his early education are wanting.

"However, he was trained as a patriot, for on the news of the battle of Lexington, he joined a company of volunteers and arrived at Boston in time to take part in the battle of Bunker Hill. In the latter part of 1776, together with other young men of Litchfield county, he united in forming a company of volunteer cavalry. The men furnished their own horses and equipment; and served about two years. The following is Mr. Kirby's record for this period of service; 'Ephraim Kirby, private, enlisted Dec. 24, 1776, of Litchfield, farmer. Stature 5 ft. 6, complexion dark, eyes dark, hair brown. Discharged Aug. 7, 1778.' His daring and bravery were conspicuous on many fields. He was in many battles and skirmishes. In the engagement at Elk river he received seven sabre cuts on the head, and was left on the field as dead. From the fearful cuts on his head he is said to have lost a portion of his brain, and he was for a long time unconscious. However, his intelligence was suddenly restored, and he at once re-entered the service of his country, continuing active until independence was achieved. At one time he was a lieutenant in a Rhode Island company. In all he is said to have been in nineteen battles and skirmishes, receiving thirteen wounds, including the sabre cuts already mentioned. These honorable evidences of service he carried with him to the grave.

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[2] This paper was recast by Mr. Owen and published in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. xxxiii, July, 1902, pp. 129-134, with a full page likeness.

"The Revolutionary War ended, with widened experience and aspiration he set about preparing himself for an enlarged sphere of usefulness. For awhile he was a student in Yale College, but he did not graduate. In 1787 his alma mater conferred upon him the degree of master of arts in recognition, doubtless, of his expanding reputation. In Litchfield resided Reynold Marvin, who before the war had been King's attorney, but who had relinquished his official station to throw himself with the cause of the colonists. Determining to embrace the profession of the law, Mr. Kirby entered the office of Mr. Marvin, and under his instruction he was soon admitted to the bar. It was at this time, having entered upon the practice, that he married Ruth Marvin, the daughter of his patron and teacher. From this time forth until his removal to the Southwest, although interested in many other matters, he practiced his profession in Litchfield. A fact is now to be noted which is of unusual interest. In 1789 he compiled and published the *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Court of the State of Connecticut, from the year 1785, to May, 1788,* which has the unique distinction of being the first volume of law reports published in America. His work indicates rare legal ability, and is still authority in the courts. Mr. Kirby the same year took the initiative in another matter of great moment. He wrote the pledge and organized the first society, having for its object the promotion of temperance, ever formed in America.

"With a view to bringing about a better condition in the Mississippi Territory, Congress by act of March 27, 1804, provided 'That there shall be appointed an additional judge for the Mississippi Territory, who shall reside at or near the Tombigbee settlement, and who shall possess and exercise, within the district of Washington, * * * the jurisdiction heretofore possessed and exercised by the Superior Court of the said Territory,' etc., which jurisdiction was made exclusive, with right of appeal, however, to the Superior Court at Natchez.

"Under this act President Thomas Jefferson, on April 6, 1804, appointed Ephraim Kirby as 'the additional judge.' His commission is as follows, the copy being supplied from the records of the secretary of state at Washington:

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That reposing special Trust and confidence in the Wisdom, Uprightness and Learning of Ephraim Kirby, of Connecticut, and in pursuance of an Act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the twenty-seventh day of March, 1804, entitled "An Act for the appointment of an additional Judge for the Mississippi Territory, and for other purposes," I do appoint him the additional Judge for the said Territory to reside at or near the Tombigbee settlement; and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that Office according to law, and to Have and to Hold the said Office with all the powers, privileges and emoluments to the same of right appertaining during his good behaviour, and to the end of the next Session of the Senate of the United States, and no longer.

In Testimony Whereof, I have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

GIVEN under my Hand at the City of Washington, the Sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand [SEAL.] eight hundred and four, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Twenty Eighth.

TH. JEFFERSON.

By the President:

JAMES MADISON,
Secretary of State.

"At best Judge Kirby could not have held more than one term of court, for he died on Oct. 20, 1804, at Fort Stoddert. As the U. S. government maintained a cantonment there, with a body of soldiers, his remains were interred with all the honors of war and other demonstrations of respect. His body was laid away in the little cemetery to await the last judgment. Mt. Vernon, as is known, is now in the hands of the Alabama Insane Hospitals. One of the trustees of this institution, Col. Sam'l Will John, on being told by the writer, some months ago, of his discoveries as to Judge Kirby, made local inquiry at Mt. Vernon in reference to the matter. In response a communication was received by him from Thomas Rogers, of Mt. Vernon, from which the following pertinent extract is made:

" 'I arrived in Mt. Vernon Jan. 14, 1850. When I came here I visited Fort Stoddert. I found the remains of chimneys, which were built of sand rock; they have since been removed by negroes.

I also found broken delf, and the neck of champagne bottles. In the cemetery, a little north of Fort Stoddert, on the lake, I found a red cedar board, at the head of a grave, with the name nicely cut, "Ephraim Kirby, died Oct. 4th, [20] 1804." * * * This board was the only one left to show where the cemetery was. I afterwards visited the place, and found that the board had been destroyed by forest fires.' And so it is that there is now no monument to mark the grave; and indeed the exact location of the grave will be hard to identify.

"In conclusion I think it may with all propriety be claimed that Alabama has a part in the splendid heritage left by this distinguished man. Certainly there is in his life much to emulate. Strong of mind and will, patriotic in all crises, far-seeing and constructive in his mental operations, he towers above scores of his public contemporaries, as does the mountain peak above the hill. He was essentially a pioneer—the first to edit a published volume of official decisions and reports, the founder of the first organized temperance movement in America, and the first Superior Court judge in what is now Alabama. An old lawyer of Litchfield pays this warm tribute to his worth: 'Colonel Kirby was a man of the highest moral as well as physical courage, devoted in his feelings and aspirations, warm, generous, and constant in his attachments, and of indomitable energy. He was withal gentle and winning in his manners, kindly in his disposition, and naturally of an ardent and cheerful temperament, though the last few years of his life were saddened by heavy pecuniary misfortunes. As a lawyer he was remarkable for frankness and downright honesty to his clients, striving to prevent litigation and effecting compromises. He enjoyed the friendship of many of the sages of the Revolution.' "

DAVID LINDSAY.

"No matter whence they came,
Dear is their lifeless clay—
Whether unknown or known to fame,
Their cause and country were the same."

—*Father Ryan.*

This soldier lies buried at Elliottsville, Shelby county. This fact was furnished by D. B. Oden, of Childersburg, Ala., and the writer has been unable to learn anything more.

CHARLES LITTLETON.

"Though the patriot's form to earth be given
He lives in deeds which ever point to Heaven."

This soldier was from Maryland or Virginia. He rests in a little country graveyard, fifteen miles from Florence, in Lauderdale county, Alabama. This graveyard is nearly a mile from Bethel Grove Methodist church; the church being on Middle Cypress creek. He drew a pension and his grave is marked by a stone which bears this inscription:

CHARLES LITTLETON.
Revolutionary Soldier.
Died March 29th, 1848, at 3 o'clock P. M.
Aged about 103 or 105 years.

A descendant gives information that Charles Littleton was the son of Solomon Littleton, an Englishman, who owned land at or near Washington City, and is said to have built the first house on the site of Washington. He joined the rebellious colonists and, in revenge, the English captured him and placed him in a smallpox hospital at Ninety-Six, South Carolina, and thus took his life.

THOMAS LOFTON.

"He sleeps. No pompous pile marks where;
No lines his deeds describe."

This soldier came from Pendleton district, South Carolina, to Alabama. The young people of his neighborhood knew him as "Grandsire Lofton" and loved him for his kind and genial disposition; some are still living who remember his interesting stories of the Revolution. He was a member of the Presbyterian church. He is buried at Bethesda church near Benevola; no stone marks the last resting place of "Grandsire Lofton."

JAMES McCRORY.

"O Spirit of that early day
So pure and strong and true
Be with us in the narrow way
Our faithful fathers knew."

James McCrory is buried in a cemetery at "Old Bethany Church" (Primitive Baptist), near the town of Vienna in Pickens county. The following inscription is on his tombstone:

In Memory of
JAMES M'CRORY.
Died Nov. 24th, 1840, aged 82 years,
6 mo. and 9 days.
Deceased was a soldier of the Revolution and was at the
battles of Germantown, Brandywine and Guilford
Courthouse, and was one of Washington's life-
guard at Valley Forge and served his coun-
try faithfully during the war.
Peace to the soldier's dust.

He is remembered as a worthy man and upright citizen. His descendants have not been located. In the *U. S. Census of Pensioners* for 1840 he is described as living with Robert McCrory, probably a son.

The following account of him is copied from the *Tuscaloosa Flag of the Union,* December, 1840:

James McCrory was born May 15, 1758, at Larga, on the river Bann, in the county Antrim, Ireland. He sailed from Belfast in 1775 when he was 17 years old and landed at Baltimore July 1st, in the same year. In 1776 he settled in Guilford county, N. C., and enlisted in the Continental army in the same year. He was at the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, under General Washington at the battle of Germantown, and wintered at Valley Forge in 1777-78. Subsequently he fought under General Greene at Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781, was in the battle of Eutaw Springs, and in the battle of Stono. He was with General Gates at his defeat at Camden and with General Morgan in the glorious victory at the Cowpens. For courage, good service and meritorious conduct he was promoted to the rank of ensign in the Life Guard of General Washington, and while acting in this capacity, he was taken prisoner and confined on board a prison ship for six months. He came to Alabama while it was yet a territory, and made his home at Tuscaloosa for the last twenty-five years of his life. This true patriot died November 24, 1840, at the age of eighty-two.

There is a list of North Carolina Continental troops published in the *N. C. Historical and Genealogical Register,* on p. 424 of which we find the name of James McCrory, ensign in the Ninth regiment, under Col. John P. Williams, May 2, 1777. Thomas McCrory was a captain in the same regiment. The services of James McCrory are also stated in the proceedings of the 27th Con-

gress, 2d Session, in the Senate, February 4th, 1842, report of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims:

"James McCrory was a sergeant in Capt. Cook's company of the 9th regiment, enlisted on the 15th day of April, 1776, for the term of three years; on the 2d of May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of ensign. In January, 1778, the nine regiments which composed the line, being reduced to three, the supernumerary officers were sent home, of which he was one. He then joined the nine months' men and marched to the south and was at the battle of Stono, the 30th of June, 1779, and was at Gates' defeat in August, 1780, and was taken prisoner on the 24th of February, 1781, by Tarleton's dragoons and was kept prisoner four months at Wilmington and then paroled; and in November, 1782, he took prisoner Colonel Bryant, a British officer, and gave him up to a regular officer of the American army."

In spite of this array of gallant services the committee reported adversely because of some technicality; but as the old hero had then been dead two years he was probably not very deeply affected or disappointed by the decision.

DAVID MURRAY.

"They gave us freedom to be free
We give them immortality."

This Revolutionary soldier is buried in Talladega county. The tombstone bears the following inscription:

To the memory of
DAVID MURRAY,
a Revolutionary soldier, who
departed this life 8th day
November, 1840, in the 80th
year of his age.

David Murray was born in 1760; served in the Revolutionary War, and came from Prince Edward county, Virginia, just after the war and settled in Wilkes county, Georgia. He left several children, among others Hon. Thomas W. Murray, the oldest son, who was born in Lincoln county, Ga., in 1790, and became a man of distinction, being a candidate for Congress when he died. Murray county, Georgia, is named in honor of him.—White's *Statistics of Georgia.*

It is shown by the records in Washington, D. C., that one David

Murray served as a private in Captain Satterlee's company, Colonel Moses Hazen's regiment, Continental troops, Revolutionary War. He enlisted December 30, 1776; was taken prisoner August 27, ——, and returned to his company August 4, 1779. His name last appears as that of a private on a roll, not dated, "of Persons in the Congress' Own Regt. commanded by Col. Moses Hazen, Brig. Genl. by Brevet in the service of the U. S., 1783," with remarks: "When commissioned or enlisted, 30 Dec., 1776; How Long to serve, War, 1 year; Discharged by Commander-in-Chief at close of war, 17 June, 1783."

HARRISON NICHOLSON.

"The soldier's warfare all is done
Life's wandering marches o'er."

The grave of this soldier is in the cemetery in Tuskegee. This is the inscription upon his monument:

In memory of
HARRISON NICHOLSON
A Revolutionary Soldier,
Who was born on the 12th
day of March, A. D. 1760,
and departed this life
on the 28th day of June, 1841,
Aged 81 years, 3 months,
and 16 days.

The descendants of Harrison Nicholson do not know where he was born or what State claimed him as a soldier during the Revolution. He came from Georgia, near Milledgeville, to Macon county, Ala. He married Lucinda Long Dec. 30, 1783. He died in Macon county at the home of his grandson, James Monroe Nicholson. According to the recollection of his granddaughter, Mrs. E. A. Wilkinson, he had only three sons:

(1) Britton Nicholson lived to mature years, but never married.

(2) Nathaniel Nicholson married and raised a family; he lived in Georgia in the vicinity of Milledgeville on his plantation.

(3) James Nicholson, born March 18, 1785, married Mary M. Stone, October 7th, 1813; children: 1. Mathew H. Nicholson, born Jan. 7th, 1815, married Miss H. E. Savory, December 9th,

1839, in Mexico, lived there for several years, then moved to Texas, California and to Central America, where he died. His children are now living around Chapel Hill, Texas; 2. Washington B. Nicholson, born June 28, 1818, married in Macon county, Alabama, to Miss Wafer, later moved to Claiborne Parish, Louisiana, died there in 1901. His family now live around Baton Rouge; he was the father of Col. James Nicholson, former president of the University of Louisiana at Baton Rouge; 3. Elizabeth Ann Nicholson, born October 25, 1829, married B. R. Taylor, December, 1836; he died leaving one child, Mrs. E. A. Hall, of Autaugaville. She married a second time J. B. Wilkinson, January 12, 1843, by this marriage were born nine children; 4. Lucinda Long Nicholson, born January 23, 1823, married Leonidas Howard and lived at Mulberry, Autauga county, Alabama; there were two living sons and one daughter by this marriage; 5. James Monroe Nicholson, born December 12, 1825, married Rebecca Slaton, children died, second marriage no children, third marriage in Texas, where he is still living near Chapel Hill; 6. Absalom H. Nicholson, born August 30, 1837, never married, was physician, moved to Louisiana, but died in Macon county, Alabama, 1855; and 7. John Wesley Nicholson, born October 2, 1829, died unmarried in 1851, near Autaugaville, had just graduated from Emory College, Georgia.

THOMAS OLIVER.

"Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er."

The writer has been told that the grave of this soldier may be seen near one of the public roads about six miles from Montgomery. His tombstone relates that he was in the War of the Revolution from Culpeper county, Virginia; he was at King's Mountain and Yorktown. He died in 182-- in Montgomery county, Alabama. Nothing more has been learned of his history or family.

WILLIAM PULLEN.

"Few, few were they whose swords of old
Won the fair land in which we dwell,
But we are many, we who hold
The grim resolve to guard it well."

The grave of William Pullen is in Jefferson county, in the suburbs of Birmingham, in an old family burying ground about fifty

yards from the Avondale car line between 34th and 35th streets. For many years this old graveyard was as isolated and secluded as if situated in the heart of a lonely forest, but, in the last year or two, houses have been built up thickly around it and are encroaching upon its boundaries. The grave of the soldier lies at the foot of a large oak tree; it is a rough mound of brown stones with a flat tablet topping them which bears this inscription:

Sacred to the
Memory of
WILLIAM PULLEN
A Soldier of the
Revolution,
Who died April 4th, 1845,
Aged 87 years.

His wife lies at his feet but the lettering of the tablet at her grave is illegible, only the words "Wife of William Pullen."

Descendants of William Pullen declare that he died at the age of ninety-six and that he was born in the year 1749. But as his name is found in the *Census of Pensioners* for 1840 and he is recorded as being eighty-two years of age at that date, and this agrees perfectly with what appears to be the age on the tombstone, the writer has accepted the latter as correct. William Pullen then was born in Virginia in 1758, on the Appomattox river near Petersburg. He entered the Revolutionary War from Virginia and was in service for seven years. Soon after the Revolution he moved to South Carolina and in 1820 he came to Alabama and settled near Birmingham. He was the first man buried with military honors in Jefferson county.

He left six children:

(1) Clarissa, who married Jesse Hickman, and they were the parents of W. P. Hickman, formerly county commissioner for Jefferson county.

(2) Sarah, who married James Rowan, and they were the parents of Peyton Rowan, of Jacksonville, Ala.

(3) William, married Nancy Brooks.

(4) Martha, married Joseph Hickman.

(5) Mary, married Samuel Rowan.

(6) Elizabeth, married Richard Tankersley.

It is shown in the records at Washington, D. C., in the Record and Pension Office, "that one William Pullen served as a private in Captain George Lambert's company of Continental regulars of the 14th battalion, 14th Virginia regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Charles Lewis, Revolutionary War. He enlisted January 1, 1777, to serve three years, and his name last appears as that of a private on a roll dated Camp near Morristown, December 9, 1779, of Captain Overton's company, 10th Virginia regiment, commanded by Col. William Davies. The records show that the 14th Virginia regiment became the 10th Virginia regiment about November, 1778, and that about May, 1779, the 1st and 10th Virginia regiments were incorporated and designated the 1st and 10th Virginia regiment."

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The following tribute to "Horseshoe Robinson" is extracted from a poem, entitled "The Day of Freedom," by Alexander B. Meek, and delivered as an oration at Tuscaloosa on the 4th of July, 1838:

"Valorously
He bore himself, and with his youthful arms
Chivalrous deeds performed, which in a land
Of legendary lore had placed his name,
Embalmed in song, beside the hallowed ones
Of Douglass and of Percy; not unsung
Entirely his fame. Romance has wreathed
With flowering fingers, and with wizard art
That hangs the votive chaplet on the heart,
His story, mid her fictions, and hath given
His name and deeds to after times. When last
This trophied anniversary came round
And called Columbia's patriot children out
To greet its advent, the old man was here,
Serenely smiling as the autumn sun
Just dripping down the golden west to seek
His evening couch. Few months agone I saw
Him in his quiet home, with all around
Its wishes could demand—and by his side
The loved companion of his youthful years—
This singing maiden of his boyhood's time;
She who had cheered him with her smiles when clouds
Were o'er his country's prospects; who had trod
In sun and shade, life's devious path with him,
And whom kind Heaven had still preserved to bless,
With all the fullness of maternal wealth,
The mellowing afternoon of his decline.
Where are they now?—the old man and his wife?
Alas! the broadening sun sets in the night,
The ripening shock falls on the reaper's arm;

The lingering guest must leave the hall at last;
The music ceases when the feast is done;
The old man and his wife are gone. From earth,
Have passed in peace to heaven; and summer's flowers,
Beneath the light of this triumphant day,
Luxurious sweets are shedding o'er
The unsculptured grave of 'Horseshoe Robinson.'"

The grave of James Robertson is in Tuscaloosa county on the banks of the Black Warrior river near Sanders' ferry, in the old family burying-ground. He was the famous "Horseshoe Robinson" of Revolutionary fame in South Carolina, and the hero of the novel of that name written by John Pendleton Kennedy in 1835. The name "Horseshoe" was given because of a bend in a creek in his plantation in South Carolina shaped like a horseshoe.

The following inscription is taken from his tombstone:

MAJOR JAMES ROBERTSON.
A native of S. C.
died April 26, 1838, aged 79 years,
and was buried here.
Well known as Horseshoe Robinson, he earned a
just fame in the war for independence, in
which he was eminent in courage, patriotism
and suffering. He lived fifty-six years with
his worthy partner, useful and respected, and
died in hopes of a blessed immortality. His
children erect this monument as a tribute
justly due a good husband, father, neighbor,
patriot and soldier.

James Robertson was born in 1759; and his epitaph states that he was a native of South Carolina. He was married in 1782 and "lived fifty-six years with his worthy partner;" she died in January, 1838, and he died April 26, 1838. The name of his wife was Sarah Morris ———; tradition says her maiden name was Hayden; they left several children, one daughter was living in Mississippi a few years ago. James Robertson was a famous scout during the Revolution and a terror to the Tories. After the war he settled in Pendleton district and was living there when Kennedy met him in 1818. In the preface to Kennedy's novel of *Horseshoe Robinson* he gives an account of the circumstances which led him to write the story.

He says that in the winter of 1818-19 he had occasion to visit the western section of South Carolina. He went from Augusta

to Edgefield, then to Abbeville and thence to Pendleton, in the old district of Ninety-six, just at the foot of the mountains. His course was still westward until he came to the Seneca river, a tributary of the Savannah. He describes how he happened to spend the night at the home of Col. T——, who lived thirty miles from Pendleton. Horseshoe Robinson came there that night. "What a man I saw! Tall, broad, brawny and erect. His homely dress, his free stride, his face radiant with kindness, the natural gracefulness of his motions, all afforded a ready index to his character. It was evident he was a man to confide in."

The old soldier was drawn out to relate some stories of the war. He told how he got away from Charleston after the surrender, and how he took five Scotchmen prisoners, and these two famous passages are faithfully preserved in the narrative.

"It was first published in 1835. Horseshoe Robinson was then a very old man. He had removed to Alabama and lived, I am told, near Tuscaloosa. I commissioned a friend to send him a copy of the book. The report brought me was that the old man had listened very attentively to the reading of it and took great interest in it.

" 'What do you say to all this?' was the question addressed to him, after the reading was finished. His reply is a voucher, which I desire to preserve: 'It is all true and right—in its right place—excepting about them women, which I disremember. That mought be true, too; but my memory is treacherous—I disremember.' "

It is a pleasure to know that this fine old hero was a real personage, and although his exploits may have been colored in a measure by the pen of the romancer, there still remains a rich stock of adventures, which were undoubtedly true, and the picture of a nature frank, brave, true and yet full of modesty.

Extract from *Flag of the Union,* published at Tuscaloosa, January 17, 1838:

Horseshoe Robinson—Who has not read Kennedy's delightful novel of this name, and who that has read it would not give an half day's ride to see the venerable living Hero of this Tale of "Tory Ascendency," the immortal Horseshoe himself—the extermination of "Jim Curry" and Hugh Habershaw? The venerable Patriot bearing the familiar sobriquet, and whose name Mr. Kennedy has made as familiar in the mouths of American youths as household words, was visited by us in company with several

friends one day last week. We found the old Gentleman on his Plantation about 12 miles from this city, as comfortably situated with respect to this world's goods as any one could desire to have him. It was gratifying to us to see him in his old age after having served through the whole war of Independence thus seated under his own vine and fig tree, with his children around him and with the Partner of his early toils and trials still continued to him enjoying in peace and safety the rich rewards of that arduous struggle, in the most gloomy and desponding hour of which he was found as ready, as earnest, as zealous, for the cause of liberty as when victory perched upon her standard, and the stars of the "Tory ascendency" was for a while dimmed by defeat—and in which he continued with unshaken Faith and constancy until it sank below the Horison never again to rise. The old gentleman gave us a partial history of his Revolutionary adventures, containing many interesting facts respecting the domination of the Tory party in the South during the times of the Revolution, which Mr. Kennedy has not recorded in his Book. But it will chiefly interest our readers, or that portion of them at least to whom the history of the old hero's achievements as recorded by Mr. Kennedy is familiar, to be assured that the principal incidents therein portrayed are strictly true.

That of his escape from Charleston after the capture of that city, his being entrusted with a letter to Butler, the scene at Wat Adair's, the capture of Butler at Grindal's Ford, his subsequent escape and recapture, the death of John Ramsey, and the detection of the party by reason of the salute fired over his grave, his capturing of the four men under the command of the younger St. Jermyn, his attack upon Ines' camp, and the death of Hugh Habershaw by his own hand and finally the death of Jim Curry, are all narrated pretty much as they occurred, in the old veteran's own language: "There is a heap of truth in it, though the writer has mightily furnished it up." That the names of Butler, Mildred Lindsay, Mary Musgrove, John Ramsay, Hugh Habershaw, Jim Curry and in fact all most every other used in the Book, with the exception of his own, are real and not fictitious. His own name, he informed us, is James; and that he did not go by the familiar appellation by which he is now so widely known until after the war, when he acquired it from the form of his Plantation in the Horseshoe Bend of the Fair Forest creek, which was bestowed upon him by the Legislature of South Carolina in consequence of the services he had rendered during the war—this estate, we understood him to say, he still owned.

He was born, he says, in 1759 in Virginia, and entered the army in his seventeenth year. Before the close of war, he says, he commanded a troop of horse, so that his military title is that of Captain. Horseshoe, although in infirm health bears evident marks of

having been a man of great personal strength and activity. He is now afflicted with a troublesome cough, which in the natural course of events must in a few years wear out his aged frame. Yet, notwithstanding his infirmities and general debility, his eye still sparkles with the fire of youth, as he recounts the stirring and thrilling incidents of the war, and that sly, quiet humor so well described by Kennedy may still be seen playing around his mouth as one calls to his recollections any of the pranks he was wont to play upon any of the "tory vagrants," as he very properly styles them. The old Gentleman received us with warm cordiality and hospitality; and after partaking of the Bounties of his board and spending a night under his hospitable roof we took leave of him, sincerely wishing him many years of the peaceful enjoyment of that liberty which he fought so long and so bravely to achieve. It will not be uninteresting, we hope, to remark that the old hero still considers himself a soldier, though the nature of his warfare is changed; he is now a zealous promoter of the Redeemer's cause as he once was in securing the independence of his country.

Since the above was in type we have heard of the death of the aged partner of this venerable patriot. An obituary notice will be found in another column.

The novel *Horseshoe Robinson* is interesting reading even in this critical and blasé twentieth century. Judge A. B. Meek, a fine literary critic, says that "Mr. Kennedy, the author of 'Horseshoe Robinson,' has in that inimitable 'Tale of the Tory Ascendency' in South Carolina proved the suitableness of American subjects for fictitious composition of the most elevated kind. Although in his incidents and characters he has done little more than presented a faithful chronicle of facts, using throughout the veritable names of persons and places as they were stated to him by his hero himself, yet such is the thrilling interest of the story, the vivid pictures of scenery, manners, customs, and language, the striking contrasts of characters and the pervading beauty and power of style and description throughout the work, that we think we do not err in saying that it is not inferior in any respect to the best of the Waverly series."

The home of James Robertson in South Carolina, where he lived for a third of a century, is still standing. It is in Oconee county a few miles from Westminster. It is now owned by a Mr. Cox and travelers frequently visit the place, drawn thither by the fame of "Horseshoe Robinson."

GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER.

"They carved not a line, they raised not a stone,
But left him alone in his glory."

This hero of the Revolution, whose life was a romance, was not one of the pioneer settlers of Alabama. He died in this State and his remains lay buried here for seventy-three years "without a stone to mark the place of their repose or an enclosure to protect them from unhallowed intrusion." In 1888 his body was removed by the State of Tennessee and laid to rest beneath the sod of the State he had loved and served so faithfully. He is now buried in Knoxville, and the State has erected a stately monument as a memorial of her everlasting though tardy gratitude to her honored son.

Valentine Xavier, the father of John Sevier, was a descendant from an ancient Huguenot family in Navarre; he was born in London and emigrated to America about 1740; settled on the Shenandoah, Virginia; removed thence to Watauga, N. C., and finally settled on the Nola Chucka, at Plum Grove.—See *Pioneer Women of the West.*

John Sevier was born in Rockingham Co., Va., 23rd of September, 1745, and was educated at the academy in Fredericksburg. He was married at the early age of seventeen to Sarah Hawkins; soon afterwards he founded Newmarket, in the valley of the Shenandoah; he became at once celebrated as an Indian fighter, and was made captain of the Virginia line in 1772. That spring (1772) he removed to Watauga, now Tennessee, served in Lord Dunmore's war and was in the battle of Point Pleasant, 1774. "His work began at the dawn of the Revolution and lasted to the end." It is said he was in thirty battles. His wife's health was delicate and she never removed from Virginia, but died in 1779, leaving him ten children. In 1780, he married Catharine Sherrill, daughter of Samuel Sherrill of North Carolina, who was one of the pioneers in the valley of the Watauga. She was beautiful, tall, strong and courageous as became the wife of John Sevier. She always boasted that the first work she did after she was married was to spin and weave and make the suits of clothes which her husband and his three sons wore in the memorable battle of King's Mountain. She became the mother of eight children, three sons and five daughters. After the battle of King's Mountain, John Sevier received a vote of thanks and a present of a sword and pis-

tol from the North Carolina legislature. A fellow soldier said of his appearance during the battle: "His eyes were flames of fire, and his words were electric bolts crashing down the ranks of the enemy."

He was elected governor of the State of Franklin in 1784; but, as this State was not long allowed existence, Sevier was captured and imprisoned because of alleged disloyalty. However, he was rescued and soon made his escape. That section of country was then given the name by the United States government of "Territory south of the river Ohio," and he was made brigadier-general of this section in 1789. He was the first delegate sent to represent the Territory in Congress in 1790. During all this time he was incessantly and successfully engaged in defending the settlements from the Indians until their spirit was broken and peace was fully established. No man was ever more feared or respected by them, and as for the white people of the settlements, they loved him as a father, friend and protector. When the State of Tennessee was established he was elected the first governor in 1796, and served three terms. In 1815, in spite of his age and infirmities, he was appointed by President Monroe to act as United States commissioner to settle the boundary line between Georgia and the Creek territory in Alabama. He died while engaged in this work, September 24th, 1815. He was attended during his illness by only a few soldiers and Indians. He was buried near Fort Decatur, Alabama, on the east side of the Tallapoosa river, at an Indian village called Tuckabatchee, with the honors of war by the troops under command of Capt. Walker, United States army. He was in the active service of his country from a boy of eighteen until he died at the age of seventy.

A handsome monument was erected to his memory in the city of Nashville by an ardent and patriotic admirer; but his lonely grave in Alabama remained unprotected and unmarked for more than seventy years.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

"Ye, who boast
In your free veins the blood of sires like these,
Lose not their lineaments."

—*Sigourney.*

This Revolutionary soldier is mentioned in *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 261. He is buried ten miles east of Huntsville, near

the bank of the Flint river; there is no tombstone over his grave. Family records give the facts of his history. George Taylor was born in Virginia, exact date not known but about 1762, and died in Madison county, Alabama, 1826. He entered the Revolutionary army in his seventeenth year, was first under fire at the battle of Monmouth, 1778, then came to South Carolina with "Light Horse Harry" Lee's command and engaged in many battles and skirmishes with Lee, and at the close of the war he was a lieutenant. "He was in the disastrous charge at King's Bridge, where, owing to misdirection of orders, the advance was not supported and out of twenty, only five made good their retreat." Soon after the Revolution he married Miss Jennings, of Lexington, Oglethorpe county, Georgia, and she was probably born in Lexington. Miles Jennings, a famous Indian fighter, who is described in White's *Historical Collections of Georgia,* and who lived in Oglethorpe county, is perhaps of the same family as the wife of George Taylor. It is stated that George Taylor commanded a scouting party for defense against the Indians, for more than ten years after the close of the Revolutionary War; this party being organized at Lexington, Georgia. He was also captain in the militia. He moved from Georgia to Winchester, Tenn., in 1805, and came to Madison county, Ala., in 1810, and settled on the banks of the Flint river, where he is buried. His wife died in Alabama several years before his death. He died in 1826. A grandson of this couple was the late Judge Thomas J. Taylor, of Huntsville, probate judge of Madison county. The inherited courageous and patriotic spirit of the family is shown by the fact that Judge Taylor and six brothers were gallant soldiers and officers in the Confederate States army. A great-grandson, Douglass Taylor, is now living in Huntsville, and other descendants are living in Louisiana.

WILLIAMS TRUITT.

"A grave that lies so lone,
Without a name, without a stone."

—*Father Ryan.*

Williams Truitt lies buried at Teller's ferry on Lynch's creek. His daughter married William Chancellor, son of Jerry Chancel-

lor, who has been already mentioned. The Chancellors of Coosa county are descendants.

These facts were furnished by D. B. Oden, Childersburg, Ala.

JOHN WEBSTER.

"And some there be which have no memorial. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance."—*Ecclesiasticus.*

John Webster was born in Caroline county, Va., in 1743. Early in the struggle for independence he enlisted in the Continental army and served under General Washington. He was with the American army at Yorktown, and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis. In 1817 he came to Alabama and during the last ten years of his life he lived in Tuscaloosa with his son, John J. Webster. He died in Tuscaloosa, September 6, 1839, in the 97th year of his age.—See Tuscaloosa *Flag of the Union,* September 14, 1839.

It is shown by the records in Washington, D. C., that one John Webster served as a private in Captain Alexander S. Dandridge's troop, 1st regiment of Light Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Bland, Continental troops, Revolutionary War. He was "appointed" July 20, 1777, to serve until December 1, 1778, and his name last appears on a pay roll for the month of November, 1778. It is also shown by the records that one John Webster served as a private in Captain Thomas Pry's company in a regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen, Continental troops, Revolutionary War. He enlisted April 16, 1777, to serve during the war; joined the company June 17, 1777, and his name last appears on an account covering the period from June 1 to July 31, 1779.

It is further shown by the records that one John Webster served as a carpenter in Captain Low's company, Corps of Artificers, Continental troops, Revolutionary War. He enlisted April 3, 1777, to serve to January 1, 1778, and his name last appears as that of a clerk on the roll for the period from August 3 to November 27, 1778, with remark, "Appointed September 1, 1778."

It is hardly probable that these are one and the same individual.

ROBERT WESTON.

"Their deeds of fame reviewed
Bankrupt a nation's gratitude."

Robert Weston, a soldier from North Carolina, is buried at "Shady Grove," Sumter county, Ala. His tomb records simply

his birth and death and "A Revolutionary Soldier." A few brief facts of his history have been furnished by Mrs. M. C. Carpenter, his granddaughter, of Eutaw, Ala. Robert Weston was born in England, August 29, 1763, and died in Sumter county, Alabama, July 21, 1845, aged 81 years, 5 months and 8 days.

He came to America when a mere lad, with his two brothers, Isaac and Frank Weston. Although very young, he fought in the Revolution in North Carolina; was brave and quick-witted; was captured three times and sentenced to death, but made his escape each time through shrewd ability in disguising himself. He married Mary Ogilvie of South Carolina, who was born June 26, 1769, and died January 11, 1845, aged 75 years, 5 months and 15 days. The young couple settled in Fairfield district, S. C., where they resided until their children were grown. They had a large family and many descendants are still living in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas. One son, I. M. Weston, settled in Columbia, S. C., but the other children all removed to Alabama. Naturally the old couple followed their children and came to Sumter county, Ala., in 1833, where they purchased a home near their children and spent their old age in peace and contentment surrounded by children and grandchildren. Robert Weston was a man of intelligence and excellent education and his grandchildren remember him with the deepest affection and respect. His thrilling stories of Revolutionary times are yet remembered and told in the family.

CAPT. ANTHONY WINSTON.

"The riches of the Commonwealth
Are free strong minds and hearts of health,
And more to her than golden gain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain."

Captain Anthony Winston, of Hanover county, Virginia, a member of the Virginia convention of 1775, and a gallant captain in the Revolutionary army, lies buried in the old Winston family burying ground just out of Sheffield, Alabama. Vol. xiii, Daughters of the American Revolution *Lineage Book,* states that Anthony Winston was born in Hanover county, Virginia in 1750, married Keziah Jones and died in Alabama in 1828. He was a delegate from Buckingham county to the convention of 1775; he

afterwards served in the militia and rose to the rank of captain. Brewer's *Alabama* says that "he was a colonial officer of 1776 and the owner of the celebrated Portuguese giant, Peter Francisco. Capt. Winston removed first to Tennessee and subsequently settled in Madison county, Alabama, about the year 1810. He was a man of marked and elevated character." He died in 1828. He left seven sons, Anthony, John J., William, Joel W., Isaac, Edmund and Thomas J., and two daughters, Mrs. John Pettus (Alice T.) and Mrs. Jesse Jones. Capt. Winston was nearly related to Patrick Henry (a first cousin) and distinction is hereditary in the Winston family. He has many honored descendants; one of his grandsons was Governor John Anthony Winston of Sumter, the "first native born governor of Alabama." Another grandson is General Edmund Winston Pettus, now senator in the United States Congress. Another distinguished grandson was the brother of Gen. Pettus, Governor John J. Pettus, the war governor of Mississippi. Other descendants of Capt. Anthony Winston are scattered all over the Southwest, filling honorable positions with credit.

The ancestry of Capt. Winston is thus given:

Slaughter's *St. Mark's Parish* states that Isaac Winston, the most remote ancestor, was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1620. A grandson of his pursued his fortunes in Wales, where he had a large family. Three of his sons emigrated to America, and settled near Richmond, Va., in 1704. Their names were William, Isaac and James. Anthony Winston was descended from Isaac.

(1) Isaac Winston, the emigrant, married Mary Dabney and died in Hanover county in 1760, leaving six children, William, Isaac, Anthony, Lucy, Mary Ann and Sarah. Sarah was the mother of Patrick Henry.

(2) Anthony Winston (son of Isaac) married Alice, daughter of Col. James Taylor of Caroline; issue: Sarah, died single; Capt. Anthony Winston; Alice, married Judge Edmund Winston; Mary.

We are indebted to Gen. Edmund Pettus, of the United States Senate, for the following facts, and a copy of the inscription upon the tombstone:

Sacred to the memory
of
Anthony Winston and Keziah his wife,
He
Was born on the 15th of Nov. 1750
She
On the 10th of Feb. 1760.
They
Were married on the 11th of Mar. 1776
She
Died October 1826 and he in 1828

———(*)———

This tribute of respect
Is
Paid to the memory of the best of parents
By
Their grateful
and
Affectionate sons.

They were buried at the family burying-ground on the plantation of their son, Anthony Winston, about one mile from Tuscumbia, in Colbert county, in the direction of Sheffield. Anthony Winston, here mentioned on this tombstone, was the son of Anthony Winston of Hanover county, Virginia, who was born September 29th, 1723, and married February 29th, 1747, Alice Taylor, daughter of James Taylor and Alice Thornton. He was born in Hanover county, but moved in his young days to Buckingham county, Virginia. He was a captain in the Revolutionary War. He was married in 1776, and went into the army a few months afterwards.

The family has now in their possession a counterpane made of cotton which Mrs. Keziah Winston raised. She picked the cotton, spun the thread and wove the cloth, and then ornamented it by needle work like a Marseilles counterpane, whilst her husband was in the army. This old heirloom is perfectly preserved, and looks as well as it ever did, but of course, it is not used.

Anthony Winston told his grandchildren many things about the Revolutionary War, and particularly about General Washington. Some of these stories would not do to print, especially about the freedom with which "The Father of his Country" used the English language. But in his estimation no mortal man ever approxi-

mated General Washington as a great military chieftain. Sarah Winston, of Hanover, was the sister of Anthony Winston, of Hanover. She married John Henry and was the mother of Patrick Henry. Capt. Anthony Winston was sheriff of Buckingham county, Virginia, which office at that time was given to the oldest justice of the peace of the county for one term, under the law of Virginia. At that time a justice of the peace in Virginia received no pay, the principal business of that officer being to settle disputes among his neighbors without any lawsuit.

Alice Winston, the mother of Gen. Pettus, was born in Buckingham county, Virginia, but her father moved with his family about the beginning of the last century to Davidson county, Tennessee, and owned a plantation there, about one mile from the Hermitage. John Pettus was born in Fluvanna county, Virginia, near where Anthony Winston lived. He also moved to Davidson county, Tennessee, about the first of the last century. Alice Winston and John Pettus were married in Davidson county in 1807, and General Jackson danced at the wedding. And in the early days of Senator Pettus he was frequently at the "Hermitage" and heard General Jackson tell of the early life of his mother and father, and of his father's serving in the Creek War under him.

PART IV.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND HISTORICAL PAPERS.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, Dec. 22, 1903.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, DECEMBER 22, 1903.

The regular annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society convened in Montgomery, Tuesday evening, December 22, 1903. Its session was held in the city council chamber. There was a representative attendance of members and visitors.

ORGANIZATION.

Promptly at 8.15 o'clock p. m., the President, Governor William Dorsey Jelks, called the meeting to order. The Secretary and Treasurer, Thomas M. Owen, was present.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Stewart McQueen, of Montgomery.

The Secretary announced that the date for the annual meeting of the Society had been changed from midyear until the present date in December, owing to the removal of its headquarters from Tuscaloosa. While at Tuscaloosa the annual meeting was held during the University commencement season each year. Since the removal to Montgomery it was found more conducive to business convenience and ease of reference to make the Society year correspond with the calendar year, hence the change.

REMARKS BY GOV. JELKS.

Following this explanation of the Secretary, Gov. Jelks addressed the assembly. He spoke of the work of the Society in the past, and appealed to those interested in the history of the State to aid in the accomplishment of its worthy objects. Continuing, he said, among other things:

"I need not say, my friends, that the Alabama Historical Society has been engaged for more than fifty years in a great work, not consistently or continuously pressed all the while, it is true. For a number of years there was a total interregnum, its members were either violently engaged in making more history or slowly recovering from a great civil stress and in doubt if they further cared. When, however, Alabamians in 1874 came again into what was left of their own, this noble Society undertook anew the work begun by Dr. Basil Manly, Colonel Albert J. Pickett and others, on a memorable day in 1850.

"This Society is the father of the Department of Archives and History, which in this early day of its establishment has gathered together what is to the State, if we except its manly men and womanly women, its greatest riches—a story of difficulties overcome and achievements wrought by our strenuous and patriotic forbears. As a mere matter of sentiment, we cannot neglect this work. They deserve this much. If we were disposed to be so unfilial as to forget them, the duty we owe our children would wring this tardy justice from our hands. If these last should conceive the idea that they have no conspicuous and honorable parentage, the call for them to press towards an uplifted life and the establishment of a great Democracy would be less urgent, if urgent at all. Let us understand then that it is our duty to lay the story before the present living and those who are to come after that they may imitate the not unworthy examples of their fathers and better such examples—if they can."

MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS.

At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks, George W. Duncan moved the appointment of a committee of three to nominate officers and to report later in the evening. The motion prevailed, and the chair named Mr. Duncan, Judge Thomas Bradford, and Dr. W. H. Sanders as the committee.

Mr. Owen submitted, for the Executive Committee, the draft of a new constitution for the Society. It was read at length, and after discussion was, on motion of Capt. R. Tyler Goodwyn, adopted as the constitution for the future government of the organization. It was directed published in the next volume of the *Transactions.*

(*See pp. 7 and 8 for copy.*)

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented by Mr. Owen. They were adopted by the Society; and to the Executive Committee was committed such matters therein as might demand further consideration.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BY COL. WOODS.

Col. M. L. Woods then came forward and delivered the annual address. His subject was "Personal Reminiscences of Col. Albert James Pickett." Col. Woods is a son-in-law of Mr. Pickett, and his paper was filled with many interesting facts of a personal

nature. The many-sided activity of Mr. Pickett was dwelt upon, with reminiscences of his historical work and studies.

(*See p. 597 for copy of the address.*)

At its conclusion, a rising vote of thanks was tendered Col. Woods on motion of Dr. Petrie, of Auburn.

INFORMAL TALK BY DR. PHILLIPS.

Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin, was present, and on being called, he responded in a very forcible and interesting talk on historical work in the South, its importance, attractiveness and development. He also referred to the general revival of interest in such work in the South, with special comment on the advanced position of Alabama in the matter of State aid in support of historical research and enterprise. Dr. Phillips is a Georgian. He is engaged in extensive researches in the history of the plantation system of the South in its social and economic relations to history. His remarks were received with interest and applause.

VISIT OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The Secretary announced that a special train, carrying a large number of the northern and eastern members of the American Historical Association *en route* to New Orleans for its nineteenth annual meeting, would reach Montgomery, Sunday evening, Dec. 27, at 9.30 o'clock, and would be in the city about two hours. He announced that arrangements had been made to conduct the party to the State capitol, which would be illuminated for the occasion. A number of the great historians of the country were expected to be in the party. The members of the Alabama Historical Society, resident in the city, were urged to meet the visitors and to join in the effort to make their brief stay pleasant and profitable.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. Duncan, as chairman of the committee on nominations, reported a list of officers for the ensuing year. The report was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary cast the vote of the Society for the names set forth therein, after which they were declared duly elected.

(*For list see page 10.*)

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. McQueen was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the members of the Alabama Historical Society, do most earnestly commend our organization to the favorable consideration and interest of the people of this Commonwealth that its purposes may be realized in all their perfection and permanency, thus serving as an abiding inspiration to our children and children's children to emulate in their lives and character all that is good and noble in the history of the State.

The meeting then adjourned at 10 o'clock p. m.

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Secretary.*

Appendix to the Proceedings.

(1) SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1902-1903.

A brief report of the conduct and doings of the office of the Secretary, from June 14, 1902, to the end of the current year, 1903, is herewith submitted.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is proper in the outset to refer briefly to the change of the date of the annual meeting from midsummer as heretofore held until the month of December. The annual meetings have in the past been held in June or July during the commencement season of the State University, the headquarters of the Society being at Tuscaloosa. On the removal of headquarters here, the necessity for the midsummer meeting disappeared, and every reason of convenience demanded a change so that the Society year should correspond with the calendar year. After conference with the Executive Committee the change was accordingly made. The present year of the Society has been carried forward therefore to the present date. In future it will be wise to hold the annual meeting in December of each year.

There is little of special interest to report in the work of the Society since the last annual meeting, June 14, 1902. The energies of the Secretary have been largely, I might say wholly, devoted to his work as Director of the Department of Archives and History, and hence the development of historical impulses through the channel of the Society has been restricted and limited. However, such work has developed and enlarged through the Department in a way which must be gratifying to all. And this leads me to speak for your information, somewhat at length of the

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY.

The Department of Archives and History of Alabama was established by legislative act, approved Feb. 27, 1901, and was organized March 2, 1901, for "the care and custody of official archives, the collection of materials bearing upon the history of the State, and of the territory included therein, from the earliest times, the completion and publication of the State's official records and other historical materials, the diffusion of knowledge in reference to the history and resources of the State, the encouragement of historical work and research, etc."

I am sure that I am safe in saying that the Department is meeting these high and patriotic demands. The wealth of the collections made can only be hinted at—portraits, likenesses and views, new and old newspaper files, the latter numbering nearly a thousand volumes, maps, prints and charts, books and pamphlets, manuscripts, relics, etc., etc. These things are all arranged and open to the use of students.

As the entire work of collecting hitherto done by the Society has been committed to the department (*see supra*, p. 248) your hearty co-operation is urged in making the collection what it can very justly be—the greatest in the South.

In this connection I wish to publicly bear testimony to the cordial sympathy and support at all times extended my efforts by the present chief executive of Alabama, his excellency Wm. D. Jelks. He led the movement in the State senate in behalf of State supported historical work, and has been the loyal friend of the Department since its establishment.

FUTURE WORK.

But the Society has a place, a field of usefulness which should not longer be neglected. While the Society is no longer a collecting agency, it must stimulate influence in behalf of history and must create and foster a public opinion favorable to a development of every historical activity. The time has come when the Society should begin a regular series of monthly meetings in this city. Such meetings will be of the very greatest value, and will be helpful to all who participate. At these meetings papers on historical topics can be presented, followed by discussions and volunteer conferences on a variety of subjects. While in a certain sense they will be formal and academic, they will be open to the participation of all members. The local members in Montgomery would be expected to rally to the meetings; and a large number of gentlemen and ladies of the city, not now members would doubtless join our ranks.

PUBLICATIONS.

It is very gratifying to me to inform you that the proceedings and papers of our annual meetings for 1900, 1901 and 1902 are in type. It is my plan to embrace in the volume the proceedings and papers of this meeting. We will then begin our new year with all of our transactions in print.

The "Life and Times of William J. Samford," by John W. DuBose, heretofore announced as in preparation, has been completed for some time, but has been in the hands of the family for revision. It will in all probability be published during 1904 or 1905.

There is now excellent prospects for the publication in a reasonable time of our long deferred Vol. i. of the *Transactions*, 1850-1897. As is known, it has been impossible to issue this volume, except in an incomplete form, owing to the absence of important and necessary documents and papers, pertaining to the administration and work of the Society from its organization in 1850 down to the year of reorganization, 1897-98. While the original minutes and records have not yet been found, it can be stated that practically everything possible to be located at the present time is in hand. Prolonged and patient researches by the Secretary in the newspaper files of the period have developed the proceedings of meetings, either in the form of minutes or newspaper accounts. Only a short time ago I discovered the minutes of the meeting of organization, 1850, the minutes of the second annual meeting, 1852, an account of the meeting of 1853, and the annual address of Col. A. J. Pickett, delivered in 1854. These and other papers on hand make a tolerable full record of the Society from its organization.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

A brief reference to the work and progress of the local historical societies of Alabama may be of interest. The latest association of this character is The Tennessee Valley Historical Society, organized at Huntsville, Ala., Sept. 3, 1902, and having for its objects and purposes the study and preservation of the history and antiquities of the Tennessee valley. Already it has drawn a good working membership, and promises a healthy future. Its president is Judge Richard Wilde Walker, of Huntsville, grandson of John Williams Walker, who was president of our first constitutional convention, 1819, and one of the two first United States senators from Alabama. Its secretary is Oliver Day Street, Esq., of Guntersville, well known to you as an enthusiastic and capable student of our history.

The Iberville Historical Society, of Mobile, is in a very healthy condition, and my information is that much valuable local work is being stimu-

lated by it. It holds regular meetings on the second Tuesday in each month, except during the months of July, August and September.

The Old St. Stephens Historical Society held its usual annual meeting in the Spring of this year.

Plans are on foot for the revival of the Alabama Baptist Historical Society. It is hoped that this will be accomplished at or before the next meeting of the Alabama Baptist State Convention. Rev. George E. Brewer, one of our members, is active in the effort.

At the annual meeting of the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of Alabama, held in Montgomery, Rev. J. H. B. Hall, of Birmingham, was elected Synodical Historian. Mr. Hall is one of our members, and is deeply aroused to the importance of his position.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The correspondence since the last report, a period of eighteen months, although not relatively voluminous, has been considerable. It has been given prompt attention, and the files have been carefully arranged and preserved.

MEMBERS.

The membership for the year has remained stationary. There have been ten additions, and ten losses by death.

It is proper here to report that a large number of members are in arrears for dues. No names have as yet been dropped from the roll for non-payment, but it is now time to go over the entire list and in case, after proper notice, the dues are not paid by all members in arrears, they should be discontinued. The adoption of a new constitution should make suitable provision to cover delinquents.

NECROLOGY.

The losses of the Society by death, since the last annual meeting are as follows, viz:

Tennent Lomax, Esq., Montgomery, Nov. 21, 1902.
John Walker Perkins, Guntersville, Dec. 1, 1902.
Prof. Jacob Forney, University of Alabama, Dec. 24, 1902.
Leonidas Howard, Mulberry, Jan. 6, 1903.
Henry Hart Brown, Esq., East Lake, Jan. 9, 1903.
Robert Goldthwaite, Montgomery, Jan. 31, 1903.
Dr. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, Washington, D. C., Feb. 12, 1903.
William Crawford Bibb, Montgomery, May 5, 1903.
Martin L. Stansel, Carrollton, June 25, 1903.
Gen. Richard Channing Jones, Camden, Sept. 12, 1903.

These men were not only valuable members of this Society, they were also good citizens. In their death the State of Alabama suffers a severe loss. Suitable memorial sketches will be prepared for our published *Transactions.*

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to say only that if the proper local support is given, there is an excellent future outlook for the Society. The monthly meetings will be occasions not only of much social enjoyment, but of genuine value to the history of Alabama.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Secretary.

(2) TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE 14, 1902, TO DEC. 22, 1903

The Treasurer respectfully submits herewith his annual report, viz:

Receipts.

1903.		
Dec. 22.	To annual dues and sales of volumes of the *Publications,*	$279 00
		$279 00

Expenditures.

1902.		
June 14.	Amount due Treasurer, brought forward from last year's account,	$26 93
Sept. 30.	Alabama Printing Co., printing envelopes,	3 25
Oct. 17.	Express, shipment to Miss Mary Gordon Duffee, Blount Springs, Ala.,	35
Oct. 27.	Roberts & Son, printing and stationery,	32 05
Dec. 29.	Express, shipment to Harrisburg Pub. Co.,	50
1903.		
Aug. 22.	Express, shipment to Harrisburg Pub. Co.,	75
Dec. 2.	Express, same,	45
Dec. 20.	Express, same,	45
Dec. 22.	Postage for Society,	20 00
Dec. 22.	Amount on hand to balance,	194 47
		$279 00

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Treasurer.

Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 22, 1903.

II. NECROLOGY.

By Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery.

Bibb, William Crawford, Jr., born in Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 27, 1854, was the son of William Crawford and Rebecca Lanier (*Harris*) Bibb, grandson of John Dandridge and Mary Xenia (*Oliver*) Bibb and Gen. Jephtha Vining and Sallie (*Hunt*) Harris, great-grandson of William and Sally (*Wyatt*) Bibb, great-great-grandson of John and Susannah (*Bigger*) Bibb and Col. Joseph Wyatt, of Charlotte county, Va. Susannah Bibb was the daughter of William Bigger.[1] John Bibb was the son of William Bibb, of Amelia county, who was the son of Benjamin Bibb, an emigrant from Wales to Hanover county, Va. John Dandridge Bibb, the grandfather of W. C. Bibb, Jr., was judge of the county court of Montgomery county, member of the constitutional convention of Alabama, 1819, State senator, 1822 to 1825, and a brother of William Wyatt Bibb and of Thomas Bibb, both of whom were governors of Alabama. W. C. Bibb, Sr., was a business man of high character and long resided in Montgomery. His son was educated in preparatory schools in Montgomery and the University of Georgia, at Athens, but he did not graduate. He read law under Capt. J. A. Billups, of Madison, Ga., and in 1874 he was admitted to the bar. Locating in Montgomery he continued the practice until his death there, May 5, 1903. Mr. Bibb was a member of the legislature from Montgomery county, 1898-99, and 18 was mayor of the suburb of Highland Park, now a part of Montgomery. In 1901 Mr. Bibb was prominently mentioned for secretary of state of Alabama. He was a Democrat; and a member of the Knights of Pythias, the Red Men, and the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks. He was married in Montgomery, Nov. 9, 1887, to Martha Bibb, daughter of John Wesley and Mary Elizabeth (*Somerville*) Shepherd, the latter being one of the foremost lawyers of Ala-

[1]Saunders' *Early Settlers of Alabama* (1899), pp. 255, 433; Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 108, 321, 448, 482.

bama, and at his death the official reporter of the State Supreme court. Mrs. Bibb and her three children reside in Montgomery. Mr. Bibb was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, Nov. 30, 1898.

BROWN, HENRY HART, born at Hopewell, Tuscaloosa county, Ala., Aug. 24, 1837, was the son of John and Rachel Potts (*Norris*) Brown, grandson of George and Sarah (*Adair*) Brown, and of John and Elizabeth (*Harrell*) Norris, and great-grandson of Jacob and Martha (*Jennings*) Harrell, and of an Adair, who is said to have been killed as a soldier in the Revolution. George Brown came from Tennessee about 1817 and located in Tuscaloosa county, but about 1845 he removed to Miss., where he and wife died. The Harrell and Norris families migrated from Ky., probably as early as 1817, and also settled in Tuscaloosa county. John Brown and John Norris were Baptist preachers. It is thought that his several lines of ancestry are traceable to Virginia antecedents. H. H. Brown received a common school education, read law, was admitted to the bar and located in the city of Tuscaloosa. He was county solicitor and sheriff of Tuscaloosa county; and a Democratic member of the house of representatives from the same county, 1874-75, 1875-76, 1876-77, 1880-81, 1882-83, and 1884-85. He had an honorable career as a Mason, and was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, A. F. and A. M., 1888-1890.[2] He took an active interest in educational affairs and was a trustee of the State University, 1884-1892. About 1886 he removed to Jefferson county, and engaged in business in Birmingham. He represented that county in the house of representatives, 1890-91. He did not confine his activities to the law and politics, but was for awhile the editor of the Tuscaloosa *Times*. After removing to Birmingham he edited and published *The Masonic Guide*, the official organ of the Masons of Alabama. He was a Baptist. He was twice married: (1) on Sept. 22, 1859, to Louisa T. Cardwell, in Tuscaloosa county; and (2) on March 11, 1873, to Jessie, daughter of Josiah and America (*Slaughter*) Freeman, in Northport, Tuscaloosa county; and by each marriage there are children.

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[2]*Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge, A. F. and A. M. of Alabama, 1903, pp. 104-105.

During his last years he was an invalid. He died at his home in East Lake, Jefferson county, Jan. 9, 1903. He was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society prior to 1883.

CURRY,[3] JABEZ LAMAR MONROE, was born in Lincoln county, Ga., June 5, 1825. He was the son of Col. William and Susan (*Winn*) Curry, grandson of Thomas and ——— (*Walker*) Curry, and of Richard F. and Prudence (*Lamar*) Winn, and of John and Dorothy (*Wright*) Winn, and of Basil Lamar. John Winn was a soldier of the Revolution and a brother of the founder of Winnsboro, S. C. In 1837 Mr. Curry came with his father to Talladega county, Ala., where he was reared, where he entered upon his long and useful career, and in consequence of which he always regarded Alabama as his home State. He was a graduate of the University of Georgia, and of the Harvard law school. He served in the Mexican War, and was successively a member of the Alabama legislature, a presidential elector, a member of the United States congress, a member of the Confederate congress, a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in the Confederate army, a Baptist divine, an educator, a diplomatist and an author.

In 1881 he became the general agent of the Peabody Fund, a position he held until his death, excepting the years of his residence abroad as representative in Spain, 1885-1888. It was while in the latter station that he arranged the preliminary steps for the quadri-centennial of the discovery of America, and while there he was also of much assistance to students in procuring access to documents and archives. In 1902 he again returned to Spain as special envoy at the coronation of the young Spanish king.

Dr. Curry's work as agent of the Peabody and Slater Funds (being chosen to the management of the latter in 1891) was notable. He stood for educational advancement in its higher, fuller

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[3]Sketches of Dr. Curry are to be found in various places. The following are, however, the principal sources for personal and genealogical data: *Publications* of the Southern History Association, 1897, vol. i, p. 208, and vol. ii, pp. 225-229; *Representative Men of the South*, pp. 287-289; Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 541; *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the U. S.* (1900), vol. ii, pp. 282-283; and the *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, March 1903, pp. 259-263, portrait. In Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* (1897), pp. 886-891, will be found a list of Dr. Curry's writings to that date.

This sketch here given is not elaborated because an extended memoir is in preparation for a later volume of the *Transactions*.

and broader aspects, and in this ministry he continued persistently as long as he lived. Of him the *World's Work,* April, 1903, said "Popular education in the Southern States owes him the debt that every great movement owes to its able agitators and pioneers. He had the apostolic temperament, and he made more speeches to further the cause he served, perhaps, than any other man in the country; and his sincere and attractive character brought to him as many friends, of high station and of low, as any man now living can boast of."

Dr. Curry was a prolific writer and possessed of a versatile genius. He manifested at all times the keenest interest in history and historical effort, and his example and sympathy were always helpful. He participated in the preliminary conference, and was present at the organization of the Southern History Association in Washington city, April 24, 1896. He was chosen to be the first 1st vice-president of the organization, and on the death of the first president, Dr. William L. Wilson, he was elected his successor. It was in his library at Washington that the first meeting of the administrative council of the new Association was held.

He received the degree of A. M. from the University of Georgia in 1843; D. D. from the University of Rochester in 1872; and LL. D. from Mercer University, in Georgia, 1867, and from the University of Georgia in 1886. He was twice married: (1) to a daughter of Chancellor Alexander Bowie, who bore him a daughter and a son; and (2) to Mary W., daughter of James Thomas, Jr., a leading tobacconist of Richmond, Va. Dr. Curry died on February 12, 1903, at Ashville, N. C., where he was sojourning for his health. His body was interred at Richmond, Va., where he had lived for many years prior to his removal to Washington city, his home at the time of his death. Mrs. Curry did not long survive him.

Dr. Curry's valuable and unique collection of pamphlets, and his books on education, the negro and Southern history, have been presented to the Alabama Department of Archives and History. A life size oil portrait of Dr. Curry has also been presented to this Department, through the generosity of Mrs. Curry.

Dr. Curry was probably one of the very first members of the Alabama Historical Society. He and Dr. Joshua H. Foster were the last survivors of the original group who founded the organization.[4]

FORNEY, JACOB, born at Jenifer, Talladega county, Ala., Oct. 8, 1868, was the son of Maj.-Gen. John Horace and Septima Sexta Middleton (*Rutledge*) Forney, grandson of Jacob and Sarah (*Hoke*) Forney, and of Henry A. and Caroline Bell (*Nicholson*) Rutledge, great-grandson of Peter and Nancy (*Abernathy*) Forney, and of Daniel Hoke, and great-great-grandson of Jacob and Maria (*Bergner*) Forney. The last named, the emigrant, first settled in Pennsylvania, where he married, and thence removed to Tryon, afterward Lincoln county, N. C. His wife was from Canton Berne, Switzerland. The Rutledges and Middletons are among the most honored names in the history of South Carolina. His ancestors, Edward Rutledge and Arthur Middleton, were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Peter Forney was a patriotic partisan officer in the War of the Revolution, and his grandson, John Horace Forney, a graduate of West Point, 1852, was a major-general in the Confederate States Army.[5] Prof. Jacob Forney received his education in the schools of Jacksonville, Ala., and at the University of Alabama, where he was graduated in 1889 with the A. B. degree. Entering upon the exalted profession of teaching, he was principal of the Noble Institute for Boys, 1891-92, at Anniston, and from 1893 to 1899 he was president of the State Normal School at Jacksonville. In 1899 he became the first instructor in pedagogy and psychology at the University of Alabama, which position he held at the time of his death. The University conferred on him the honorary degree of master of arts in 1892. Profoundly interested in the advancement of educational work he was one of the most enthusiastic members of the Alabama Educational Association, of which he was president, 1901-1902. Of a line of patriotic and soldierly ancestors he took an interest in the State militia, and served as an officer in the 3rd

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[4]*See* p. 132 *supra.*

[5]Wheeler's *History of North Carolina,* p. 241; Wheeler's *Reminiscences of Eminent North Carolinians,* pp. 244-5; Brewer's *Alabama,* pp. 155-6; B. F. Perry's *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen,* pp. 254, 454, and the *Corolla* of the University of Alabama, 1903, pp. 151-2.

Alabama regiment for some years. In politics he was a Democrat; and in religion he was a devout member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which he regularly served as a lay reader. On June 7, 1899, at Springville, Ala., he was married to Katherine Burt, daughter of Dr. James and Isadore (*Foreman*) McLaughlin, the former the grandson of a Scotch emigrant to Nashville, Tenn., the latter the daughter of James Foreman, who came from South Carolina in the early settlement of Alabama, and located in Beaver valley, St. Clair county. During the Christmas holidays, while he was on a visit to the home of his wife's parents in Springville, he was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun, Dec. 24, 1902. He was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, Sept. 18, 1899.

GOLDTHWAITE[6] ROBERT, born in Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 2, 1844, was the son of Hon. George and Olivia Price (*Wallach*) Goldthwaite, grandson of Thomas and Anne (*Wilson*) Goldthwaite and Moses and Mary (*Robbins*) Wallach, and seventh in descent from Thomas Goldthwaite, who was born in England about 1610, and emigrated to New England about 1630. His father, Hon. George Goldthwaite, was one of the most prominent and useful of Alabama public men. He was a member of the Supreme court, and for a short period was chief justice; during three years of the war he was adjutant and inspector-general of Alabama; and he served a term in the United States senate beginning in 1870. Robert Goldthwaite was in school in Virginia at the outbreak of the war in 1861, but promptly laid aside his books and entered the Confederate service. He enlisted in the 7th Alabama cavalry regiment, and rose to the rank of lieutenant.

After the war he entered upon a business career in Montgomery. In 1870 he embarked upon the banking business as a member of the firm of Holmes & Goldthwaite, the bank being in the present (1904) Exchange hotel building. This was later merged in the Merchants' and Planters' National Bank, with W. D. Peck as president. About 1890 Mr. Goldthwaite became president, a position he held continuously until his death. He was for many

[6]For further details *see Descendants of Thomas Goldthwaite,* by Charlotte Goldthwaite (1899), pp. 200, 275; Brewer's *Alabama,* pp. 399, 451, 684; and the *Advertiser,* Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 1, 1903.

years a member of St. John's Episcopal church in Montgomery. He was a member of the Knights of Honor, the National Union, and of Camp Lomax, United Confederate Veterans. Mr. Goldthwaite was a man of sterling integrity, and prominent in all that pertained to the public weal. On Nov. 9, 1869, he married Annie Paul, daughter of Edward and Mary Virginia (*Scott*) Nesbitt, of Montgomery. He was the father of eight children, seven of whom, with his wife, survive him. He died at Montgomery, Saturday, Jan. 31, 1903, at 7 o'clock p. m., and is buried in Oakwood cemetery. Mr. Goldthwaite was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, June 7, 1899.

HOWARD, LEONIDAS, born near Milledgeville, Baldwin county, Ga., Sept. 13, 1816, was the son of Mark and Julia (*Malone*) Howard, and grandson of Nehemiah and Edith (*Smith*) Howard, and of Rev. Charles Malone. Nehemiah Howard was born in North Carolina, removed to Union district, S. C., where he married and served in the War of the Revolution. Late in life he removed to Elbert county, Ga., where he died. Rev. Charles Malone resided in Baldwin county, Ga.[7] Mr. Howard was brought by his parents to Alabama in 1817, and was reared in Autauga county, where they had settled. Receiving only a common school education, he early entered upon the life of a farmer in which noble labor he spent his entire life. He was engaged for a short time in the Indian War of 1836. For nearly fifty years he served as a magistrate in his community; and in 1863 and 1864 he represented Autauga county in the house of representatives. He was a Democrat; a Mason; and a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Mr. Howard was opposed to the secession of Alabama from the Federal Union in 1861, but on the withdrawal of the State, he loyally aided the cause of the Confederacy in every way possible; and during the dark days of reconstruction he was one of the brave spirits who assisted in throwing off Republican

[7]Mr. Howard in 1891 published a brief genealogy of his family under the modest title of *Nehemiah and Edith Howard* (8 vo. pp. 32). To this family belong three persons of prominence in the history of Alabama: Gen. Thomas Woodward, the Indian fighter, pioneer, and author of a delightful and valuable volume of *Reminiscences;* Rev. Hosea Holcombe, author of a *History of the Baptists of Alabama,* the first distinctively historical book printed in Alabama, and Mrs. Augusta (*Evans*) Wilson, whose novels and stories are so well known in Alabama.

party misrule and oppression. His wife, to whom he was married in Tuskegee in 1837, was Lucinda L., daughter of James and Mary (*Stone*) Nicholson,[8] and to them were born eleven children. Mr. Howard was one of the substantial men of the State. He died at his home, near Mulberry, Autauga county, Jan. 6, 1903, after a long and useful life. He was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, June 8, 1899.

JONES,[9] RICHARD CHANNING, born April 12, 1841, in Brunswick county, Va., was the son of Rev. John Cargill and Mary (*Walker*) Jones, the grandson of Capt. John and Lucy Binns (*Cargill*) Jones (a soldier of the Revolution), and Edward and Mary (*Warburton*) Walker, the great-grandson of Col. John Jones, of Brunswick county, a member of the Virginia house of burgesses, 1772 to 1775, and president of the Virginia senate, 1787-1788, the great-great-grandson of John Jones, son of Peter Jones, the founder of Petersburg, Va. The Jones family were prominent in Prince George and Brunswick counties, while the Walkers and Warburtons resided at Williamsburg, Va. The father of Richard C. Jones removed from Virginia to Camden, Wilcox county, Ala., in 1844, and here his son received his early education. Entering the University of Alabama he was graduated in 1859 as a bachelor of arts. In 1862 his alma mater conferred upon him the degree of master of arts, and long years afterward, in 1891, the degree of doctor of laws. In 1861 he was admitted to the bar and located in Camden to practice. He had hardly entered upon his profession, however, when in response to the call of his State he enlisted as a lieutenant in Co. C, 44th Alabama regiment, infantry. He later acted as assistant adjutant-general of Law's brigade. His career as a soldier was characterized by fidelity and courage. Resuming the profession of law in Camden at the close of the war, he continued in the active practice until 1890. During this long period he was brigadier-general of the State militia, his commission bearing date, June 4, 1876, and from 1882 to 1886 he was a member of the State senate. In 1890 he was called by the trustees to the

[8] For notes on the Nicholson family *see infra*, p. 557.

[9] *See* p. 46 *supra* for sketch of his son, V. W. Jones; also *General Laws of Alabama*, 1900-1901, pp. 192-3, and *The Crimson-White*, University of Alabama, Sept. 22, 1903.

presidency of the State University, to succeed Gen. Henry D. Clayton, who died in office. For seven years he performed the arduous and exacting duties of this high position, when in 1897 he returned to Camden to again enter upon the law. While at the University he was professor of international and constitutional law; and in 1896 he was president of the Alabama State Bar Association. He represented the 22nd district in the memorable constitutional convention of Alabama in 1901, and in that body occupied a conspicuous place. He served as a member of the committees on suffrage and elections, and education. The legislature of Alabama, by act approved March 4, 1901, provided for the appointment of a commission of three members, to take steps looking to the annexation of West Florida to Alabama, and to one of these positions Gov. Wm. J. Samford named Mr. Jones, the other commissioners being William L. Martin, Esq., of Montgomery, and Samuel Blackwell, Esq., of Decatur. Mr. Jones took much interest in the organization of the Confederate Veterans. In 1894 he was commandant of Camp Rodes, at Tuscaloosa, and at the time of his death he occupied a similar relation to Camp Franklin K. Beck, at Camden. He was a devout Baptist, was a deacon of his local church, and for years superintendent of the Camden Baptist Sunday school. He was a member of the Masons and of the Knights of Pythias. In politics he was a Democrat of the old school. Oct. 19, 1864, at Camden, he was married to Stella Hamilton, daughter of Francis and Marcella (*Hunter*) Boykin, of Camden. Mr. Jones died at his home, Sept. 12, 1903, and is survived by his widow and several children. He was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society, Dec. 8, 1900.

LOMAX, TENNENT, was born in the city of Montgomery, April 29, 1858. He was the son of Gen. Tennent and Mrs. Carrie Shorter (*Billingslea*) Lomax, grandson of William and Eliza (*Tennent*) Lomax and of Augustus and Elizabeth (*Slatter*) Billingslea, and great-grandson of James and Jane (*Dillworth*) Lomax and of William Peter Tennent and wife Martha, daughter of Maj. Hugh Middleton, of Revolutionary memory. James Lomax migrated from Rockingham county, N. C., to Abbeville district, S. C., where he built a colonial home and reared his family. He was the son of William Lomax, who came from England to Amer-

ica, and who was descended from Laurent Lomax, a companion of William the Conqueror. The original colonial ancestor of General Lomax in the Tennent branch was Rev. William Tennent, a Presbyterian minister, who, in 1727, established the log college, which, as Judge Joseph Allison said, "bloomed into Princeton College," and the great Princeton University of to-day. So important was this educational work of William Tennent that Dr. Thomas Murphy, of Philadelphia, in his history of the Presbytery, says: "He should be considered as one of the chief founders of the Presbyterian Church in America." Four sons of William Tennent were Presbyterian preachers, and one of these, William Tennent, Jr., was the founder of Tennent Church at Freehold, N. J. His son, Rev. William Tennent, of Charleston, S. C., father of Wm. Peter Tennent, was known as the "preacher and patriot," and a slab commemorating his many virtues is on the walls of the Archdale Church in that city.

Gen. Tennent Lomax was one of the purest and noblest men given by the South during the great epic period of our history. He was the first colonel of the famous Third Alabama regiment, Confederate States army, and lost his life at the head of his men, June 1, 1862, in the battle of Seven Pines. He had a short time before been promoted brigadier-general, but had declined an assignment until he had led his regiment in battle. The son, Tennent Lomax, was educated in the private schools of Montgomery, and at the University of Alabama, whence he was graduated with the degree of master of arts in 1878, and of bachelor of laws in 1879. Admitted to the bar in July, 1879, he practiced his profession in Montgomery continuously until his untimely end. He was elected solicitor of Montgomery county in December, 1886, a position he held by repeated elections as long as he lived. He was honored as few men have been honored, and held many places evidencing the esteem of the people and his associates. He was secretary of the Democratic State executive committee, 1878 to 1888; lieutenant of the Montgomery True Blues, 1882 to 1887; a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1888, 1896 and 1900; was for five years supreme representative of the Knights of Pythias; was president of the Auditorium Company in 1901; he had been a director of the Montgomery Commercial and Industrial Association, the Capital City Bank and the People's

Cotton Factory; he was a member of the Red Men and Odd Fellows, and was commandant of Camp Holtzclaw, United Sons of Confederate Veterans. He was a delegate from the State at large to the Alabama constitutional convention of 1901, and served as chairman of the committee on preamble and declaration of rights. A graduate of the State University, he had ever been one of its most devoted alumni, and in 1897 he became a member of the board of trustees from the Second Alabama district. In the constitutional convention he was its devoted friend and advocate, and succeeded in securing an increase of the sum appropriated for its support. His long practice as prosecuting attorney made him a recognized authority on all subjects connected with criminal jurisprudence, and in 1895 he published a *Digest of Criminal Law from Decisions of the Supreme Court of Alabama,* Vol. 64 to 100, inclusive. As a student, lawyer, political leader and business man, Mr. Lomax was a leader of marked strength. As a parliamentarian and orator he was at the head of the young men of his generation and equal to many of his seniors in years and public service. Mr. Lomax was a sufferer for many weary weeks, but he bore his ills uncomplainingly. He passed away at his home in Montgomery, November 21, 1902, and is buried in Oakwood cemetery.[10] Mr. Lomax united with the Alabama Historical Society, August 19, 1898.

PERKINS, JOHN WALKER, born at Scottsboro, Jackson county, Ala., November 25, 1845, was the son of Jabez Perkins, a native of Richmond, Va., and wife Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Kirby. His education was received at home under the direction of his mother. In his sixteenth year, in June, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Twelfth Alabama regiment, infantry. He was wounded at Gettysburg, and subsequently served in a cavalry command. After the close of hostilities he located in Marshall county and became a farmer. In 1879 he was appointed by Gov. Rufus W. Cobb clerk of the Circuit court of Marshall county, serving until 1886, in which year he was defeated for this office by one vote. In 1892 he was the Democratic nominee for

[10]See the *Corolla* of the University of Alabama, 1903; Brewer's *Alabama,* p. 476; *Confederate Military History,* vol. vii, pp. 679-682; the *Advertiser,* Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 22, 1902; and the *Genealogy of the Lomax Family.*

representative of his county, but was defeated by the Populist candidate, the whole local ticket suffering defeat. During President Cleveland's second administration, 1893 to 1897, he was postmaster at Guntersville. In the latter year he was named by Gov. Joseph F. Johnston as warden of the Alabama Penitentiary. In this position he served until 1901, when he returned to Martling, Marshall county, where he died, December 1, 1902. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Mr. Perkins was a loyal friend and faithful to his official trusts. Although not a trained student, he was a skillful debater. October 10, 1865, he was married at Claysville, Marshall county, to Elizabeth, daughter of Pleasant and Louise Rollings. His wife and several children survive him. Mr. Perkins was enrolled as a member of the Alabama Historical Society December 2, 1898.

STANSEL,[11] COL. MARTIN LUTHER, was born in Washington county, Georgia, April 23, 1822. He was the son of Rev. William Roberts and Jane C. Hanesworth (*Riddle*) Stansel, and grandson of William and ——— (*Roberts*) Stansel and of Captain Cato and Martha (*Tomlinson*) Riddle. Captain Riddle was a soldier of the Revolution. The first William Stansel resided in Barnwell district, S. C., while the Riddles came from Chatham county, North Carolina, to Washington county, Georgia. Rev. William R. Stansel came to Pickens county in 1831, bringing his family, and located near the "Garden." Martin L. Stansel received a thorough rudimentary education and in 1840 entered the University of Alabama, from which he was graduated in 1843.

In 1844 he began and prosecuted vigorously the study of the law under Judge Peter Martin, and was admitted to the practice before the State Supreme court at Tuscaloosa in December, 1845. He at once located in Carrollton, where he continuously practiced his profession, except the four years of his war service. In 1849 he was elected judge of the County court by the legislature. The probate court system being adopted in this year, he was defeated for the office of judge in May, 1850, by Tristam Shandy Thomas. In 1861 he was elected to the legislature and served during an exciting and important session.

[11] *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 813, *portrait;* Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 501; G. T. Ridlon's *History of the Ancient Reydales, etc.* (1884); and a *Genealogy of the Stansel Family* (1900).

He was not content, however, to serve his people in a civil capacity only, and when the Forty-first Alabama regiment of infantry was organized in April, 1862, he became its major. This splendid body of men was raised in Tuscaloosa, Greene and Pickens counties. The Forty-first Alabama had on its rolls 1,454 names, of which about 130 were killed, about 370 died of disease and 135 were transferred or discharged. Brewer's *Alabama* thus summarizes his military career: "He soon rose to the colonelcy, sharing the toils of the command and its dangers at Murfreesboro, Jackson (Miss.), Chicamauga, Drewry's Bluff and in front of Richmond and Petersburg in the closing months of the great struggle. At Murfreesboro he was wounded. General Moody being ill, Colonel Stansel commanded the brigade—41st, 43d, 59th and 60th Alabama regiments (and 23d Alabama battalion) in the battle of White Oak Roads, and in the engagements on the retreat to Appomattox, where he surrendered it."

Returning home, the county honored him with a seat in the constitutional convention of 1865, a body of earnest and remarkable men. In the same year he was elected to the State senate, serving until 1868. For twenty years he pursued his professional labors, uninterrupted by political aspirations or desires. In 1888 he was, however, again called upon to represent the county in the lower house, and in 1890 he was chosen to the senate for four years. In the senate he was chairman of the judiciary committee. Again elected to the lower house in 1896, at this session he filled the very important post of chairman of the joint committee of both houses on the Code.

Colonel Stansel was always the friend of every educational movement. He was a trustee of the University of Alabama, 1856-62, and 1892-1900, and of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1872-92. Locally, he was the patron and friend of the common schools, and on several occasions delivered educational addresses. On July 14, 1857, he appeared as the orator before the Alumni Society of the University of Alabama, his theme being "The Position, Resources and Duties of Alabama Considered in Connection with the Literature and Learning of the South," and again, June 23, 1884, he appeared before the same body in an address on "The University and the Higher Learning." He was one of the corresponding editors of the *Southern Law Journal*,

1878-79, conducted by A. B. McEachin, Esq., of Tuscaloosa. To this he contributed well considered papers on "The Code of 1875 and the Common Law," "Evidence-Compensation of Experts," "Ad Quod Damnum" and "Champerty."

Colonel Stansel was a Democrat and was a delegate to and attended the Democratic National Conventions of 1856 and of 1876. From 1868 to 1874 he was chairman of the executive committee of Pickens county, and did much to redeem the latter from the bondage of Republican misrule and corruption. As a tribute to his prominent position as an attorney the Alabama State Bar Association chose him as its president, 1882-83, and his official address at the meeting of August 1, 1883, will be found in the *Proceedings* of that year.

Colonel Stansel was twice married: (1) January 18, 1849, to Laura Sherrod, and (2) May 13, 1858, to Olivia Sherrod, both daughters of James Bayard and Caroline (*White*) Sherrod. The Sherrod and White families were early settlers of Pickens county. James B. Stansel, an only son by the first marriage, and two daughters, the only children of the second marriage, survive him. Colonel Stansel died at Carrollton, June 25, 1903, and is there buried. His membership in the Alabama Historical Society dates prior to 1860, but the exact time is unknown.

III. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF COLONEL ALBERT JAMES PICKETT.

By Col. Michael Leonard Woods,[1] Montgomery.

When the accomplished and indefatigable Secretary delivered to me a short time ago the invitation of the Society to deliver the annual address on this interesting occasion, he also informed me that it was desired that I should take for the subject of my address "Personal Reminiscences of Colonel Albert James Pickett." My relation to Colonel Pickett is well known to most, if not all, of those present, and while I have often related to my friends in private incidents of which I had personal knowledge or reliable information, in the life of Colonel Pickett, I must confess that tonight, owing alone to that relationship, I feel some embarrassment in repeating some of them in this public manner. But I took the invitation to do what I am going to do, as in the nature of a command from the officers of the Society, and I now shift the responsibility from my shoulders to theirs.

Colonel Pickett was born in Anson county, North Carolina, August 13, 1810, and was the son of Col. William Raiford Pickett and Frances Dickson, his wife. His father came to Alabama in 1816, but did not move his entire family to this State until 1818, when he located in Autauga county, then a part of Montgomery county. The facilities for the acquisition of a literary and scientific education were meagre then, and while the father devoted himself to merchandising, planting and somewhat to politics, the son was permitted in his intercourse with the hardy pioneers of the territory and the Indians to acquire such knowledge as was practicable from personal observation, and the recital of facts by others rather than information derived from books. He was particularly fortunate in this regard, his daily associations being with that class of settlers who made such an impress, at that early period, as to give strength and force of character to the county of

[1] For a sketch of Col. Woods *see* the *Alabama Official and Statistical Register,* 1903, pp. 18-19.—Editor.

Autauga, which has continued to distinguish it until the present. While deriving practical knowledge thus, he occasionally attended various old-field schools, as they were familiarly called, when such were in his vicinity. One of his first teachers was the late Neil Blue, so long honorably connected with the Montgomery post office, and always so highly esteemed by our citizens during a long and useful life spent among them. Another of his teachers who was celebrated was Joseph Hall, whose school was located at Rocky Mount.

In the spring of 1828 he conceived the idea of joining a military school, under the charge of Captain Partridge, at Middletown, Conn. Public conveyances being at that time almost unknown in this section of the country, he left his father's residence, then in the neighborhood of Vernon, Autauga county, on horseback, with a pair of saddle-bags, which contained something to eat as well as something to wear, and traveled to Wadesboro, N. C., through the territory inhabited by various tribes of Indians, who were in a state of almost open hostility because of the efforts of the Federal Government to obtain their lands and other grievances of which they complained. Upon his arrival at Wadesboro, where he had relatives, he first met Edmund S. Dargan, who subsequently became a distinguished citizen of Alabama. He there exchanged with Mr. Dargan, who was a young lawyer, his saddle-bags for a small trunk, and, having disposed of his horse, put his clothing in the trunk and resumed his journey in a public conveyance to New York, where he tarried for a few days in order to purchase an outfit of clothing and other things more suitable to be worn and used at the school which he expected to attend.

I have listened with others to Colonel Pickett recite the incidents and adventures of this trip, which he did with such display of wit and humor and keen appreciation of the ludicrousness of many of its incidents and adventures, that every listener was convulsed with laughter from the beginning to the end of the story. He told of the tender care and solicitude with which his mother prepared his outfit, the particular garment which received the most attention in its making being an outer garment made in the style of a man's hunting shirt, such as were worn in those days. He described in striking terms and with infinite zest his appearance when finally he was mounted upon his horse for his depar-

ture, with this garment made of material of varied and brilliant colors, closely belted to his body in such a manner that it was with difficulty he could set his fiery steed. Much attention had been given by his loving mother to supplying him with an abundance to eat during his long journey through the unsettled country, besides extra clothing, all of which had to be packed in his pair of saddle-bags, something difficult to accomplish. But his troubles with his saddle-bags during the trip from his home near Vernon to Wadesboro, N. C., were nothing compared to those he encountered after he became the owner and possessor of Mr. Dargan's small hair trunk.

Only those present who have lived in the days of the stage coach driver or the stage driver, as he was generally called, can fully appreciate that interesting and, it may be said, heroic character, for he was a hero and an oracle to all the girls and boys living along his route. He was known to everybody, old and young. He was the telegraph and long-distance telephone of his period. He dispensed all the neighborhood news and gossip upon each trip from one end to the other of his drive. He was generally a light-hearted, rollicking individual and, while in most instances, he was obliging and accommodating, he was naturally given to his quips and jokes when a fit subject was a passenger upon his coach. One such was found in young Pickett with his small trunk, in which its owner manifested such a lively interest. It was a small trunk, one of which nearly every family in those days possessed. It was covered with dressed calfskin generally, with a circular or round hinged cover or upper part, and was known in the family as "the small hair trunk," now a thing of the past, having been supplanted by the fashionable "dressing case."

The female relatives at Wadesboro had replenished his supply of eatables, all of which, together with his clothing, were packed in the trunk. From the start at Wadesboro that trunk attracted the notice of the stage driver, who began at once to practice jokes upon its youthful owner. It was the last article to be put in the boot and the last to be taken therefrom to be transferred to the next coach. A wink from one driver to the other at each relay was quite sufficient to cause a repetition of the pranks. When a driver pointed to the small trunk at one relay and inquired with apparent disdain for the owner of that trunk, it was with some

shamefacedness that the youth acknowledged ownership. Some of the drivers carried the joke to the extent of actually requiring the owner to put the trunk in the boot, threatening that, unless he did so, it would be left. But the enterprising youth finally reached New York city with his trunk and made his way to the hotel which had been designated by his father as his stopping place. Here his misfortunes grew apace. In this instance they arose solely out of his own inexperience. He encountered some difficulty in securing a room, not having made himself known to the proprietor. When he finally succeeded in doing so he was assigned to a room on the top floor. He had trouble in getting a porter to carry his trunk to that room. When this was accomplished and he had time to take into consideration his surroundings, he was overcome by a feeling of desolation. He opened his trunk and in an effort to drive away homesickness began to assort such things as he had in it. A good portion of the things to eat which had been stored in it by his Wadesboro relatives remained, and without realizing what might result from doing so he began throwing them out of the window, and as the building faced a street the hardened biscuits and other edibles, including the remnant of a small boiled ham, fell to the street below, and in the fall happened to strike or in some way interfere with some of the people passing, and the result was that very soon there was loud knocking at his room door, and a call to know what he was doing and why he was trying to murder the people passing on the street below his window. Explanations followed and a night somewhat of loneliness was passed. The next morning he appeared at the hotel office and inquired of the person in charge if he knew a certain mercantile house in the city, and as it was a leading one he received an affirmative reply. Thereupon he produced a letter of introduction addressed to this house by his father, who was then a large and trusted customer of the house, and found little trouble in inducing the clerk to send a guide with him to the house. Soon the head of the firm, who had been told the facts of the situation, appeared at the hotel with the youth. The proprietor was told that his young friend must have the best accommodations in the hotel. The father had advised the firm that the son would require an outfit from head to foot. Soon he was in the best room in the hotel, a sole leather trunk was substituted for the

small hair trunk, a new suit of the best clothes instead of the bright hued, but comfortable, hunting shirt, was covering the youth.

I have dwelt at some length upon this incident in the boyhood of Colonel Pickett because I believe it exercised a large influence upon his after life. When in his mature years he looked back upon these scenes of his own discomfiture, with a ripened judgment, he understood that the pranks were merely the sudden inventions of the frolicsome stage driver for temporary amusement without the least malice toward anyone. It taught him to appreciate a joke, even when practiced at his expense, and I am sure he fully recouped himself out of his friends in after life.

When the youth arrived at Middletown, Conn., where he supposed a school to be in operation under the management of Captain Partridge, he found that the latter had quit the school and with him a large number of the cadets, although the institution still contained the usual complement of professors and instructors. The number of the students grew small by degrees until the school did not exceed thirty or thirty-five. Young Pickett, believing that it would soon cease altogether, as it did, left Middletown for Cambridge, Mass., with the intention of subsequently entering Harvard College, but while there and previous to commencement he received a letter from his father saying that he desired him to attend a literary school in Virginia, which at that time had considerable reputation. He soon repaired to this institution, located in Stafford county, and then under the superintendence of a Mr. Tackett. Here he remained about two years, making good progress in his studies and acquitting himself with much credit.

Upon his return home he became a law student in Montgomery in the office of his brother, William Dickson Pickett, then judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit. He did not apply himself very assiduously to the study of law, but devoted much more of his time and attention to literature and political economy and to writing upon these subjects for the newspapers. The conditions were such that he had free use of the columns of *The Alabama Journal* for his literary compositions, whilst the columns of *The Planters' Gazette* were open to his political articles.

He was married March 20, 1832, to Miss Sarah Smith Harris, who was the eldest daughter of Mr. William Harris, then de-

ceased, and his wife, Mrs. Mary D. Harris, whose home was at the place now known as Chisholm, or Pickett's Spring. Upon this event Colonel Pickett left his brother's law office without applying for a license to practice law, and temporarily resided with his mother-in-law. Soon, however, he located in Autauga county, in the vicinity of his father's residence, in a neighborhood distinguished for the production of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, the morality and general intelligence of its inhabitants. Here he remained for two years, devoting his attention to his plantation and his books. He removed to the city of Montgomery in the fall of 1837, and continued a permanent citizen thereof, alternating between city and county at different seasons of the year, until his death, October 28, 1858.

Mr. Pickett was appointed aid-de-camp on his staff by Gov. C. C. Clay. He was active in the field in organizing troops for the Creek War in 1836. In a sketch of Governor Clay he says in his *History of Alabama* (Owen's edition, 1900, p. 651): "Governor Clay has been charged with inactivity and neglect of duty during the Creek War, in the spring of 1836. If we were writing a history of those times, we could vindicate him in a most successful manner, for we were then attached to the executive staff and well remember what transpired. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking that no man ever labored more assiduously to bring into the field a force sufficient to subdue the hostile Indians, and no one ever evinced more willingness to afford relief to his fellow-citizens in the Creek nation, or felt for them more anxiety."

Early in 1847 Colonel Pickett wrote a series of sketches of New Orleans, entitled "Eight Days in New Orleans," which were published in *The Montgomery Journal*. These sketches evinced such a degree of research and historical ability that there were many public and private demands made upon their author to write a history of Alabama. Colonel Pickett, in response to these demands, announced that he had for a long time had it in contemplation to write a history of this State and indicated to a certain extent the character of the contemplated book. He then said, writing from "Forest Farm," March 20, 1847 (Montgomery *Flag and Advertiser*, March 27, 1847):

"I consider myself a native of Alabama. When a boy only six years old it was my destiny to have been thrown among her forest wilds, amid savages and a few frontier settlers. From personal observation I know much of the mysterious character of the one and the rude primitive habits of the other. In the period of thirty years I have lived to see this State rise from an interminable wilderness and take her rank among the richest and most respectable members of the Confederacy. I have seen the spot which now sustains our own loved Montgomery when the wild game sported upon her virgin soil. And while the tall oaks waved in majestic silence, no woodman had been there to disturb the repose of eternal nature! While hundreds are more capable than I am of writing the history of Alabama, I yield to none in enthusiastic attachment and devotion to her soil and people. To both I am wedded beyond the probability of separation, for I have grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength. I shall esteem it the greatest satisfaction on my side to be able to afford my respected fellow-citizens a faithful record of the interesting country they inhabit, and shall be under everlasting obligations to you and other patriotic gentlemen for any assistance you can render me."

I believe it can be truthfully said that few men have lived a more exemplary and useful life when it is considered that he died at the comparatively young age of forty-eight years. His participation in public affairs began when he was young. We find him at the September term, 1835, of the Circuit court of Montgomery county, Judge Ezekiel Pickens presiding, a member of the grand jury and the author of the report made by it to the court condemning the Abolitionists as criminal offenders against the peace and dignity of the State of Alabama by their unauthorized circulation of "seditious pamphlets" and "exciting our slaves to insurrection."

He also wrote in the fall of 1835 several editorial articles for the Montgomery *Advertiser*. The subjects discussed in these articles were "The French Question," "The Alabama Legislature," "The Speaker's Chair," "The Proposed Convention" and "The Hon. William Smith." These articles are written in good taste, excellent style and show full information upon the subjects discussed.

Also, in the same year, we find him the chairman of a committee of correspondence of the Democratic Republicans of Autauga county, issuing an address, in pamphlet form, calling upon the

friends of the administration of President Jackson to meet at Kingston to consider the suggestions made in the address, it having been proposed to hold a Jackson convention in Tuscaloosa, Ala., December, 1835. The other members of the committee were Benjamin Fitzpatrick, John Wood, John P. DeJarnette and Crawford M. Jackson.

I may state here that in the summer of 1837 Colonel Pickett, Mrs. Pickett and their daughter, afterwards my wife, then about seven months old, accompanied by Mrs. Pickett's sister, Miss Mary G. Harris, afterwards Mrs. John H. Gindrat, traveled from their home in Montgomery county to the Hot Springs, on the French Broad river, in North Carolina; thence to Nashville, Tenn., to visit Hon. Daniel Graham, an eminent man in that State, who had several worthy brothers in this State, and thence to the Hermitage, where they spent some time as the guests of General Jackson.

Afterwards Colonel Pickett was the recipient from General Jackson, or through his instrumentality, of a most excellent oil portrait of the General himself, which now is in the possession of Colonel Pickett's grandson, William Pickett Harris, of Detroit. I have heard Colonel Pickett frequently say that General Jackson was the most courtly and gallant gentleman he ever met, his courtliness and gallantry being especially noticeable when he was in the presence of ladies.

Returning to a consideration of the public work of Colonel Pickett, I note that he was the author of a report by the grand jury of Montgomery county at the spring term, 1845, of the Circuit court, Judge George W. Stone, presiding, presenting for the consideration of the legislature, among other matters, the passage of a law prohibiting the constant introduction of negroes from other States by traders for sale in this State.

In September of that year, 1845, we find him addressing a communication to the grand juries of the State at the request of fourteen of the leading citizens of Montgomery county. They had advised him that they were well pleased with the views expressed in the grand jury report read by him to the court at the last spring term and requested him to publish his views in full upon the introduction of so many negroes into the State, which they viewed as most pernicious to our best interests. A copy of this address

was to be sent to each grand jury in the State for their consideration, so that they might speak out upon the subject in time to influence the approaching legislature. In this communication Colonel Pickett stated that he "simply proposed that the legislature pass a law prohibiting the introduction of negroes for sale here from other States, to be in operation for five years or longer."

This communication was the subject of general and, at times, acrimonious, discussion by the press and correspondents throughout the entire State. These comments and strictures drew from many persons, some in high authority, letters urging Colonel Pickett to continue the discussion of the subject, with the assurance of their approval of his views. In response to these requests Colonel Pickett, October 20, 1845, continued the discussion. It is worthy of mention that Colonel Pickett, at this time, in a note appended to the pamphlet copy of this paper, took occasion to say that he "had no political aspirations, nor did he ever expect to be influenced by such considerations, and that while his political opinions had nothing to do with the subject, inasmuch as certain writers and others had so frequently questioned his Democracy in order to satisfy their doubts upon that subject, he would say he was then and forever, in sickness and in health, in prosperity and in adversity, a pure, unadulterated, unsophisticated Jackson man," and that he cordially agreed "with that eminent person in every political opinion he ever held—in every military movement he ever made, and in his whole career through life—both civil, religious, military and political." "His principles," he said, "are mine, and you can call me what you please."

In December, 1846, and February, 1847, he contributed most interesting and instructive articles to the *Southern Cultivator*, Augusta, Ga., upon the red lands of Alabama, which were of a practical character, and contained valuable information gained from the actual experience of the writer.

His *History of Alabama*, upon which he had been engaged since 1848, was published in 1851. Hon. Crawford M. Jackson, a man of much learning, in a *Brief Biographical Sketch* of Colonel Pickett, written early in 1859, says the history "was received with extraordinary favor by the public. It attracted attention not only a home, but in other States, and was commented upon in terms of commendation and approval in Europe. The work is free from

pomposity or ornate verbiage, but contains in a condensed and attractive form more valuable information in small space than is often found in works much more pretentious and voluminous. It is a legacy to the people of Alabama of immense value."

Col. J. F. H. Claiborne, whom C. M. Jackson terms "the accomplished gentleman, erudite scholar and finished writer," late of Mississippi, thus spoke of it: "Colonel Pickett's *History of Alabama,* a work exhibiting the characteristics of its gifted and lamented author, scrupulous and laborious research, impartial statements, generous feelings, admiration for virtue and enthusiastic devotion to whatever concerned the fame and honor of Alabama."

His reputation as a historian having been established, Colonel Pickett was called upon to deliver the annual address before this Society. It was delivered July 12, 1854, at Tuscaloosa, the subject being "The Origin and Progress of History in the Eastern Hemisphere." By some of the newspapers noticing it at the time this address was entitled the "History of Historians," and by others the "Historians of All Ages." It was published in the *Weekly Montgomery Mail,* August 24, 1854.

Colonel Pickett also wrote in the latter part of 1854 a series of letters or essays addressed to a student of the University of Alabama, which were published in the *Montgomery Mail,* which were intended for the consideration of the young men of this State, "in whose welfare," he said, "he took the liveliest interest." These letters were characterized by careful study and much learning and were entitled "Hampden's Letters."

After the publication of the *History of Alabama,* Colonel Pickett very soon applied himself with great assiduity and increased energy to the self-imposed but pleasing task of writing a history of the Southwest, and in this behalf his labors were for a time indefatigable. It was his intention to have visited France and Spain for the purpose of collecting necessary material for the work, but he applied himself with such intensity to his work that his health was so seriously impaired thereby that he was compelled to abandon the idea of going abroad.

Mr. J. J. Hooper, the editor of the *Montgomery Mail,* said editorially in his paper, April 11, 1857, that already two-thirds of this history had been written. I am, however, under the impression that, perhaps, while Colonel Pickett estimated that two-thirds

of the necessary labor had been performed, and so informed Mr. Hooper, I do not believe that two-thirds of the book had been actually written. I do know, though, that a great deal of matter had been gathered and systematically arranged for the book. I would be glad to be able to state here what became of the manuscript of this work, but I am unable to do so.

It was impossible for Colonel Pickett to remain idle. Therefore, when he temporarily suspended actual labor on the contemplated history of the Southwest and sought to regain his health by visiting Florida and other places, his mind and pen were busy. He wrote and published several letters in 1857 descriptive of the country and people upon the route from Montgomery to Pensacola, including an interesting history of Pensacola. About the same time he wrote a series of articles entiled "The Mystery of a Century," in which he gave his opinion of Junius as a writer and a man. These articles displayed much learning and ability. Their publication created such a demand for the writings of Junius that I was told at the time by one of our booksellers that it was impossible to supply that demand.

In the spring of 1858 Colonel Pickett's health being precarious, he visited Bladon Springs, where he remained for a few weeks. I accompanied him on this trip. We traveled to Mobile by boat, then up the Tombigbee river by boat to the landing near Bladon Springs. Thence we were conveyed to the Springs in the hotel stage or omnibus. I think it was Sunday morning when we reached the hotel, which was beautifully situated near the spring. As was usual, a large proportion of the visitors there were on the porch and lawn in front of the hotel to greet the newcomers. Colonel Pickett usually in his latter years walked with a cane, and at this period leaned pretty heavily upon it. The landlord was an open-faced, quite talkative person and gave the new visitors a hearty reception. Colonel Pickett began at once to inquire about accommodations for himself and for me, and as was generally usual on such occasions he was more or less jocular. He informed the landlord that he had come there for his health and brought me as his nurse—that he wanted two rooms for us, with a door between; that he would not have me in the room with him for the world, neither would he have me without close reach of him for the world.

The landlord suggested that he had a row of very comfortable cabins built on the lawn at right angles with the hotel, the doors of alternate cabins being on opposite sides, so that two doors were close together and quite as convenient for entrance from one to the other, as if they were between the cabins on the inside. This seemed to satisfy Colonel Pickett and he said we would take two of them if upon examination they were found satisfactory. It was some distance to the nearest two adjoining cabins that were empty and we started under charge of a hotel servant to investigate the cabins. We had not taken more than one or two steps when Colonel Pickett stopped and, turning around, addressed the landlord about as follows: "Are there any loafers, sir, in those cabins down there?" "No, sir, we do not permit any loafers upon these premises," the landlord answered. Colonel Pickett said: "Sir, do you see that young man there," pointing to me. "He, sir, is by and large about the greatest loafer in Alabama, and I tell you now, sir," bringing his cane heavily to the ground, "he is going to stay here, notwithstanding what you say, sir." The landlord quickly appreciated the humor of the situation and replied that he would take the risk upon me. After that for several days as I passed about the grounds I several times heard visitors laughingly remark, "There goes that sick old gentleman's loafer."

When we went to our dinner that day there were two gentlemen sitting at the table at which we were placed. Very little was said by either of the party during the meal, but while Colonel Pickett and I were walking back to our cabins he asked me if I had noticed particularly the two gentlemen at the table with us. I replied that I had, whereupon he asked me what I thought of each of them. I told him as well as I could the opinion I had formed of each, which seemed to please him, as he remarked in substance that he was glad to see that I was observant of men. Colonel Pickett was possessed of the idea that "the proper study of mankind is man," hence, he said, that as it was probable the two gentlemen would be our associates at our meals and at the hotel for some time he intended to seek a conversation with them when we next met at the table, in order to ascertain who they were, telling me at the same time the impressions each of them had made upon him.

One of the gentlemen was very quiet, without pretensions of any kind, while the other was rather talkative, with considerable pretension. I was curious to see how Colonel Pickett would approach the gentlemen when we met again, but it was easily accomplished by him at the supper, where we were again seated at the same table. He soon learned that the quiet gentleman was a citizen of Mobile, where he was engaged in trade and was the brother of one of Alabama's most learned chancellors. This gentleman showed great familiarity with the commerce of Mobile and the character and standing of the leading citizens of that city and he and Colonel Pickett were soon upon a familiar footing. The other gentleman proved to be a prosperous business man of St. Louis. When this fact became known the conversation turned at once upon that city, its early history, growth, population, commerce and land titles. It was not long, however, before instead of gathering information from the citizen of St. Louis about his own city Colonel Pickett was imparting to that gentleman without the least pretension and in the most familiar and interesting manner important information about the city of which he had been a resident for years. Bacon said: "Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man and writing an exact man," and that "histories make men wise." Colonel Pickett's life exemplified the correctness of what Bacon said. No one can follow Colonel Pickett's writings without discovering that the more he wrote the nearer he approached exactness; that reading was making him the full man; that conference was making him the ready man, and histories were making him the wise man.

During Colonel Pickett's last illness, when he was impressed with the belief that his end was near, he spoke to me about his *History of Alabama.* Some criticisms upon it by Col. Thomas S. Woodward had appeared in the public prints. Colonel Woodward had undertaken to ridicule the statement that Alexander McGillivray was an educated man. A short while prior to this conversation Colonel Pickett had received a letter from Hon. John A. Campbell, then an associate justice of the Supreme court of the United States, in which Judge Campbell had sent a copy of an obituary notice of McGillivray published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of London, just subsequent to his death. Judge Campbell was aware of what had been published in Alabama, and in

reading the notice in the *Magazine*, which he found in the Congressional Library at Washington city, he discovered that it contained the statement that Colonel McGillivray was a well educated man. Therefore he procured a copy of the notice and enclosed it to Colonel Pickett. Judge Campbell expressed his pleasure at finding in this unexpected manner a confirmation of Colonel Pickett's statements. He greatly appreciated this kindly courtesy on the part of Judge Campbell, between whom and himself there had long existed the warmest friendship.

Colonel Pickett stated to me that it was his wish that none of his friends should ever enter into a controversy with any one about the accuracy of his work; that he had in all instances cited the authority upon which every important statement in it was made, and he desired all other matters to rest there. But with respect to this single matter mentioned in Judge Campbell's letter, he said that he had in a measure made McGillivray the hero of his book, and that as Judge Campbell was a man of great learning and distinction, whose statement would have great weight with the public, he desired me at some opportune time to simply print Judge Campbell's letter and the obituary notice enclosed in it. Not very long after Colonel Pickett's death Col. J. F. H. Claiborne made a most effective refutation of Colonel Woodward's criticism, and that afforded me the opportunity to print Judge Campbell's letter.

I shall now conclude with some brief references to the personal habits and characteristics of Colonel Pickett. He was about five feet, nine inches in height, and weighed about one hundred and seventy-five pounds. He had a frank and open face, and was always smooth shaven. He was the very impersonation of energy. He was always occupied, and had a great capacity for work. He was methodical in all things, with the possible exception of irregularity at his meals. As I have indicated, he was full of humor and loved a quip or a joke, but with all he was moody at times. This was due to excessive labor or preoccupation. He was strictly temperate. He was affectionate and demonstrative. He loved his family with a devoted passion. He supervised the instruction of his children and manifested a lively interest in their progress. He loved music and art. He was fond of society, and in no sense a recluse. Punctilious in meeting obligations, he had

all the high sense of honor of the Southern gentleman. He was public spirited, often served on juries, wrote on public questions for the press and was a member of all local committees charged with public duties. As a planter he took a lively interest in scientific and progressive agriculture.

He died at "Forest Home" (Chisholm near the present Pickett's Spring), and was interred first in the family graveyard at Cedar Grove. In 1894 his remains were removed to Oakwood cemetery in Montgomery. He reared a large family of sons and daughters, but lost three children in infancy. The names of his adult children are as follows: (1) William Raiford, who m. Laura Holt—he is dead, she resides with their children in Montgomery; (2) Martha, m. M. L. Woods, the writer—she is dead; (3) Corinne, m. Edward Brett Randolph—she is dead, no descendants; he lives in Montgomery; (4) Eliza W., m. Edwin A. Banks—he is dead, she resides with their children in Montgomery; (5) Mary, m. Bishop Samuel S. Harris—both dead, sons in Detroit and one daughter in Berkeley, Cal.; (6) Sarah Julia, m. Robert Carter Randolph—he is dead, she lives with their children in Montgomery; (7) Albert James, m. Eugenia Durden—he is dead, she and children live near Autaugaville; (8) Alston Harris, m. Elizabeth Jackson—they have children, and both live in Montgomery; (9) John Gindrat, unmarried, and lives at Autaugaville.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA INTO THE UNION, DEC. 14, 1899—DEC. 14, 1903.

FOUNDED BY MRS. IDYL KING SORSBY,

Birmingham, Alabama.

ORIGIN AND OBSERVANCE OF ALABAMA DAY.

In May, 1898, at the convention of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs in Selma, Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby called attention to the fact that December fourteenth was the anniversary of the day when the State of Alabama came into being in 1819, and that it had been selected by her as the day for the organization of the Pierian Club at East Lake, near Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1897. With an appreciation of the patriotic value of the public observance of important anniversaries, Mrs. Sorsby determined to go further than this recognition of the date of the admission of the State into the Union. She therefore arranged for a formal celebration of the event Dec. 14, 1899, under the auspices of the history department of the Birmingham Woman's Club. She was the director of this department, and also one of the vice-presidents of the Alabama Historical Society.

The "Golden Rod" issue of *Woman's Work,* Nov., 1899, comments thus on her pioneer leadership in State patriotism in club circles:

"It is to be observed by a review of the year books of the Federation that the history and literature of almost every nation and period of the world's history is included in the proposed work. The history and literature of our own State are undertaken by but one department of one club, viz: the History Department of a Birmingham club—inspired by Mrs. Sorsby."

The first public celebration was a pronounced success. A number of descriptive slips were distributed in every State in the Union, and Mrs. Sorsby wrote a personal letter to each governor,

urging the consecutive, annual celebration of each State's birthday. Many encouraging replies were received. It was found that a few States had already instituted similar celebrations. One of the leading Alabama periodicals in March, 1900, said:

"We need to cultivate State patriotism; to that end we should study the history of the State and of its great men and women; and should also in our gatherings commemorate its great events. The Alabama Historical Society paid all ladies of the State a compliment when it made Mrs. Sorsby a vice-president—an honor hitherto unknown to Alabama women. She gave us an admirable example when she celebrated the State's birthday."

Reports of the several celebrations have been made to the Alabama Historical Society, and they are given in full below. Mrs. Sorsby's efforts have received the cordial commendation of the Society.

At her suggestion Alabama Day was unanimously adopted by the Alabama Educational Association, at its meeting in Birmingham, June 18, 1903. A committee was appointed to prepare an appropriate program for the use of the schools throughout the State. A program, the joint work of this committee, the Department of Education, and the Department of Archives and History, was prepared (8 vo. pp. 24), in which formal acknowledgement was made to Mrs. Sorsby as the founder of the anniversary. The celebration in the schools was general on Dec. 14, 1903.—EDITOR.

I. FIRST ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, DECEMBER 14, 1899.

The patriotic celebration in Birmingham of the State's birthday anniversary, December 14, 1899, was unique and successful. Every detail of the program and decoration had been carefully planned, and was finely executed. The occasion will go down in history as the first observance of the birthday anniversary of Alabama as a State, 1819-1899, though our general history extends back more than two hundred years. The assembly room was tastefully decorated in bunting and flags, ivy, palms and exquisite cut flowers, and presented a charming appearance in the brilliance of electric lights and waxen tapers. In rear of the rostrum were the words "Alabama, 1819-99," in a large design of ivy

on a white background, with graceful framework of vines and ferns, surmounted by two historic flags.

Mrs. R. H. Pearson introduced Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby, one of the vice-presidents of the Alabama Historical Society and director of the history department in the Birmingham Woman's Club, who conducted the exercises in the happiest vein, and with an undercurrent of deepest patriotism. The following was the program:

"Welcome,"—Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby.

"Hero Hobson March" (Memoli),—Mr. S. A. Reid.

"Alabama History Commission,"—Colonel S. W. John.

"Recitation,"—Miss Fay Harris.

"Revived Patriotism,"—Hon. Rufus N. Rhodes.

"Star-Spangled Banner,"—Eighteen pupils of Powell school, directed by Misses Kitts and Bostick.

"The Modern Woman in Historical Research,"—Mrs. George C. Ball.

"D. A. R. Work in Alabama,"—Mrs. J. Morgan Smith.

"Dixie,"—Misses Brown, Goldstein, Cameron, Pulliam, Delheim and Lykes, directed by Mrs. J. D. Lykes.

Following the rendition of this program the folding doors between the lecture room and tea room were thrown open, revealing a table with snowy damask, small flags and trailing vines, and a large cake upon which were burning eighty tiny candles—red, white and blue—one for each year of the State's history. No prettier tableau could have been presented. The honor of cutting the cake was conferred upon Mrs. R. H. Pearson, the president of the Woman's Club. A feature was the ribbon candy, striped red, white and blue. The handsome embossed cake, with its eighty candles, and ribbon candy, were gifts to the history department by its director, Mrs. Sorsby. The usual club refreshments were served, and were in charge of the house committee. The ladies who assisted Mrs. Sorsby in receiving were Mesdames Ball, Pearson, Smith and members of the history department of the Woman's Club.

A number of letters and notes of congratulation were received by Mrs. Sorsby encouraging her in her patriotic work, and laudable and successful attempts in bringing this subject more forcibly before the people. Governor Joseph F. Johnston, who is profoundly interested, sent a note of regret, as it was impossible to

attend. Dainty boxes of birthday cake, with souvenir candles were sent him and others. At the conclusion of the program, Mrs. Sorsby thanked the participants and audience for the enthusiastic assistance and appreciation shown, and announced that the anniversary exercises would be held next year, December 14, in a larger hall, and patriotic societies throughout the State would be invited to participate. It was announced that communications had been sent to the governors of the several States requesting their co-operation and urging appropriate observance of each State's birthday anniversary.

II. SECOND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, DECEMBER 14, 1900.

The second celebration of the State's birthday anniversary, held in Birmingham, December 14, 1900, was a brilliant success. The observance of the day, last December, marked a distinct incident in the progress of State patriotism.

Upon this interesting occasion, the assembly room in the Commercial Club building was beautifully decorated with flags, ivy and fragrant flowers. An artistic arrangement of rambling vines overhung a large map of Alabama back of the speaker's desk.

The program was as follows:

"Welcome,"—Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby.

"The Blue and the Gray,"—Little Misses Batton, Wilson, Gardien, Merrill and Cheatham, directed by Miss Key.

"The Genesis of the State,"—Thomas McAdory Owen, secretary of the Alabama Historical Society.

"Red, White and Blue,"—pupils of Powell School, directed by Miss Emma Wellman.

As the last chorus was sung, and while the flags were yet waving, the folding doors were thrown open, disclosing a table with spotless damask, artistically decorated with vines and flags, and crowned by a large, iced cake aglow with eighty-one tiny red, white and blue candles. This and the patriotic confections—red, white and blue—were, as usual, the birthday gift of Mrs. Sorsby to her State. The honor of cutting the cake was conferred upon Mrs. William Duncan Nesbitt, the daughter of Col. T. G. Bush, a prominent and popular member of the Alabama Historical Society.

The instructive address by Mr. Owen delivered extemporaneously, was keenly enjoyed by his fortunate hearers. He used a pointer made from a part of the mast of the Merrimac.

The sweet music of the patriotic children and their teachers evoked enthusiastic applause.

After enjoying the program and dainty refreshments deftly served by the house committee and receiving ladies, many visited the library of the Alabama Historical Society on the fourth floor of the building, and were surprised to see the number of books and pamphlets of State history already collected.

The Society holds its business meetings in June, and it is proposed to adopt the birthday celebration each fourteenth of December for social entertainment.

III. THIRD ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, DECEMBER 14, 1901.

The celebration of the birthday of our State was the patriotic suggestion, two years ago, of Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby, one of the vice-presidents of the Alabama Historical Society. The third observance took place December 14, 1901, at East Lake, near Birmingham. This day is "the anniversary of two historic occasions —that upon which Alabama took her bridal vows of Union, and the memorable day when Washington breathed his last." Its local interest was enhanced by its being the birthday anniversary of the Pierian Club, of which Mrs. Sorsby is founder and president. The following program was rendered:

"Welcome,"—Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby.

"Ripples of the Alabama" (instrumental),—Mrs. L. A. Keene.

"Song of the Southland" (vocal),—Mesdames Griffin and Burchfield.

"Incidents of Alabama History,"—Members of the Pierian Club.

"Mount Vernon Bells" (vocal),—Misses Herring, McGehee and Hargrove.

"Ringing the Liberty Bell."

"Alabama Favorite March,"—Mrs. L. A. Keene.

Suspended in the doorway and beneath two historic flags was the ringing liberty bell, gay with its bows and streamers of red, white and blue ribbons, gracefully manipulated by little Annie

Molton. Two by two the guests marched beneath the swinging bell into the dining room, with its decorations and snowy table. In the center of the festal board stood the large State birthday cake, resplendent with its eighty-two red, white and blue tapers. The corners of the table were beautified by four smaller cakes, ornamented with single white candles tied with blue ribbon, typical of the Pierian Club's years and colors. The honor of cutting the Alabama cake was accorded Mrs. William Forest Molton.

IV. FOURTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, DECEMBER 13, 1902.

The fourth celebration of the birthday of the State was fittingly observed at East Lake, near Birmingham, December 13, 1902. The fourteenth fell on Sunday, hence the celebration was observed on the day preceding. The spacious rooms were handsomely decorated with bunting, flags, vines and rare cut flowers.

The exercises were as follows:

"Welcome,"—Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby.

"Alabama Fair" (instrumental),—Mrs. G. C. West.

"Quotations from Alabama Authors,"—Members of the Pierian Club.

"Washington's Glove and the Kiss" (recitation),—Miss Jessie Herring.

"Darkie Conjurin' on a Southern Plantation" (dialect reading),—Miss Kate Tarrant.

"Alabama" (vocal),—Mrs. William Newton Griffin.

"Salute to the Alabama Flag,"—By all present.

"The President's March,"—Miss Lucile Hargrove.

Mrs. Sorsby directed the unique ceremony of saluting the State flag just as the folding doors were thrown open, and the guests marched into the dining room. The State birthday cake, ablaze with eighty-three red, white and blue candles, occupied the place of honor on the central table. Patriotic confections and artistic garlands of red, white and blue morning-glories, enhanced the effect.

Upon this occasion Mrs. Sorsby selected Mrs. W. N. Griffin for the honor of cutting the Alabama cake, and Mrs. George R. Stamps cut the club cake.

V. FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, DECEMBER 14, 1903.

The fifth celebration of the birthday of Alabama was conducted by the Pierian Club, of East Lake, on December 14. Mrs. A. D. Smith was the hostess of the club. The patriotic exercises arranged by the president were as follows:

"Welcome,"—Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby.

"Dixie" (concert paraphrase),—Mrs. H. C. Miller.

"Roll-call, with Brief Biographies of Alabama Governors in Response,"—Members of the Pierian Club.

"Reading from *The First American*" (Leila Herbert),—Mrs. E. J. Robinson.

"Salute to the Flag of Alabama,"—By all present.

"Alabama" (song, by Julia S. Tutwiler),—Miss Stott, assisted by Mrs. Smith and Misses Herring, Wade and Daly (Alabama flag waved by Miss Stott while singing).

"Selection from *King Arthur and His Court* (by Frances Nimmo Greene).

"Vocal Music,"—Miss Mary Jones.

"Contest of Counties,"—First prize, *King Arthur and His Court;* consolation prize, a large doll, appropriately dressed, bearing the words, "Houston, Our Baby County."

"The Merrimac March,"—Miss Julia Jones.

Miss Frances Nimmo Greene was a resident of East Lake for many years.

At the conclusion of the program the folding doors were thrown open into the dining room, where, on a center table, stood the large Alabama birthday cake, with its lighted red, white and blue candles. This table was decorated with Alabama flags and vines. The confections were red, white and blue. The Pierian Club birthday cake, with its six candles, was on another table, decked in the club colors of pale blue and white. The president, Mrs. Sorsby, selected Mrs. A. D. Smith to cut the Alabama cake, and Mrs. H. C. Miller, the club cake. Dr. A. P. Montague, president of Howard College, was present as the guest of the club, and delivered a patriotic address.

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